Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW
LIBRARY

Acc. No._____

Book No._____

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

303



BRITISH BOOK DEPOT
Hazratganj, LUCKNOW

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF

Sexual Behaviour

VOLUME

ONE

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

EDITED BY

ALBERT ELLIS, Ph.D. AND ALBERT ABARBANEL, Ph.D.

Sexual Behaviour

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN: MEDICAL BOOKS: LTD.



VOLUME ONE

BRITISH BOOK DEPOT,
Hazratganj, LUCKNOW

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

First Published FEBRUARY . . . 1961

Copyright © 1961 by Hawthorn Books Inc. New York

Printed in the United States of America

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS



Contributors

Albert Brandt Abarbanel, Ph.D.

Psychotherapist, Marriage Counselor, New York City. Formerly Assistant, University of Marburg; Lecturer, Volkshochschule, Frankfurt am Main; Professor of Philosophy and Social Science, Dana College, University of Newark; Lecturer, Queens College and Hunter College. Author: Many published monographs and articles in the field of sexology, psychology, philosophy, and sociology. Co-author: *An Assault on Civilization,*[1] 1935; *What Every Woman Should Know About Marriage,* 1950.

Clifford Allen, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.P.M.

Consultant Psychiatrist to the Dreadnought Seamen's Hospital, London; Consultant Neuro-Psychiatrist to the Ministry of Pensions, London. Author: *Modern Discoveries in Medical Psychology,* 1949; *Sexual Perversions and Abnormalities,* 1951; *Homosexuality,* 1958; *The Problem of Homosexuality,* 1958.

Carleton Beals, M.A.

Authority on Latin America. Author: *Mexican Maze,* 1931; *American South,* 1937; *Lands of the Dawning Morrow,* 1947; *House in Mexico,* 1958.

Hugo G. Beigel, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Psychology, Long Island University. Author: "Romantic Love,"[2] 1951; *Encyclopedia of Sex Education,* 1952; "Sex and Human Beauty," 1954; "Body Height in Mate Selection," 1954; "Evaluation of Intelligence in the Heterosexual Relationship," 1957.

Harry Benjamin, M.D.

Private practice, New York City and San Francisco. Formerly Consulting Endocrinologist to the College of the City of New York. Author: "Prostitution and Venereal Disease," 1935; "The Sex Problem in the Armed Forces," 1943; "Prostitution Reassessed," 1951; "An Objective Examination of Prostitution," 1954; "Transsexualism and Transvestism," 1954.

Jessie Bernard, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, Pennsylvania State College. Author: *American Family Behavior,* 1942; *American Community Behavior,* 1949; *Remarriage,* 1956; *Social Problems at Midcentury,* 1957; (with Buchanan and Smith) *Dating, Mating, and Marriage,* 1958.

Cyril Bibby, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., F.R.S.A.

Lecturer in the University of London Institute of Education. Formerly Secretary of the Family Relations Group. Author: Many books on biology and education and *Sex Education, a Guide for Parents, Teachers and Youth Leaders,* 1944; *How Life is Handed On,* 1946.

Saul Blau, M.D.

Instructor in Dermatology and Syphilology, New York University, Postgraduate Medical School. Author: "Dermabrasion," 1954; "Erythroplasia," 1955; "Syphilis," 1958.

Ewald Bohm, Ph.D.

Private practice of clinical psychology, Copenhagen, Denmark; Vice-President, International Society of Rorschach and other Projective Techniques. Author: (with Magnus Hirschfeld) *Sexualerziehung,* 1930; *Lehrbuch der Rorschach-Psychodiagnostik,* 1957; *A Textbook in Rorschach Test Diagnosis,* 1958.

Ralph P. Bridgman, B.D., M.A.

Chief Marriage Counselor, Family Court Center, Toledo, Ohio. Formerly Executive Director, National Council of Parent Education; Acting Chairman of Family Life Department, Merrill-Palmer School. Author: "Parent Education," 1934; "Family

[1] Italic type denotes book title.
[2] Quotations indicate articles.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Counsel," 1935; "The Home and Family Relations," 1939; "Marital Discord, Divorce and Reconciliation," 1958.

Daniel G. Brown, Ph.D.

Clinical Psychologist, United States Air Force Hospital, 815th Medical Group (SAC), Forbes Air Force Base, Kansas. Formerly Associate Professor of Psychology, United States Air Force Academy. Author: "Sex-Role Preference in Young Children," 1956; "The Development of Sex-Role Inversion and Homosexuality," 1957; "Masculinity-Femininity Development in Children," 1957; "Sex-Role Development in a Changing Culture," 1958.

Frank S. Caprio, M.D.

Psychiatrist and Psychoanalyst; Consultant to the Department of Correction, Washington, D.C. Author: *Sexual Deviations,* 1951; *The Power of Sex,* 1952; *The Sexually Adequate Male,* 1952; *The Sexually Adequate Female,* 1953; *Marital Infidelity,* 1953; *Female Homosexuality,* 1954; *Variations in Sexual Behavior,* 1955; *Sex and Love,* 1958; *The Modern Woman's Guide to Sexual Maturity,* 1959.

Leo P. Chall, M.A.

Lecturer at Brooklyn College and Editor of *Sociological Abstracts.* Author: "The Reception of the Kinsey Report in the Periodicals of the United States, 1947-1949," 1955.

Eustace Chesser, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh), L.R.F.P.S. (Glasgow)

Hon. Secretary, Society for Sex Education; Guidance and Research Director, Research Council into Marriage and Human Relationships. Author: *Love Without Fear,* 1941; *Successful Living,* 1950; *Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman,* 1956; *Live and Let Live,* 1958; *An Outline of Human Relationships,* 1960.

LeMon Clark, M.D.

Private practice of obstetrics and gynecology, Fayetteville, Arkansas. Formerly Instructor in Social Science at Cornell and Colgate Universities and a Minister of the Universalist Church. Author: *Sex Education,* 1928; *Emotional Adjustment in Marriage,* 1937; *Sex and You,* 1949.

Alphonse H. Clemens, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the Marriage Counseling Center, Catholic University of America. Author: *Marriage and Family Relationships* (Editor), 1950; *Marriage Education and Counseling* (Editor), 1951; *Survey of the Cana Movement in the United States,* 1953; *Marriage and the Family: An Integrated Approach for Catholics,* 1955; *Marriage Counseling Inventory,* 1959; *Marriage Counseling: A Catholic Approach,* 1960.

William Graham Cole, Ph.D.

Dean of Freshmen and Cluett Professor of Religion, Williams College. Author: *Sex in Christianity and Psychoanalysis,* 1955; *Sex and Love in the Bible,* 1959.

Robert C. Cook

Editor, *The Journal of Heredity;* President, Population Reference Bureau; Editor, *Population Bulletin;* Professorial Lecturer in Medical Genetics, George Washington University Medical School. Author: *Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma,* 1951.

George W. Corner, Jr., M.D.

Assistant Professor of Obstetrics, Johns Hopkins University; private practice of gynecology and obstetrics, Baltimore; Special Consultant on cerebral palsy, National Institute of Mental Health. Author: Many papers on obstetrics and gynecology and menstruation, including: "The Dating of Ovulation and Other Ovarian Crises by Histological Examination," 1950; "Torsion of the Human Pregnant Uterus," 1956; and "Endocrine Factors in the Etiology of Spontaneous Abortion," 1959.

Donald Webster Cory

Author: *The Homosexual in America,* 1951. Editor: *Twenty-one Variations on a Theme,* 1953; *Homosexuality: A Cross-Cultural Approach,* 1956.

Alec Craig

Librarian of the British Sexological Society, London. Author: *Sex and Revolution,* 1934; *The Banned Books of England,* 1937; *Above All Liberties,* 1942; *The Prometheans,* 1955.

Bengt Danielsson, Ph.D.

Associate in Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Author: Several travel books; *Love in the South Seas,* 1956; *Work and Life on Raroia,* 1957.

Kingsley Davis, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California; Director, International Urban Research; Past President, American Sociological Society. Author: *Human Society,* 1949; *Population of India and Pakistan,* 1951; *The World's Metropolitan Areas,* 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Lester W. Dearborn, B.S.

Counseling Psychologist, Marriage and Personal Counseling Service, Boston Young Men's Christian Association; Special Lecturer and Consultant, Wheaton College (Mass.). Author: "Some Psychophysical Phenomena Conditioning Marital Adjustment," 1946; "Preparation of the Marriage Counselor," 1946; "Masturbation," 1947; "Extramarital Relations," 1947; "Problem of Masturbation," 1952.

Edward Dengrove, M.D.

Private Practice of Neuropsychiatry, Asbury Park, N.J.; Consultant to Fitkin and Monmouth Hospitals, Long Branch, N.J. and Point Pleasant Hospital, N.J. Author: "War Weariness," 1945; "Psychosomatic Aspects of Dermographia and Pruritus," 1947; "Why Patients Discontinue Treatment in Mental Hygiene Clinics," 1950; "The Psychiatrist," 1957.

Sidney Ditzion, Ph.D.

Assistant Librarian and Lecturer in Education, The City College of New York. Author: *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture,* 1947; *Marriage, Morals and Sex in America,* 1953.

Winston Ehrmann, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, University of Colorado. Author: Many articles on sex, marriage, and family research; *Premarital Dating Behavior,* 1959.

Albert Ellis, Ph.D.

Private practice of psychotherapy and marriage counseling, New York City. Formerly Chief Psychologist, New Jersey State Diagnostic Center and New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. Editor: (with A. P. Pillay) *Sex, Society and the Individual,* 1953; *Sex Life of the American Woman and the Kinsey Report,* 1954. Author: Many scientific papers and several books and monographs; *The Folklore of Sex,* 1951; *The American Sexual Tragedy,* 1954; (with Ralph Brancale) *The Psychology of Sex Offenders,* 1956; *How to Live with a Neurotic,* 1957; *Sex Without Guilt,* 1958; *The Art and Science of Love,* 1960 (with Robert A. Harper); *Creative Marriage,* 1961.

Irving C. Fischer, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Assistant Clinical Professor, Obstetrics and Gynecology, New York Medical College; Staff Member, Mount Sinai, Metropolitan, Flower Fifth Avenue, and Polyclinic Hospitals, New York City. Author: Many illustrations of the male and female reproductive organs, sperm production and migration, and ovulation and fertilization, in numerous textbooks on obstetrics and gynecology.

Joseph K. Folsom, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, Vassar College; Lecturer in Sociology, Boston University. Author: *Youth, Family, and Education,* 1941; *The Family and Democratic Society,* 1943; "Steps in Love and Courtship," 1955; "Kinsey's Challenge to Ethics and Religion," 1955.

Clellan S. Ford, Ph.D.

Professor of Anthropology, Yale University; President, Human Relations Area Files, Inc. Author: *Smoke from their Fires,* 1941; *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction,* 1945; (with G. P. Murdock and others) *Outline of Cultural Materials,* 1950; (with Frank A. Beach) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior,* 1951.

E. Franklin Frazier, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, Howard University; Lecturer in the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Author: *The Negro Family in Chicago,* 1931; *The Negro Family in the United States,* 1939; *The Negro in the United States,* 1949; *Bourgeoisie Noire,* 1955; *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World,* 1957.

Robert M. Frumkin, M.A.

Assistant Professor of Social Studies, State University of New York, Oswego; Research Editor, *Journal of Human Relations.* Author: "The Measurement of Marriage Adjustment," 1954; "The Meaning of Sociology," 1956.

Samuel Glasner, Ed.D.

Rabbi; Director of One-Day Religious Schools and Teacher Training, Board of Jewish Education, Baltimore, Md.; Visiting Lecturer in Psychology, Morgan State College; Psychotherapist and marriage counselor in private practice.

Jay Gluck, M.A.

Fellow, University of Tehran; Visiting Professor in American Culture, Wakayama National University, Wakayama, Japan; Roving Editor and member of the editorial board of direction, *France-Asie/ASIA.* Author: *Sex Rites in Japanese Agriculture Today,* 1961; Iro *and* Ero; *the Color of Erotica in Japanese Art and Literature,* 1961; *Calligraphy, Minaret and Other Sex Symbols in Iran,* 1961.

David Goodman

Syndicated columnist, "What's Best for Your Child"; Marriage Counselor, Teaneck, New Jersey. Author: *A Parents' Guide to the Emotional Needs of Children,* 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Hilda M. Goodwin, M.S.W., D.S.W.

Associate in Family Study in Psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania; Chief Supervisor of Counseling and Training, Marriage Council of Philadelphia. Author: (with Emily H. Mudd) "Marriage Counseling," 1958.

Vernon W. Grant, Ph.D.

Chief Psychologist, Summit County Mental Hygiene Clinic, Akron, Ohio; private practice of psychological counseling. Author: "A Fetish Theory of Amorous Fixation," 1949; "Preface to a Psychology of Sexual Attachment," 1951; *Psychology of Sexual Emotion,* 1957.

René Guyon, LL.D.

Legislative Adviser, formerly Judge and Public Prosecutor, Thai Government, Bangkok, Thailand. Author: *The Ethics of Sexual Acts* (7 vols.), 1929-1938; *Essais Matérialistes* (3 vols.); "The Child and Sexual Activities," 1952.

Henry Guze, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Psychology and Director of the Psychobiology Laboratory, Graduate School, Long Island University; private practice of psychopathology. Author: "Bodily and Behavioral Manifestations of the Menstrual Cycle," 1952; "Relationships of Estrogens and Androgens to Certain Aspects of Sexual Behavior," 1952; "Effects of Pre-Weaning Nursing Deprivation on the Later Maternal, Hoarding and Sexual Behavior in the Rat," 1955.

Tore Hakansson, M.A.

Technical Assistance Expert, United Nations; Producer of films on primitive dance, arts, and crafts; field work in South Asia.

Wilfrid D. Hambly, D.Sc.

Curator (retired) of African Ethnology, Chicago Natural History Museum; member, Wellcome Archaeological Expedition to Ethiopia; Leader, Rawsom-Field Museum Expedition to Angola and Nigeria. Author: *Source Book for African Anthropology; Ethnology of the Ovimbundu of Angola; Culture Areas of Nigeria.*

Frances R. Harper, Ed.D.

Department of Guidance, Arlington (Va.) Public Schools. Co-author: *Exploring Your Community,* 1954; "An Evaluative Study of a Large Class in the Psychology of Family Relations," 1957; "Are Educators Afraid of Sex?" 1957.

Robert A. Harper, Ph.D.

Private practice of psychotherapy and marriage counseling, Washington, D. C. Author: *Marriage,* 1949; (with John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel) *Problems of American Society,* 1956; *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy: 36 Systems,* 1959; (with Albert Ellis) *Creative Marriage,* 1961.

Brian M. Heald, M.A.

Medical editor and non-fiction editor of a New York publishing house. Graduate of Cambridge University and formerly high school teacher in the adult education field in the United States and England.

L. Clovis Hirning, M.D.

Private practice of psychiatry in White Plains and Katonah, New York; Consulting Psychiatrist—Guidance Department, Teachers College, Columbia University; Board of Cooperative Educational Services, Schools of Northern Westchester; and Hillcrest Center for Children; Lecturer, William Alanson White Institute for Psychology, Psychiatry, and Psychoanalysis. Author: "Genital Exhibitionism, an Interpretive Study," 1947; "The Sex Offender in Custody," 1947; "Functions of a School Psychiatrist," 1958.

Virginia E. Johnson

Research Associate, Sex Research Project, Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Washington University School of Medicine, St. Louis, Mo. Co-author: *The Human Female: Anatomy of Sexual Response,* 1960.

Trygve Johnstadt, Cand. Psychol.

Labor Psychologist, State Technological Institute, Oslo, Norway. Formerly Rehabilitation Counselor, Mo i Rana Hospital; Educational Consultant, Mo i Rana Primary School.

G. Lombard Kelly, M.D.

President (retired), Medical College of Georgia; private practice of medicine, specializing in sexual problems, Augusta, Georgia. Author: *Sexual Feeling in Men and Women,* 1938; *Sex Manual,* 1945; *So You Think You're Impotent!* 1957; *A Doctor Discusses Menopause,* 1959.

Frank Kingdon, D.D., LL.D.

Radio commentator and newspaper columnist. Formerly Professor of Philosophy and President, University of Newark. Author: *Humane Religion,* 1930; *When Half-Gods Go,* 1933; *Jacob's Ladder,* 1943; *John Cotton Dana,* 1940; *That Man in the White House,* 1944; *Architects of the Republic,* 1950.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Lester A. Kirkendall, Ph.D.

Professor of Family Life, School of Home Economics, Oregon State College. Author: *Sex Adjustments of Young Men,* 1940; *Understanding Sex,* 1947; *Dating Days,* 1949; *Sex Education as Human Relations,* 1950; *Understanding the Other Sex,* 1955; *Too Young to Marry?* 1956.

Samuel Z. Klausner, Ph.D.

Research Associate, Bureau of Applied Social Research; Lecturer, Departments of Religion and Sociology, Columbia University. Author: *The New Hebrew Man,* 1955; *Immigrant Absorption and Social Tension in Israel,* 1955.

Sophia J. Kleegman, M.D.

Clinical Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, New York University College of Medicine; Visiting Staff, Obstetrics and Gynecology, Bellevue Hospital; Medical Director, Eastern League Planned Parenthood Association. Author: Many articles and addresses on gynecological and medical subjects, including "Office Treatment of Pathologic Cervix," 1940; "Diagnosis and Treatment of Infertility in Women," 1952; "Frigidity in Women," 1959.

Kronhausen, Eberhard W., Ph.D., and Kronhausen, Phyllis C., Ph.D.

Specialists in psychology and family life education, Anaheim, California. Authors: "Family Milieu Therapy, the Non-Institutional Treatment of Severe Emotional Disturbances" (1957); "The Therapeutic Family—The Family's Role in Emotional Disturbance and Rehabilitation" (1959); *Pornography and the Law* (1959); *Sex Histories of American College Men* (1960).

Herbert S. Kupperman, M.D.

Associate Professor of Medicine, New York University Postgraduate Medical School; Chief of the Endocrinology Department of the Fertility Service, Margaret Sanger Research Bureau, New York City; Associate Obstetrician and Gynecologist for Gynecological Endocrinology, Beth Israel Hospital, New York City; Chief, Endocrinology Section, Clara Maass Memorial Hospital, Newark, N. J. Author: "A Two and Six-Hour Pregnancy Test," 1943; "The Sexual Cycle and Reproduction in the Golden Hamster," 1944; "The Relationship Between Sex Hormones and Experimentally Induced Tumors in Rats," 1947; "Endocrine Therapy in Gynecological Disorders," 1953; "Induction of Ovulation in the Human," 1958; "New Concepts in the Evaluation of Intersex and Infertility," 1958.

Hans Lehfeldt, M.D.

Chief of the Contraceptive Clinic, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center and Clinical Assistant in Obstetrics and Gynecology, New York University College of Medicine; Adjunct, Obstetrics and Gynecology, Beth David Hospital; Senior Clinical Assistant, Lenox Hill Hospital Out-Patient Department; private practice of obstetrics and gynecology, New York City. Author of many articles on fertility and contraception; *Das Buch der Ehe* (The Marriage Book), 1930.

Hedwig Leser, M.A.

Translator, Institute for Sex Research, Indiana University. Formerly Assistant Professor of German, Indiana University. Author: (with B. J. Vos) *Concise German Grammar,* 1941.

Maximilian Le Witter, M.D.

Assistant Physician, Geriatric Clinic, Metropolitan Hospital and Bird S. Cole Hospital, New York City. Formerly Senior Clinical Assistant, Endocrinological Department of Gynecology, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City.

Alexander Lowen, J.S.D., M.D.

Executive Director, The Institute for Bioenergetic Analysis, New York City. Author: *The Physical Dynamics of Character Structure,* 1958.

Duncan MacDougald, Jr., B.A.

Philologist and sexologist, Kitzbuehel, Capri. Author of many articles and contributor on sexology to professional journals and encyclopedias, including "The Languages and Press of Africa," 1944, and "Phallic Foods," 1952.

David R. Mace, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Family Study, Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania; Staff Consultant, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, Executive Director, American Association of Marriage Counselors. Author: *Marriage: The Art of Lasting Love,* 1952; *Hebrew Marriage,* 1953; *Success in Marriage,* 1958.

John S. MacLeod, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Physiology, Cornell University Medical College. Author: Many papers on fertility and infertility, including "The Kinetics of Spermatogenesis as Revealed by Changes in the Ejaculation," 1952, and a series of six papers on "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility," 1950-1953.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

William H. Masters, M.D.

Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Washington University School of Medicine. Author: Many papers on gynecology, endocrinology, and geriatrics, including "Gonadotrophin Titer in the Adult Human Male: The Effect of Ejaculation," 1952; "The Sexual Response Cycle of the Human Female: I. Gross Anatomic Considerations. II. Vaginal Lubrication," 1959, 1960.

John Money, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Medical Psychology and Pediatrics, Johns Hopkins University; full-time psychoendocrine research sponsored by the United States Public Health Service, formerly by Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. Co-recipient, 1956 Hofheimer Research Award, American Psychiatric Association. Author: Many papers on hermaphroditism and other endocrine disorders; *The Psychologic Study of Man*, 1957.

Emily H. Mudd, M.S.W., Ph.D.

Professor of Family Study in Psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania; Director, Division of Family Study, University of Pennsylvania; Director, Marriage Council of Philadelphia, Inc. Author: *The Practice of Marriage Counseling*, 1951; "Psychiatry and Marital Problems," 1955; "Knowns and Unknowns in Marriage Counseling Research," 1957; (edited with Aron Krich) *Man and Wife, A Source Book of Family Attitudes, Sexual Behavior, and Marriage Counseling*, 1957; (edited with Abraham Stone, Maurice J. Karpf, and Janet F. Nelson) *Marriage Counseling: A Casebook*, 1958.

Ruth L. Munroe, Ph.D.

Clinical Psychologist; Visiting Professor, Graduate Division, College of the City of New York. Author: *Schools of Psychoanalytic Thought*, 1955; co-author: *Happy Family*, 1938.

Gottfried Neumann, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Late Assistant Professor of Gynecology and Obstetrics, and Chief of the Sterility Clinic, N.Y.U.-Bellevue Medical Center. Author: (with Hans Lehfeldt) "The Crystallization Phenomenon of the Cervical Mucus as Pregnancy Test," 1953; (with Hans Lehfeldt) "Le Phenomene de Cristallisation de la Claire Cervicale, Mode de Diagnostic de la Grossesse," 1956; "Cineradiography of Female Pelvic Organs" (a medical motion picture and an article, with Hans Lehfeldt and R. W. Carlin), 1956.

Alwin Nikolais

Associate Director, Henry Street Playhouse, New York City; Choreographer and Director of the Nikolais Dance Company and the Playhouse Dance Company. Author: Several articles in *Dance, Art,* and *Theatre* Magazines. Choreographer: *Kaleidoscope; Prism; The Bewitched; Cantos; Allegory.*

M. F. Nimkoff, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, The Florida State University. Former Editor, *Marriage and Family Living.* Author: (with W. F. Ogburn) *Marriage and the Family*, 1947; *Technology and the Changing Family*, 1955.

Harriet F. Pilpel, LL.B.

Partner, Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst, New York City. Author: Many articles on marriage and family law in professional and lay publications; (with Theodora Zavin) *Your Marriage and The Law*, 1952; *Tax Aspects of Copyright Property*, 1953.

Wardell B. Pomeroy, Ph.D.

Director of Field Research, Institute for Sex Research, Indiana University; Co-author: *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 1948; *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, 1953; *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion*, 1958.

William R. Reevy, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Psychology, Texas Technological College. Author: "Female Masturbation and Marital Happiness Prediction," 1959; "Premarital Petting Behavior and Marital Happiness Prediction," 1959; "Vestured Genital Apposition and Coitus," 1959.

Ira L. Reiss, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Bard College. Author: "The Double Standard in Premarital Sexual Intercourse: A Neglected Concept," 1956; "The Treatment of Premarital Coitus in Marriage and Family Texts," 1957; *A Comparative Analysis of Premarital Sexual Standards in America*, 1960.

Oscar Riddle, Ph.D., LL.D., D.H.C.

Retired. Formerly Instructor, the University of Chicago; Research Staff, Carnegie Institution of Washington; Department of Genetics, Cold Spring Harbor, New York. Author: "Sex Control and Known Correlations in Pigeons," 1916; "Birds

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Without Gonads," 1925; "The Preparation, Identification and Assay of Prolactin," 1933; "The Role of Hormones in the Initiation of Maternal Behavior in Rats," 1942; *Endocrines and Constitution in Doves and Pigeons,* 1947.

Murray Russell, M.D.

Assistant Clinical Professor of Urology, College of Medical Evangelists; Consulting Urologist to City of Hope, Duarte, California; Member of the Urological Department, Orange County General Hospital. Author: "Studies in General Biology of Sperm," 1951; "Can Male Infertility Be Prevented?" 1954; chapter on "Male Infertility" in the textbook, *Urological Practice* (Barnes and Hadley), 1956; "Preventative Aspects of Male Infertility," 1957.

Edward Sagarin

President, Embassy Laboratories, Inc.; Ford Foundation scholar, Brooklyn College. Author: Numerous papers on perfumery, olfaction, and cosmetics; *The Science and Art of Perfumery,* 1945; *Cosmetics: Science and Technology,* 1957.

J. P. Scott, Ph.D.

Chairman, Division of Behavior Studies, Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, Bar Harbor, Maine. Author: Many papers on embryology and physiological genetics, sociobiology, and the social behavior of animals; *Animal Behavior,* 1958.

Hans Selye, M.D., Ph.D., D.Sc.

Professor and Director of the Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the Université de Montreal, Canada. Author of many scientific papers and numerous books, including *Textbook of Endocrinology,* 1949; *The Stress of Life,* 1956; and *The Chemical Prevention of Cardiac Necroses,* 1958.

Georgene Seward, Ph.D.

Professor of Psychology, The University of Southern California; Consultant in Clinical and Counseling Psychology, United States Veterans Administration. Author: *Sex and the Social Order,* 1946; *Psychotherapy and Culture Conflicts,* 1956. Editor: *Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict,* 1958; *Current Psychological Issues,* 1958.

Jelal M. Shah, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S. (Hon.)

Colonel, Indian Medical Service (retired); Secretary and Registrar, Pakistan Medical Council, Karachi. Formerly, Dean and Lecturer in Venereal Diseases, Grant Medical College, Bombay University; Surgical Specialist, Third Indian Division, Egyptian Expeditionary Force. Author: "Treatment of Venereal Diseases," 1933; "Sexual Impotence in the Male; Two Ominous Signs," 1956; "Role of Haemotherapy in Sexual Impotence," 1957.

Robert Veit Sherwin, LL.B.

Practicing attorney, New York City, specializing in the fields of Sex and the Law and Domestic Relations; Administrative Director, the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex. Author: *Sex and the Statutory Law,* 1949; "Female Sex Crimes," 1954; "Sodomy: a Medico-Legal Enigma," 1953.

Boris Shub, LL.B.

Program Policy Adviser of Radio Liberty, American Committee for Liberation. Formerly Political Adviser of Radio RIAS, Berlin. Author: *The Choice,* 1950; *Since Stalin: A Photo History of Our Time,* 1951.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, Ph.D.

Director, Harvard University Research Center in Creative Altruism, Winchester, Mass.; Professor of Sociology, Harvard University. Author: Many articles and books, including *Altruistic Love,* 1950; *Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior,* 1950; *The Ways and Power of Love,* 1954; *Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth,* 1954.

Walter R. Stokes, LL.B., M.D.

Psychiatrist, private practice, specializing in problems of marriage and family life, Washington, D.C.; Occasional lecturer, George Washington University Postgraduate School of Medicine. Author: *Modern Pattern for Marriage,* 1948. Contributing author: *Readings in Marriage Counseling* (edited by Clark E. Vincent), 1957; *Marriage Counseling: A Casebook* (edited by Mudd, Karpf, Stone, and Nelson), 1958.

Abraham Stone, M.D.

Late Medical Director of the Marriage Consultation Center of the Community Church, New York City; Director of the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau; Faculty Member of the New School for Social Research and the New York University College of Medicine. Author: (with Norman Himes) *Planned Parenthood,* 1948; (with Hannah Stone) *A Marriage Manual,* 1952; (with Lena Levine) *The Premarital Consultation,* 1956.

Clara Thompson, M.D.

Late Executive Director, William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis and Psychology, New York City. Author: "Some Effects of the Derogatory Attitude Toward Female Sexuality," 1950; *Psychoanalysis: Evolution and Development,* 1950; (co-editor) *Outline of Psychoanalysis,* 1955.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Conrad Van Emde Boas, M.D.

Psychiatrist-sexologist and psychoanalyst in private practice, Amsterdam, Holland; Director of the Amsterdam Birth Control and Sexological Clinic. Author: *Shakespeare's Sonnets and Their Connection with the Double-Travesti-Plays,* 1951; *Encyclopedia of Sexological Knowledge* (editor of Dutch edition), 1952; *Abortus Provocatus,* 1952; *The Periodical Infertility of Women and Its Importance for Child-Spacing,* 1957.

Fred W. Voget, Ph.D.

Professor of Anthropology, University of Toronto. Author: "Acculturation at Caughnawaga: A Note on the Native-Modified Group," 1951; "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation," 1956.

Victor H. Wallace, M.D., F.R.C.S.

Private practice of sexological medicine, Melbourne, Australia. Formerly Lecturer on Sex, Marriage, and the Family at the Adult Education Council. Author: Many articles on sexological subjects; *Women and Children First: An Outline of a Population Policy for Australia,* 1946.

George B. Wilbur, M.D.

Private practice of psychoanalysis, South Dennis, Mass. Editor of the *American Imago.*

Robert Anton Wilson, M.S.

Editor, *General Semantics Newsletter,* New York City; Associate Editor, *The Realist.* Formerly editor of *Verbal Level.* Author: *Joyce and Tao,* 1959; *To the End of Sanity,* 1959; *Sex Education for the Modern Liberal Adult,* 1959.

Robert F. Winch, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University. Author: *The Modern Family,* 1952; (edited, with Robert McGinnis) *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family,* 1953; *Mate-Selection,* 1958.

Robert Wood

Graduate of St. John's College, London. Tutor in Adult Education, Extra-Mural Departments of Oxford and Southampton Universities. Formerly Editor of the *Journal of Sex Education.* Author: *The Role of Pleasure in the Good Life,* 1946; *Art and Psychotherapy,* 1951; "Psychology of Sex Behavior," 1951; "Recent Trends in Sexological Literature," 1952; "The Female Sex Drive," 1958.

Wu Lien-Teh, M.A., M.D., Mast. Publ.H., Hon. LL.D., Sc.D., D.Litt.

Private practice of medicine, Ipoh, Malaya. Formerly plague and health expert, League of Nations; Inspector General of the National Quarantine Service of China; Physician Extraordinary to Successive Presidents of China. Author: *Treatise on Pneumonic Plague,* 1926; *Handbook of Plague,* 1932; (with K. C. Wong) *History of Chinese Medicine,* 1936; *Plague Fighter: Autobiography of a Modern Chinese Physician,* 1958.

Kimball Young, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology, Northwestern University. Author: *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture,* 1949; *Personality and Problems of Adjustment,* 1952; *Isn't One Wife Enough?,* 1954; *Social Psychology,* 1956.

Theodora Zavin, LL.B.

Private practice of law, New York City. Assistant Vice President, Broadcast Music Inc. Author: many articles on the law; (with Harriet F. Pilpel) *Your Marriage and the Law,* 1952.

Helene Zwerdling, M.A.

Assistant to the Program Coordinator, Radio Liberty, American Committee for Liberation, New York City.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Contents

VOLUME ONE

Contributors v
Foreword, THE EDITORS xvii
Analytical Guide to the Contents of this Work, THE EDITORS xix

Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of, LEO P. CHALL 25

Abortion, GOTTFRIED NEUMANN 35
Abstinence, HUGO G. BEIGEL 44
Adolescent Sexuality, WILLIAM R. REEVY 52
Africans, The Sex Life of, WILFRED DYSON HAMBLY 69
Aging and Sex, MAXIMILIAN LE WITTER AND ALBERT ABARBANEL 75
America, Moral Evolution in, SIDNEY DITZION 82
American Indians, Sex Life of the, FRED W. VOGET 90
Anatomy and Physiology of Sex, HENRY GUZE 110
Ancient Civilizations, Sex Life in, ROBERT WOOD 119
Animal Sexuality, JOHN P. SCOTT 132
Aphrodisiacs and Anaphrodisiacs, DUNCAN MAC DOUGALD, JR. 145
Art and Dance, Sex in Primitive, TORE HAKANSSON 154
Art and Sex, ALBERT ELLIS 161
Artificial Insemination, HANS LEHFELDT 180
Attitudes toward Sex, Modern, ROBERT ANTON WILSON 186
Australia and New Zealand, Sex Life in, VICTOR H. WALLACE 193
Autoerotism, LESTER W. DEARBORN 204
Beauty, ROBERT M. FRUMKIN 216
Catholicism and Sex, ALPHONSE H. CLEMENS 228
Censorship of Sexual Literature, ALEC CRAIG 235
Chastity and Virginity: The Case For, DAVID R. MACE 247
Chastity and Virginity: The Case Against, RENÉ GUYON 253

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Child Sexuality, WILLIAM R. REEVY 258
Clothing and Nudism, L. CLOVIS HIRNING 268
Coitus, ALBERT ELLIS 284
Contraception, HANS LEHFELDT 293
Courtship and Mate-Selection, ROBERT F. WINCH 301
Culture and Sex, CLELLAN S. FORD 306
Dance, Sexual Dynamics in Contemporary, ALWIN NIKOLAIS 313
Dancing, Social, DAVID GOODMAN 326
Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, BRIAN M. HEALD 333
Divorce, JESSIE BERNARD 338
Education in Sex, ROBERT A. HARPER, FRANCES R. HARPER 344
English and American Sex Customs, Early, ROBERT M. FRUMKIN 350
Eugenics, ROBERT C. COOK 366
Europe, Sex Life in, CONRAD VAN EMDE BOAS 373
Extramarital Sex Relations, ROBERT A. HARPER 384
Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of the, JOSEPH K. FOLSOM 392
Far East, Sex in the Art of the, JAY GLUCK 412
Femininity, CLARA THOMPSON 422
Fertility in Men, JOHN S. MAC LEOD 428
Fetishism, FRANK S. CAPRIO 435
Freedom, Sexual, ROBERT M. FRUMKIN 439
Frigidity, ALBERT ELLIS 450
Great Britain, Sex in, EUSTACE CHESSER 457
Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex, WALTER R. STOKES 466
Hermaphroditism, JOHN MONEY 472
Homosexuality, DONALD WEBSTER CORY 485
Hormones, Sex, HERBERT S. KUPPERMAN 494
Illegitimacy, HUGO BEIGEL 503
Impotence, G. LOMBARD KELLY 515
India and Pakistan, Sex Life in, JELAL M. SHAH 528
Infertility in Women, Diagnosis and Treatment of, SOPHIA J. KLEEGMAN 538
Islam, Sex Life in, SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER 545
Israel, Sex Life in, SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER 558
Jealousy, EWALD BOHM 567

VOLUME TWO

Judaism and Sex, RABBI SAMUEL GLASNER 575
Language and Sex, DUNCAN MAC DOUGALD, JR. 585

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Latin America, Sex Life in, CARLETON BEALS 599
Laws on Marriage and Family, HARRIET F. PILPEL, THEODORA S. ZAVIN 614
Laws on Sex Crimes, ROBERT VEIT SHERWIN 620
Literature and Sex, FRANK KINGDON 631
Love, Altruistic, PITIRIM A. SOROKIN 641
Love, Sexual, VERNON W. GRANT 646
Loving, The Art of, CYRIL BIBBY 657
Marriage, M. F. NIMKOFF 663
Marriage Conciliation, RALPH P. BRIDGMAN 672
Marriage Counseling, HILDA M. GOODWIN, EMILY H. MUDD 685
Marriage and Family Living, Education for, LESTER A. KIRKENDALL 696
Marriage, Plural, KIMBALL YOUNG 705
Marriage, Sexual Adjustment in, LE MON CLARK 710
Menopause, G. LOMBARD KELLY 718
Menstrual Cycle, GEORGE W. CORNER, JR. 729
Movement and Feeling in Sex, ALEXANDER LOWEN 739
Music and Sex, DUNCAN MAC DOUGALD, JR. 746
Nature of Sex, OSCAR RIDDLE 757
Negro, Sex Life of the African and American, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER 769
Nutrition, Health, and Sexuality, MAXIMILIAN LE WITTER, ALBERT ABARBANEL 776
Orgasm, Anatomy of the Female, WILLIAM H. MASTERS, VIRGINIA E. JOHNSON 788
Orient, Sex Life in the, WU LIEN-TEH 794
Perversions, Sexual, CLIFFORD ALLEN 802
Petting, ROBERT A. HARPER 812
Phallicism and Sexual Symbolism, ALBERT ABARBANEL, GEORGE B. WILBUR 819
Planned Parenthood around the World, ABRAHAM STONE 827
Polynesia, Sex Life in, BENGT DANIELSSON 832
Population and Sex, KINGSLEY DAVIS 841
Pornography, The Psychology of, PHYLLIS C. KRONHAUSEN, EBERHARD W. KRONHAUSEN 848
Premarital Sexual Intercourse, WINSTON W. EHRMANN 860
Prostitution, HARRY BENJAMIN 869
Protestantism and Sex, WILLIAM GRAHAM COLE 883
Psychoanalysis and Sex, RUTH L. MUNROE 889
Race and Sex, FRANK KINGDON 897
Reproduction, Human, IRVING C. FISCHER 903

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Scandinavian Countries, Sex Life of 910
Denmark, EWALD BOHM 910
Norway, TRYGVE JOHNSTADT 915
Sweden, EWALD BOHM 919
Separation, JESSIE BERNARD 926
Sex Differences, EDWARD DENGROVE 931
Sex Drive, LESTER A. KIRKENDALL 939
Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, ALBERT ELLIS 949
Sex Reform Movement, ROBERT WOOD 956
Sex Research Institutes, WARDELL B. POMEROY, HEDWIG LESER 967
Smell and Sex, The Sense of, EDWARD SAGARIN 976
Social Order, Sex and the, GEORGENE SEWARD 979
Soviet Union, Sex in the, BORIS SHUB, HELENE ZWERDLING 987
Standards of Sexual Behavior, IRA L. REISS 996
Sterilization, MURRAY RUSSELL 1005
Stress and Sex, HANS SELYE 1010
Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, DANIEL G. BROWN 1012
Venereal Diseases, The, SAUL BLAU 1023

Index, prepared by EDWARD ALLEN 1033

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Foreword

The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior, which has been more than three years in process, was compiled because no true encyclopedia of sex has ever been published anywhere and the few volumes in English which have called themselves encyclopedias—the most notable of which was the 1936 *Encyclopedia Sexualis,* edited by Victor Robinson—have been nothing of the sort or have turned out to be inadequate in many important respects. These works not only were much too brief, including spotty or no coverage on many significant topics, but the authorship of their articles was distinctly limited in authoritative specialization, first-hand scholarship, and international representation.

The editors of this encyclopedia have taken great care to be able to guarantee that the present volume is truly worthy of its name. It was specially planned so that its coverage would be comprehensive, authoritative, inclusive of wide-ranging viewpoints, and truly international. In addition to its extensive and intensive treatment of the major aspects of the biology, physiology, and anatomy of sex, it also covers the major facets of the emotional, psychological, sociological, legal, anthropological, geographical, and historical aspects of sexuality—including the related fields of love, marriage, and the family. Every one of the articles in the encyclopedia is original and up-to-date in every respect. Its many authors are outstanding individuals in their own areas and include leading spokesmen from scientific, professional, literary, and artistic fields.

The editors do not claim that *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* is infallible. The main body of the work has been deliberately held to two volumes, where an ideal encyclopedia of sexual behavior might well extend to ten or twenty volumes. The editors thought it more practicable, however, to bring out a work that most professional people and intelligent laymen might own and frequently use rather than one that would largely be restricted to university or community libraries.

We also thought it better, instead of including scores of fragmentary articles on highly specialized and often insignificant topics, to concentrate upon a hundred or so major articles which would comprehensively cover the most important topics. In consequence, this book is almost as much of an anthology as an encyclopedia and can be used as a source of general reading as well as a book of reference. Exactly how many readers will read it from cover to cover we have no way of knowing—but we expect and hope they will not be few.

In spite of the best-laid plans of the editors and publisher, the *Encyclopedia* suffered inevitable mishaps during its period of gestation. Some contributors who accepted invitations to write articles died before they completed their assignments; a few others never found time to start or finish their pieces. The contributors, on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

whole, however, were unusually cooperative, prompt, and courteous, considering that all are exceptionally busy people. Four contributors were fatally stricken after they submitted their papers but before the book was published; one of these (Dr. Clara Thompson) apparently knew of her impending death and she most generously finished her contribution before the end. To all the contributors to the work and to others who were helpful in suggesting authors, the editors must offer their most profound gratitude.

The original plan was that *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* would consist of three major parts: (1) authoritative articles on all the major aspects of sex, love, and marriage that could reasonably be included in a work of this size; (2) a biographical dictionary of the leading sexologists, erotic writers, and other contributors to sexual knowledge; and (3) a comprehensive dictionary of sexual terms.

The wealth and scope of the main body of the book proved, in the end, so comprehensive that it was thought best to present all of the research and writing by the contributors themselves, as fully and completely as they wished, and to do this it was found necessary to dispense with addenda from the editors. The editors, however, are assembling an exhaustive *Dictionary of Sexual Terms*, which, with the biographies, may be considered, in time, as a subsequent, separate volume.

Here, then is the encyclopedia that has emerged after scores of months of planning, corresponding, re-writing, editing, and proof correcting. Being the first work of its scope to be published, it is hoped that if readers find in it errors or deficiencies they will feel free to communicate with the editors, in care of the publisher, so that future editions of *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior* may be even more valid and useful than this first pioneering edition.

ALBERT ELLIS, PH.D.

ALBERT ABARBANEL, PH.D.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE It is the intent of the publishers to limit the distribution of this book to adults with a professional or scholarly interest in its subject, such as physicians, jurists, psychologists, nurses, social workers, psychiatrists, marriage counselors, educators, clergymen, lawyers and other community leaders who are called upon for guidance and help.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS



Analytical Guide to the Contents of This Book

THE following headings represent an attempt to characterize the key concepts or approaches that can be subsumed under the general theme of *Sexual Behavior*. The headings have been abbreviated to single words (in most cases) in order to provide the most flexible organization for this halfway house between a table of contents and an index. As a result, the separate articles in the encyclopedia listed under each heading bear—we hope—valid relations to the heading, but not necessarily to each other.

The absence of an article from all of these lists does not, of course, imply its relative unimportance, but only its *sui generis* character. Nor does the list of articles under any one head exhaust the sources of material on that topic; an arbitrary—and necessarily subjective—threshold level of importance and/or length of discussion has had to be established as a criterion of inclusion; the index will provide many secondary sources. An example of this is the absence, except in certain special cases, of the many national and geographical articles. Although for the comparative study of many topics they provide extremely useful information, they tend, necessarily, to be too brief in their discussion of any one topic for inclusion in this analytical guide to the contents of the book.

THE EDITORS

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY: MEDICINE

Abortion, 35 • Aging and Sex, 75 • Anatomy and Physiology of Sex, 110 • Artificial Insemination, 180 • Contraception, 293 • Femininity, 422 • Fertility in Men, 428 • Hermaphroditism, 472 • Hormones, Sex, 494 • Impotence, 515 • Infertility in Women, Diagnosis and Treatment of, 538 • Menopause, 718 • Menstrual Cycle, 729 • Movement and Feeling in Sex, 739 • Nutrition, Health and Sexuality, 776 • Orgasm, Anatomy of the Female, 788 • Reproduction, Human, 903 • Sex Differences, 931 • Sterilization, 1005 • Stress and Sex, 1010 • Venereal Diseases, The, 1023.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ANIMAL
Animal Sexuality, 132 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Nature of Sex, 757 • Social Order, Sex and the, 979.

THE ARTS
Art and Dance, Sex in Primitive, 154 • Art and Sex, 161 • Beauty, 216 • Censorship of Sexual Literature, 235 • Dance, Sexual Dynamics in Contemporary, 313 • Dancing, Social, 326 • Far East, Sex in the Art of the, 412 • Language and Sex, 585 • Literature and Sex, 631 • Music and Sex, 746 • Pornography, The Psychology of, 848.

BEAUTY
Art and Sex, 161 • Beauty, 216 • Clothing and Nudism, 268 • Courtship and Mate-Selection, 301 • Love, Sexual, 646.

COITUS
Coitus, 284 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Frigidity, 450 • Impotence, 515 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • Marriage, 663 • Movement and Feeling in Sex, 739 • Orgasm, Anatomy of the Female, 788 • Petting, 812.

COMPARATIVE SEXOLOGY
Culture and Sex, 306 • Education in Sex, 344 • Marriage, 663 • Marriage Counseling, 685 • Nature of Sex, 757 • Prostitution, 869 • Sex Reform Movement, 956 • Social Order, Sex and the, 979 • Standards of Sexual Behavior, 996 • *See also* geographical and national articles.

CONTRACEPTION
Contraception, 293 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Planned Parenthood around the World, 827 • Population and Sex, 841.

COURTSHIP
Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • Aphrodisiacs and Anaphrodisiacs, 145 • Courtship and Mate-Selection, 301 • Dancing, Social, 326 • English and American Sex Customs, Early, 350 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • Petting, 812 • Premarital Sexual Intercourse, 860.

DEMOGRAPHY
Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of, 25 • Autoerotism, 204 • Child Sexuality, 258 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Divorce, 338 • Islam, Sex Life in, 545 • Israel, Sex Life in, 558 • Population and Sex, 841 • Premarital Sexual Intercourse, 860 • Standards of Sexual Behavior, 996.

EDUCATION
Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • America, Moral Evolution in, 82 • Child Sexuality, 258 • Education in Sex, 344 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of, 392 • Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex, 466 • Illegitimacy, 503 • Marriage and Family Living, Education for, 696 • Marriage Counseling, 685.

ETHICS
Attitudes towards Sex, Modern, 186 • Chastity and Virginity: The Case Against, 253 • Chastity and Virginity: The Case For, 247 • Coitus, 284 • Culture and Sex, 306 • Extramarital Sex Relations, 384 • Freedom, Sexual, 439 • Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex, 466 • Prostitution, 869 • Sex Reform Movement, 956 • Social Order, Sex and the, 979 • Standards of Sexual Behavior, 996.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

HISTORY OF MORALS

America, Moral Evolution in, 82 • Ancient Civilizations, Sex Life in, 119 • Art and Sex, 161 • Attitudes towards Sex, Modern, 186 • Autoerotism, 204 • Clothing and Nudism, 268 • English and American Sex Customs, Early, 350 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Freedom, Sexual, 439 • Prostitution, 869 • Protestantism and Sex, 883.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • Homosexuality, 485 • Laws on Sex Crimes, 620 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, 949 • Sex Reform Movement, 956 • Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, 1012.

LAW

Abortion, 35 • Artificial Insemination, 180 • Censorship of Sexual Literature, 235 • Clothing and Nudism, 268 • Divorce, 338 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Homosexuality, 485 • Illegitimacy, 503 • Laws on Marriage and Family, 614 • Laws on Sex Crimes, 620 • Marriage, 663 • Marriage Conciliation, 672 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Prostitution, 869 • Race and Sex, 897 • Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, 949 • Sex Reform Movement, 956 • Sterilization, 1005.

LOVE

Aphrodisiacs and Anaphrodisiacs, 145 • Courtship and Mate-Selection, 301 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of, 392 • Jealousy, 567 • Love, Altruistic, 641 • Love, Sexual, 646 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • Movement and Feeling in Sex, 739.

MARRIAGE

Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of, 392 • Courtship and Mate-Selection, 301 • Extramarital Sex Relations, 384 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • *See also* articles under Marriage.

MASTURBATION

Abstinence, 44 • Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • Autoerotism, 204 • Child Sexuality, 258 • Coitus, 284 • Impotence, 515 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • Petting, 812.

NATURE OF SEX

Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of, 25 • Animal Sexuality, 132 • Attitudes towards Sex, Modern, 186 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Love, Sexual, 646 • Nature of Sex, 757 • Sex Differences, 931 • Sex Drive, 939 • Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, 1012.

PERVERSIONS

Coitus, 284 • Fetishism, 435 • Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex, 466 • Homosexuality, 485 • Laws on Sex Crimes, 620 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Pornography, The Psychology of, 848 • Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, 949 • Standards of Sexual Behavior, 996 • Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, 1012.

PORNOGRAPHY

Art and Sex, 161 • Censorship of Sexual Literature, 235 • Clothing and Nudism, 268 • Far East, Sex in the Art of the, 412 • Language and Sex, 585 • Literature and Sex, 631 • Pornography, The Psychology of, 848.

PREGNANCY

Abortion, 35 • Artificial Insemination, 180 • Contraception, 293 • Illegitimacy, 503 • Menopause, 718 • Reproduction, Human, 903.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

PRIMITIVE AND ANCIENT SOCIETIES
Africans, The Sex Life of, 69 • American Indians, Sex Life of the, 90 • Ancient Civilizations, Sex Life in, 119 • Australia and New Zealand, Sex Life in, 193 • Far East, Sex in the Art of the, 412 • India and Pakistan, Sex Life in, 528 • Islam, Sex Life in, 545 • Latin America, Sex Life in, 599 • Marriage, Plural, 705 • Negro, Sex Life of the African and American, 769 • Orient, Sex Life in the, 794 • Phallicism and Sexual Symbolism, 819 • Polynesia, Sex Life in, 832.

PROSTITUTION
Ancient Civilizations, Sex Life in, 119 • Chastity and Virginity: The Case Against, 253 • Extramarital Sex Relations, 384 • Prostitution, 869.

PSYCHOLOGY
Abstinence, 44 • Art and Sex, 161 • Child Sexuality, 258 • Dance, Sexual Dynamics in Contemporary, 313 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Femininity, 422 • Fetishism, 435 • Freedom, Sexual, 439 • Frigidity, 450 • Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex, 466 • Homosexuality, 485 • Illegitimacy, 503 • Impotence, 515 • Jealousy, 567 • Love, Altruistic, 641 • Love, Sexual, 646 • Loving, The Art of, 657 • Movement and Feeling in Sex, 739 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Phallicism and Sexual Symbolism, 819 • Pornography, The Psychology of, 848 • Psychoanalysis and Sex, 889 • Sex Differences, 931 • Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, 949 • Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, 1012.

REFORMERS
America, Moral Evolution in, 82 • Eugenics, 366 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Prostitution, 869 • Sex Reform Movement, 956.

RELIGION, CONTEMPORARY
Catholicism and Sex, 228 • Europe, Sex Life in, 373 • Judaism and Sex, 575 • Protestantism and Sex, 883.

RESEARCH
Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of, 25 • Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive, 333 • Nature of Sex, 757 • Sex Research Institutes, 967.

SOCIOLOGY
Adolescent Sexuality, 52 • America, Moral Evolution in, 82 • Courtship and Mate-Selection, 301 • Culture and Sex, 306 • Divorce, 338 • Extramarital Sex Relations, 384 • Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of, 392 • Illegitimacy, 503 • Marriage, 663 • Marriage Conciliation, 672 • Marriage Counseling, 685 • Marriage, Plural, 705 • Negro, Sex Life of the African and American, 769 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Planned Parenthood around the World, 827 • Population and Sex, 841 • Prostitution, 869 • Race and Sex, 897 • Separation, 926 • Sex Reform Movement, 956 • Standards of Sexual Behavior, 996.

TRANSVESTISM
Clothing and Nudism, 268 • Hermaphroditism, 472 • Homosexuality, 485 • Hormones, Sex, 494 • Laws on Sex Crimes, 620 • Perversions, Sexual, 802 • Sex Differences, 931 • Sex Offenders, The Psychology of, 949 • Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion, 1012.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

VOLUME ONE

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Advances in Modern Sex Research, A Survey of

KARL MANNHEIM once said that nothing is more stimulating than the realization that our social life is full of phantasies. Few areas of human behavior have a better claim to be so described than sexual behavior. Sex has been glorified in temples and driven out of cloisters; praised poetically and condemned morally; depicted pornographically and studied scientifically. Each generation has rediscovered its pleasures, pains, mysteries, tragedies, and controversiality.

Indeed, a history of the development of ideas on sexuality deserves the same attention and study given to the natural and technical sciences. The best that can be done here is to trace broadly the manner in which sexual behavior has been researched by social and behavioral scientists, and the methods used to accumulate knowledge about it.

The Meaning of "Sexual Behavior"

It must be made clear that the present discussion does not intend to describe, even superficially, the philosophical assumptions and the resultant technology developed in the last fifty years to study the phenomenon of sex. Instead, it will concentrate on one aspect of the phenomenon of "sexual behavior." By sexual behavior we mean the actions of human beings to accomplish sexual union between the male and the female. It is apparent that this "behavior" can be seen from a variety of vantage points, dimensions, or levels of analysis. To accomplish "union of the male and female," the means for such accomplishment must be on hand. There must be male and female organs, motivation for union, and standards of time, of place, of person, and finally, of purpose. The "union of male and female" may be viewed anatomically or physiologically. The focus of inquiry may be placed on the chemical structures and interrelations that maintain the state of activity necessary for the various mechanisms to take place, leading to the pertinent "reactions" in the sphere of sex: stimulus, excitation, erection, stimulation, ejaculation, "orgasm" for the male —excitation, lubrication, stimulation, "orgasm" for the female. The endocrinological geography of the human body enters into the phenomenon of "sexual behavior" but can be taken for granted when the purpose is the study of the psychological processes of sexual attraction, and may even more safely be ignored when the object of study is the sociocultural context of "sexual behavior."

The "essence" of sexual behavior is what is known under the term "sexual drive," or at other times known as "sexual instinct"—representable only through a synthesis or translatability of the identified (or as yet to be identified) mechanisms conceptually contained within the visible human activity: "sexual behavior." An identified "sexual drive" may have several ways of manifesting itself, depending upon the context or range of available channels of manifestation. For example, autoerotic, homosexual, heterosexual, and sodomistic acts have the same consequences on the physiologic level: tension reduction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

But do these acts have the same psychological consequences? Are the consequences evaluated in the same way socially? In reference to these questions, theoreticians (systematizers and interpreters of observations and accumulated empirical data) and researchers (technicians securing the observations, and organizers of the observations into "meaningful" sequences and wholes) may diverge widely. The divergence is most likely due to the theoretic assumption that the human being is stimulated from the inside—the internal stimulations being channeled and structured into particular ways of gratification by *external* stimulations and constraints. We seldom ask whether autoerotic, homosexual, heterosexual, or sodomistic "sexual behavior" is *subjectively* gratifying to the behaving individual or individuals. The emphasis is usually on the dysfunctional ("abnormal") consequences to the individual of such behavior.

The Three Levels of Analysis

This indirectly leads to the identification of what is spoken of as "normal sexual behavior" on the psycho-social level. Actually, a clear distinction must be made between three levels of analysis (each, of course, containing further sub-levels of analysis): the physiologic, the psychologic, and the sociologic, the last being referred to of late as "socio-cultural." When "sexual behavior" is studied on any one of these levels separately, it has the distinct advantage of not involving any mechanisms existent on the other levels.

Thus, it is possible to have a controversy about the endocrinological *vs.* the psychological bases of homosexuality. A school of thought orienting itself primarily on the physiology of "sexual behavior" will view (and has empirical experimental data to prove it) homosexuality as the "behavioral" equivalent of a different endocrinological pattern—and the researchers emphasizing and remaining on the psychological level (drawing data and inferences from the interaction of the individual with other individuals in the socialization process) will place the origins of homosexuality in the pattern of "interactions" or "social relations" of the individual. Are these two theoretic orientations contradictory, or are they accounting for the same phenomena on two different levels of analysis? If the latter is true, there is need for a conceptual structure that will translate the endocrinological (physiological) pattern into the psychological level, thus reaching a conceptual theory analogous to the head-and-tail notion of a coin. Without the head, a coin is not a coin; neither is a coin one without a tail. Only the presence of both makes a coin. The endocrinology of sex is part of the psychology of sex, and *vice versa*. The problem is to specify how they are related, how endocrinological structures are translatable into psychological perceptions, feeling-tones, and ultimately into verbalizations and actions.

The three levels of analysis mentioned above must continue the process of delving ever more microscopically into the structure and mechanisms of their analytically separate phenomena. This segmentation of research, frequently spoken of as compartmentalization, must go on, if the complement of analysis—synthesis—is to be achieved. To be sure, the advantage of segmented research is that it creates clarity of conceptualization, leads to analytic insights, and unfolds the existence of unsuspected phenomena. The disadvantage frequently is that such segmented research (specification of levels of analysis) inhibits the synthesizing of the various levels of analysis into broad monistic theories that intellectually grasp "sexual behavior" in its totality.

This discussion of "research in sexual behavior" does not focus on the total realm of "sexual behavior." The attempt is made to describe the precursors of a particular research orientation and technology which arose in the area of the social, or what is also known as the behavioral sciences. Here the first problem is that of taxonomy. It is necessary to know: *what* behavior, *with* whom, under *what conditions,* and *how* much or *how* frequently is the behavior observable. The subjective gratifications are ruled out of this taxonomy, though it is assumed that the gratifications, their types and differentials, depend upon the person with whom the behavior takes place, and the time and place of its occurrence. Certainly endocrinological, anatomic, physiologic, and to some extent psychologic levels of conceptualization

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

are omitted from consideration. This is scientifically legitimate.

We, therefore, will present here one small aspect of "sexual behavior" on a distinct analytic level—the social-psychological. We will show how Kinsey reconceptualized previous work in this area and what has and can be learned through this method. We hope that this does not lead the reader to interpret that nothing else is left to research in the sphere of "sexual behavior." The reader is referred to other articles in this Encyclopedia for discussion of the problems and findings of research in the phenomenon of sex in all its ramifications. By connecting the findings resulting from the various levels of analysis and conceptualization as well as the various content areas, the reader can secure a view of "research in sexual behavior" never before glimpsed through the covers of one work. It is in this spirit that we begin our description with the early history of the study of "sexual behavior" by social thinkers and analysts of the past.

Early History of the Study of Sexual Behavior

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as a result of the Enlightenment, the study of human sexual behavior separated itself from a discussion of morality. This period was characterized by an extensive utopian literature on marriage, morals, and sex education.

With the spread of evolutionary theory in biology (during the late nineteenth century), the evolutionary framework, coupled with the notion that man's reason and not divine revelation leads toward man's understanding of himself and thus toward self-mastery, created a milieu in which moral and theological explanations were further displaced by new conceptions of what constitutes human behavior or action. These new conceptions became intellectual grids onto which sexual behavior was placed. Sexual behavior came gradually to be viewed more as a manifestation of human needs *as they are*, and less *as they ought to be*.

Works on sexual behavior published during the nineteenth century were characterized by a historicocultural orientation. Social origins of sexuality, control of sexuality, ideas of sexuality, and the resultant ideologies were the major points of discussion. The writers debated contemporary ways and (1) wished to improve the existent sexual *status quo* by making it more moral, (2) assumed that the *status quo* was the highest state of man's development, or (3) utopianly suggested new patterns of behavior and ethical principles.

From this intellectual situation wherein sexual behavior was viewed in a historicocultural, ethico-utopian framework, several physicians published books that gradually changed the perception of sexuality in the Western world. These physicians were interested in the psychological aspects of sexual behavior and used materials (and points of view) from sociology and anthropology to reinforce their psychological orientations. The significant new direction was that they viewed sexual behavior from a concrete-clinical framework, thereby observing what people actually do at close range. They often rationalized what they observed through an ideal notion of what "ought to be." Nevertheless, they saw sexual behavior in its individual context through relatively unbiased eyes.

Of the greatest influence was the seven-volume work of Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897-1928). Ellis secured his material from published case histories in the medical and psychiatric literature and from correspondence carried on with his patients and those who heard of his work and wished to contribute their introspective and phenomenological experiences. In order to understand sexual behavior in the context of psychological interaction, yet be true to the evolutionary framework, Ellis applied biological categories of analysis to psychological phenomena. He used psychological processes as the cornerstones upon which to analyze his concrete-clinical cases. Thus he organized his material and discussed it in this order: the evolution of sexual modesty, sexual inversion, analysis of the sexual impulse, sexual selection in man, erotic symbolism, and finally, sex in relation to society. His reanalysis and reconceptualization led him to develop the notion of "compensatory unlikeness" between the male and female, which became the principle through which he interpreted sexual behavior and phenomena.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The two decades from 1890 to 1910 were especially productive. Books by physicians multiplied. Richard Krafft-Ebing, using his clinical practice as a base of observation, published *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1902) and delimited the range of (pathological) sexual behavior with its etiology and prognosis. August Forel, in *The Sexual Question* (1906), not only detailed the anatomy and physiology of reproduction, but also described the variety of sexual behavior upon which he heaped moral evaluations. At the same time he tried to persuade his readers to accept sexual education in childhood and adolescence, lest poor sex education—or its absence—lead to pathologies, perversions, and degeneration. Magnus Hirschfeld in 1899 began the publication of a *Journal of the Intermediate Sex Stages*, became interested in homosexuality, and founded an Institute for Sex Research. Others such as Iwan Bloch (1903) and A. Moll (1893) proceeded in similar directions and gave the psychiatric, psychological, sociological, and ethical observations a more coherent and new meaning.

This period of research (1890-1910) combined the historicocultural with the concrete-clinical orientations. Statements on sexual behavior were based on a mixture of evaluation and observation. The writers did not fully separate the function of research from the function of evaluating the results of the research. The consequence was that they frequently were not aware of the way in which research and evaluation, if joined together, prevented them from seeing what there was to see and distorted what they saw in the direction of what they expected to see. Their purpose was mainly ameliorative and not fully scientific.

It was with Sigmund Freud that the concrete-clinical method received an added ingredient—logical analysis—which led him to the realization that the nature of sexuality is such that it can permeate every sphere of the actions of human beings, that sexual behavior is the result of the interaction between generations, and that the human sexual drive has a chameleonlike quality. He developed a new set of categories which, when placed into logical relation to each other, produced theories of sexuality capable of being tested in particular concrete-clinical cases. The resultant understanding was used as a therapeutic technique.

The complexity of the Freudian theory was such that it did not encourage coupling his "analytic" concepts with a "survey" method on large populations. It was restricted in application to a particular case reaching the psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, or clinical psychologist. Freud's theory (a precisely spelled-out relationship between concepts) gave the psychotherapist a technique to "observe" the behavior of his patient (by telling him what to listen for), and thus guide the patient's process of adjustment, which psychotherapy eventuates. The understanding of the meaning and place of sexual behavior in a personality (suffering light or severe psychopathology) was now possible, but what constitutes "normal" sexual dynamics and behavior still observationally eluded the student of sexuality.

The Quantitative-Empirical Study of Sexual Behavior

The rise of behaviorism in the 1920's added a new dimension of observation. Although the broad assumptions of behaviorism were rejected, the method—studying specific units of behavior, relating them, and considering these units in a context empty of purposes, values, and ethical norms—was accepted. The formulations of operationism in the natural sciences were added and used on social and behavioral phenomena, with the result that techniques of observation capable of being verified through repetition and checked through analysis became available.

Researchers began to specify the language and operations used, depended upon uniformities in their method of gathering data, and desired to build theories of sexuality based on facts secured through empirical observation (induction) rather than through analytic observation (deduction). Specifying and operationalizing observations made it possible to quantify qualitative data that were descriptive of groups of people, thus facilitating the observations of *patterns* of behavior. Present-day thinking and research in sexual behavior has this framework in mind.

Within this framework—securing facts through operationalized specifications of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

type of data to be gathered—appeared studies by Exner (1915), Peck and Wells (1923, 1925), Hamilton (1929), Bromley and Britten (1938), Peterson (1938), and many others. It produced specific factual data. It also created new problems.

To illustrate both the type of data gathered and the problems that arose, a table is presented listing findings of the incidence of premarital coitus as found by the major empirical studies done between 1915 and 1947. This table is reproduced in a modified form from Winston Ehrmann's *Premarital Dating Behavior* (1959), one of the best quantitative-empirical studies on dating behavior known to the writer.

TABLE 1. INCIDENCE FIGURES ON PREMARITAL COITUS OF MALES REPORTED FROM 1915 TO 1947

INVESTIGATOR	DATE	SIZE AND TYPE OF SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE INCIDENCE
Exner	1915	518, college	36
Peck and Wells	1923	180, college	35
Peck and Wells	1925	230, college	37
Hamilton	1929	100, college	54
Bromley and Britten	1938	470, college	51
Peterson	1938	122, college	55
Terman	1938	760, college and high school	61
Porterfield and Salley	1946	285, college	32
Finger	1947	111, college	45
Hohman and Schaffner	1947	1,000, college	68

As the table is inspected, it becomes apparent that the data present a range of coital incidence from 36 to 68 per cent, based on samples ranging from 100 to 1,000 people. When the studies are inspected more closely, it becomes apparent that, although each investigator specified the behavior he was studying, the phrasing of questions and the context in which they appeared were unique to each study. Thus, it is difficult to compare the results or to learn precisely what the incidence of premarital coitus "really" is.

We have learned subsequently that the inconsistent results also stem from the fact that a greater number of characteristics than were understood in these early studies affect sexual behavior (e.g., age, sex, socioeconomic status, attitudes toward sex, religion, life-history experiences, relationship to parents, educational achievement, occupation, position in work group or institution). Thus, further specification and control of a variety of variables were necessary if we were to learn with precision the range and breadth of a specifically defined aspect of sexual behavior.

The inconsistent findings, vague conceptualizations, and poor control of variables of early empirical studies induced Kinsey to undertake his large study based on interviews of 6,300 males and 5,300 females. His percentage figures on premarital coitus again differ from the ones reported earlier. His finding that incidence differs among different groups, by age, and by social-educational characteristics of the groups helped to explain some of the earlier inconsistencies. Among college-educated males, for example, Kinsey found that frequency of premarital coitus increases as age increases—44 per cent among those aged 20, 64 per cent among those aged 25, and 68 per cent among those aged 30.

Within the empirical-quantitative method, actual figures of behavior vary because of the different ways in which data are secured, the different times at which studies are made (1930 as compared to 1950, for example), and differences in conceptualization, sampling variability, and the like. As in the other behavioral sciences, precision is the ideal that can seldom be reached. Despite some inconsistencies in results, the empirical-quantitative method of investigating sexuality has made it possible to describe within a limited range the "actual" sexual behavior of a given population. To fully appreciate the complexities of the empirical-quantitative method, an examination of some of the major processes and difficulties will now be presented.

The Empirical Method

The empirical method is based on observation, summarizing these observations in quantitative terms, manipulating the resultant quantities, and inferring from the "descriptive" categories the geography of the behavior. When "analytic" categories are used and placed into relational statements, it is possible to construct an empirical theory of behavior.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

A necessity of empirical observation, whether it is used on economic, political, esthetic, or moral phenomena, is that it delimit, separate, and isolate certain phenomena (human action) from others. Behavior is segmented when the observer defines the scope of the phenomenon to be studied and ignores all other kinds of behavior. He ignores not in the sense that other kinds of behavior are not important or meaningful to the observed behavior, but in the sense that he limits himself to something empirically manageable. Experience has taught that observational justice cannot be done to the phenomenon under study if *all* that is *relevant* and *all* that is *meaningful* to the phenomenon under study is observed. Thus, empirical research is always a compromise between the kinds of data a scientist needs to study a phenomenon and the minimum information necessary to make the study methodologically scientific and socially and culturally meaningful.

When studying sexual behavior, the compromises (between what is to be observed, the way it is to be observed, and the conceptual language through which it is to be observed) are enormously complex because of the social and cultural context surrounding sexual behavior. Although a scientist may make reasonable compromises, he is frequently criticized for doing so. The compromises resulting in the behavioral scientist's *specifications* of phenomena (see Kinsey, who conceptually chose to observe "outlets," i.e., orgasms) are frequently used to question the validity and reliability of his results. Margaret Mead (1948), for example, has argued that the use of the concept "outlet" suggests that Kinsey's "treatment of sex reduced it to the category of a simple act of elimination" and thus has little psychological meaning. This criticism is interesting but not valid since it substitutes Mead's connotation for the term "outlet" for the referrent Kinsey specified. It betrays a humanistic attitude toward empirical research rather than an understanding of it.

Let us view operations of the empirical method in greater detail through the work of the Kinsey group. The process of logical conceptualization can be described as follows: First there is the phenomenon of sexual excitation resulting in orgasm. (Note that any notion of the ethical propriety of sexual excitation is not entertained, nor can it be within the empirical framework.) Then there is the distinction as to the singularity or partnership wherein the phenomenon occurs: masturbation, homosexuality, heterosexuality, animal contact. For heterosexual contact, the question is with whom? and under what conditions? Further specification is needed by using a social category, "marriage," to differentiate the conditions under which behavior occurs. We have: premarital, marital, nonmarital, extramarital. A further analytic distinction is: In what way is orgasm reached?—oral contact, manual contact, genital contact, anal contact, etc. These categories are then to be related to twelve basic factors which are social attributes and quasi-variables.

After conceptualization is completed the data-gathering phase begins. The Kinsey data (or observations) were secured by asking people over 500 questions in a face-to-face situation. Among these questions were the twelve above-mentioned factors: (1) sex, (2) race-cultural group, (3) marital status, (4) age, (5) age at adolescence, (6) educational level, (7) occupational class of subject, (8) occupational class of parent, (9) rural-urban background, (10) religious group, (11) religious adherence, and (12) geographic origin.

The variety of sexual behavior that was found to exist by the Kinsey group was grouped under the twelve factors. Such findings (e.g., incidence of premarital outlets among urban as compared to rural respondents) are presented in charts, graphs, and tables, and the discussion illuminates the "meaning" of the findings, i.e., the findings are placed into a social context. The over-all result is knowledge of how people behave sexually. The process of description ends with this, and the process of analysis proceeds. Not only is it possible to learn what people do, but it is possible to learn about qualitative differences among their actions. To learn this, the data are "manipulated," that is, they are combined, separated, and recombined. The adding or subtracting of additional data leads to the discerning of patterns of behavior. It is not sufficient merely to describe existent behavior through singular phe-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

nomena; it is necessary to learn the *patterns* of actions. The constant manipulating of the data is performed to identify "qualitatively" different, socially meaningful sexual behavior patterns, not in the sense of socially acceptable, but in the sense that a person's behavior is meaningful to him.

Concretely, the manipulation of data to secure patterns can be shown in the following example. The Kinsey group found homosexual behavior among boys aged 8–10 (inspecting each other's genitalia, entering into mutual sexual play, or jointly masturbating) and among adult males (setting up permanent or impermanent relationships). The duration and frequency of these acts were noted separately. Suppose, through the manipulation of the data, it is found that some boys continue mutual masturbation into adolescence and, as age increases, embellish their masturbatory activities with additional types of homosexual contact, such as oral and anal activity. And suppose other boys indulge in mutual masturbation that declines in their adolescence as their contact with girls increases and heterosexual petting and other activities lead to orgasm. The quantitative change of behavior into these two different directions, that is, the different combination of particular sexual acts, leads to the identification of two patterns. These different patterns based on quantitative data are perceived as different qualitative behavior and are labeled differently. Kinsey's group identified these different qualitative homosexual patterns by different points on their scale of homosexuality/heterosexuality.

We have presented the empirical approach to the study of sexual behavior by using examples from the work of Kinsey, and by indicating the types of data the method can produce, some of the observational techniques developed, and the statistical manipulations used.

Techniques of Observation in Sexual Behavior

If empirical observation in the area of sexual behavior were to be confined to visual observation, no data, at least in the Western world, would be available. Direct visual observation is difficult to achieve, except in specific experimental situations, to which sexual behavior does not readily lend itself. Visual observation of sexual responses has been used only by physicians to learn of the changes in brain waves under coitus as recorded by an encephalograph or by experimenters, such as Masters, who have been interested in the physiology of orgasm. Observations of behavior of people in coital situations or in the human situations preliminary to coitus or other sexual activities have been rarely reported in the scientific literature.

To gain information on or about human sexual behavior, behavioral scientists use the same methods used to gain information about political, economic, esthetic, or other human behavior: indirect techniques. The major techniques used are interviews, questionnaires, content analyses, and scales. All of these techniques in the last analysis ask questions and receive answers. The answers a scientist receives are what he terms "observations."

The memory of the person asked is the sieve through which observations are made. This sieve has presented scientists with innumerable problems. Can the memory of a person be trusted even if the person wishes to tell the whole truth? Does a person tell the whole truth even if he wants to? Is there interference from unconscious sources, especially when it concerns such emotionally charged materials and experiences as sexual behavior? These questions are enormously important, but they are not unique to the field of sexual behavior. The problem exists also when autobiographies are consulted or when historical records and documents are perused. It is questionable whether a statesman in his memoirs presents the whole story, or whether he is cognizant of his "public duty" or "the image of himself" that he desires to present to future generations. The limiting condition that prevails in the behavioral sciences generally is that we can work only with the *given* and constantly attempt to assess its veracity. The methodological researches of sociologists and psychologists have created a variety of techniques whereby the veracity of responses to questions can be assessed and improved. The interested reader is referred to the technical literature on this question by Hyman (1954, 1955), Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1955), Kahn and Cannell (1957), and others.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Interviews and Questionnaires

Questions may be asked in a face-to-face situation by a trained interviewer and recorded by him. Or a respondent may receive a questionnaire through the impersonal channel of the mails and answer it in solitude. It is also possible to distribute questionnaires to a group of people who are assembled for that purpose and who complete them in one sitting.

Whether the questionnaire or interview method is used depends upon the assessment of the scientist as to which of the techniques will produce the most accurate data relative to his research problem, and what compromise will facilitate maximum results. Such factors as the availability of funds and of time, and the substantive purpose of the research, are decisive as to the observational technique to be used.

Both the interview and the questionnaire contain an organized sequence of questions so that the subject has a variety of response alternatives. In the interview situation there are, theoretically, unlimited alternatives. The interviewer may pursue a point as far as the interviewee is willing to go and the study permits. In the questionnaire there are limitations to these alternatives, and once a questionnaire is completed by a respondent, a point of no return has been reached. Thus, the interview is more flexible than the questionnaire, but in terms of substantive data, Albert Ellis (1948) found that when studying love and family relations of college girls, either method seems to be satisfactory.

The interview is frequently used as an exploratory tool, searching for relationships or dimensions of experience. The questionnaire is most frequently used when a large sample of respondents is to be surveyed to learn the extent to which a relationship is general or unique, whether it appears often or infrequently.

Content Analysis

The interview and questionnaire are not the only tools of observation available to behavioral scientists. Each time we read a novel, a letter, an article, or a book we observe the thoughts and ideas of other people. The age-old technique of assessing what the written piece of communication contains has in recent times been made more systematic and precise through the technique of content analysis.

When content analysis is used in a systematic, quantitative, and objective manner, it is possible to learn the precise content and the attitudinal direction of the content, i.e., whether the content is communicated with a favorable, noncommittal, or unfavorable tone. Content analysis can ascertain with precision the ideas and ideologies to which readers are exposed by the mass-communications media and specifically can answer questions of "who says what to whom."

Thus, Albert Ellis (1951, 1954) content-analyzed mass-media magazines to learn what types of sexual information is communicated and with what attitudes particular sexual behavior patterns are presented. Chall (1955) analyzed the reviews and articles on the Kinsey report that had appeared in magazines during 1948-1949 to learn whether representatives of intellectual disciplines reacted in the same way to the report and found, for instance, that biologists were most favorable to the report and humanists and literati least favorable.

Scales

Since people have some predispositions about sexual behavior, and predispositions to actions involve feelings as well as thoughts, the assessment of a person's attitude toward sexual behavior frequently becomes important in a research situation.

Behavioral scientists have developed attitude scales to learn not only whether a particular attitude is present or not, but also the strength and intensity of an attitude. Scaling techniques rank behavior on some criterion of "least" to "most." An important example is the Podell and Perkins (1957) Scale of Sexual Experience, which reveals the existence of "a cumulative sequence wherein a person who has participated in a 'more advanced' behavior may be assumed to have experienced the 'less advanced' behaviors." Their scale of sexual behavior is such that a "male who has had oral contact with a female breast has also engaged

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

in lip kissing, deep (tongue) kissing and manual stimulation of the female breast." Such scales make it possible to learn of the distribution of sexual experience in a population and its correlates. Those interested in the complex methodology and technique of scale construction are directed to the large technical literature on the subject as reviewed by Torgerson (1958) and others.

Conclusion

We have briefly described the development of the study of sexual behavior during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Early studies produced theories of sexual behavior emphasizing the dire consequences of negative deviations (e.g., masturbation, non-Biblical experimentation, etc.), and the unlimited possibilities of happiness of positive deviation (e.g., a new social order of free love, the coitus reservatus of the Oneida community's fame, the trial marriage advocated by Judge Lindsey, etc.). Some of the theories that were constructed in the past were grandiose in nature, encompassing all manner of sexual phenomena and leaving the essential knowledge of "what people actually do" outside their area of concern.

The empirical-quantitative method, in contrast to the grand theory of a Havelock Ellis, a Sigmund Freud, the Vaertings, or of William I. Thomas, seems dull, plodding, and unimaginative. But this method has produced tremendous advances in studying sexual phenomena by two approaches: conceptually and methodologically. Conceptually, it has created a language describing sexual behavior that is relatively free of "normative" encumbrances and connotations. It perceives sexual behavior as based less on human values traditionally defined and more on frequency and functionality. Methodologically, it has created the research tools and techniques and the logic of procedure whereby the attitudes, opinions, and feelings of large plural populations have been ascertained within a controllable margin of error.

Lest the huge amount of data secured through the empirical-quantitative method drown us in an embarrassment of riches, it is necessary to put some of these data to the test of a theory or to use them as a basis for the construction of a theory. As a ship needs a lighthouse to gain entrance to a harbor, so empirical studies need theory to guide their explorations. There is no need for an immutable or an aprioristic theory, but there is a need for a theory that is flexible to the exigencies of the subject matter and that firmly rests on the observation of "common," and not merely the "unusual," sexual phenomena. The empirical-quantitative method can lead to conceptualizing specific knowledge about what sexuality means to people. The past and some current orientations that have emphasized what the absence of sexuality (or the presence of distorted sexuality) means to a given person have neglected the construction of a much-needed theory by which sexuality can be viewed as a form of "normal sociability," and not merely as behavior through which the malsocialization of the child manifests itself.

References

Berelson, Bernard, *Content Analysis in Communication Research.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952.

Bloch, Iwan, *Beitraege zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis.* Dresden: H. R. Dohrn Verlag, 1903.

Bloch, Iwan, *The Sexual Life of Our Time.* London: Rebman, 1908.

Bromley, Dorothy D., and Britten, Florence H., *Youth and Sex: A Study of 1,300 College Students.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938.

Chall, Leo P., "The Reception of the Kinsey Report in the Periodicals of the United States: 1947-1949." In Jerome Himelhoch and Sylvia F. Fava (eds.), *Sexual Behavior in American Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1955.

Ditzion, Sidney, *Marriage, Morals and Sex in America.* New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1953.

Ehrmann, Winston, *Premarital Dating Behavior.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1959.

Ellis, Albert, "Questionnaire *Versus* Interview Methods in the Study of Human Love Relationships. II. Uncategorized Responses." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 13;* 61-65, 1948.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Charles Boni, 1951; New York: Grove Press, 1961.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Exner, M. J., *Problems and Principles of Sex Education. A Study of 948 College Men.* New York: Association Press, 1915.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Finger, F. W., "Sex Beliefs and Practices Among Male College Students." *J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol. 42;* 57-67, 1947.

Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality.* London: Image Pub. Co., 1905, 1949.

Gebhard, Paul H., Pomeroy, Wardell B., Martin, Clyde E., and Christensen, Cornelia V., *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage.* New York: Boni, 1929.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sexual Anomalies and Perversions.* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1944.

Homan, Leslie B., and Schaffner, Bertram, "The Sex Lives of Unmarried Men." *Am. J. Sociol. 52;* 501-507, 1947.

Hyman, Herbert H., *Interviewing in Social Research.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Hyman, Herbert H., *Survey Design and Analysis.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

Kahn, Robert L., and Cannell, Charles F., *The Dynamics of Interviewing.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Rosenberg, Morris (eds.), *The Language of Social Research.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

Lindsey, Ben B., and Evans, Wainwright, *The Companionate Marriage.* New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927.

Mead, Margaret, "An Anthropologist Looks at the Report." In *Problems of Sexual Behavior.* New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1948.

Moll, Albert, *Die Kontraere Sexualempfindung.* Berlin: Fischer, 1893.

Moll, Albert, *Libido Sexualis.* New York: Ethnological Press, 1933.

Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. L., "On the Psycho-sexuality of College Graduate Men." *Mental Hyg. 7;* 697-714, 1923.

Peck, M. W., and Wells, F. L., "Further Studies in Psycho-sexuality of College Graduate Men." *Mental Hyg. 9;* 502-520, 1925.

Peterson, K. M., "Early Sex Information and Its Influence on Later Sex Concepts." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1938.

Podell, Lawrence, and Perkins, John C., "A Guttman Scale for Sexual Experience." *J. Abnorm. Sociol. Psychol. 54;* 420-422, 1957.

Porterfield, Austin L., and Salley, H. Ellison, "Current Folkways of Sexual Behavior." *Am. J. Soc. 52;* 209-216, 1946.

Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* Boston: Gorham, 1918-1920.

Torgerson, Warren S., "Theory and Methods of Scaling." New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958.

Vaerting, Mathilde, and Vaerting, Mathias, *The Dominant Sex.* New York: Doran, 1923.

LEO P. CHALL

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Abortion

ABORTION is defined as the termination of an intrauterine pregnancy before the twenty-eighth week of gestation. At 28 weeks, the fetus weighs about 800 grams (1 lb. 13 oz.) and might be viable. Some pediatricians in especially well equipped hospitals succeed in keeping alive infants weighing as little as 500 grams (1 lb. 2 oz.); these clinicians consider 22 weeks as the upper limit for abortion.

About 10 per cent of all pregnancies in the United States terminate in abortion, a staggering number considering that, in 1955, the latest available date, there were four million pregnancies, four hundred thousand of which terminated in abortions.

Abortions may be divided into spontaneous and induced abortions. Laymen call spontaneous abortions "miscarriages" and erroneously associate the word abortion with illegal abortions only. The medical terminology uses both terms interchangeably.

Spontaneous Abortions

These may be caused by:

1. Pathological conditions in the fertilized ovum, due to maternal or paternal causes.

2. The abnormal development of the placenta, producing a faulty implantation of the fetus in the uterus or a decidual hemorrhage (bleeding between the placenta and the lining of the uterus); hydatiform degeneration of the placenta; or premature rupture of the membranes.

3. Congenital malformations due to intrinsic or more frequently to extrinsic factors, producing a temporarily insufficient blood supply to the fetus and effecting a temporary cessation of development.

4. Cord anomalies, such as loops, knots, or prolapse of the cord, that bring about the death of the fetus and cause a subsequent abortion.

Hertig and Sheldon (1943), in their series of observations found that 48.9 per cent of all abortions are due to pathological ova and embryos. Other scientists quote lower figures, such as Javert (1957), who reports only 34.9 per cent of abortions as caused by such anomalies. The figures of Hertig are generally accepted by the profession; therefore all other causes together can only account for the other 50 per cent of spontaneous abortions.

A precise examination of the pathological specimen frequently shows that several causative agents have been involved, and it may be difficult to determine which are primary and which secondary.

Real and Imaginary Extrinsic Causes

There are many real and imaginary extrinsic factors to which spontaneous nonrecurrent abortion is attributed:

1. A displacement or retroplacement of the uterus will rarely cause abortion. Only if the growing retroverted uterus becomes incarcerated in the pelvis and is not freed will an abortion follow. Usually nature solves the problem by spontaneously bringing the growing uterus forward.

2. Temporary endocrine unbalance in some cases is responsible for abortions. Thyroid disfunctions would especially fall into this category.

3. Laparotomies (abdominal operations)

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

for emergencies during early pregnancy might cause abortions. However, recent investigations have shown that even the removal of the corpus luteum (an endocrine functioning part of the ovary from which the ovum derived) does not necessarily affect the pregnancy. Carefully performed surgery under appropriate medication will usually preserve the fetus.

4. Radiation in sufficient amounts will definitely cause an abortion.

5. Electric shock and lightning may be a cause.

6. Alcohol, except in excess, as well as nicotine, has no effect on pregnancy, although there exists a report claiming that heavy smoking doubles the incidences of premature births.

7. Coitus as a cause of abortion is questionable, although laymen attribute abortions to it more frequently than to any other cause. This superstition goes back to antiquity. Animals supposedly do not permit intercourse during pregnancy. The physiological facts are as follows: Intercourse, and especially orgasm, evoke uterine contractions and engorgement of the endometrium and decidua (lining of the uterus), creating the possibility of a decidual hemorrhage.

The actual relationship between coitus and abortion has so far not been scientifically determined; therefore, some obstetricians advise the avoidance of intercourse during expected menstrual periods, others suggest abstinence for the first four months of pregnancy. Since very few couples follow these instructions, coitus can certainly be only a very limited contributory cause of abortion.

8. Traveling does not cause abortions. Observations of groups who traveled extensively during World War II and the Korean War showed that the abortion rate of wives of soldiers amounted to half of the average rate.

9. External traumas, including falls, seldom cause abortions. The growing fetus is so well protected that a normal embryo, in a reasonably healthy woman, is extremely difficult to dislodge. Usually only direct injuries to the uterus or traumas causing a separation of the placenta will result in an interruption of the pregnancy.

10. Dental care during pregnancy will not cause abortion or affect the fetus, but it is advisable to use local anesthesia without epinephrine, as the latter may have a sensitizing effect on the uterus.

11. Modern birth control methods do not produce abortions. The employment of intrauterine stem pessaries, used frequently in the past, not only resulted in serious infections but could also induce abortions. However, these devices have not been prescribed, in this country at least, for many years.

12. A negative Rh factor does not produce abortions. Rh sensitization plays a part only in late pregnancy.

13. A carefully performed vaginal examination does not cause an abortion.

14. Psychological factors definitely play a contributing part, but it is difficult to prove a direct relationship. Laymen often erroneously relate abortions to psychological trauma when physical causes were in fact responsible.

Classification

Clinically, spontaneous abortions can be classified as threatened, imminent, inevitable, incomplete, complete, and missed. Typical for the various kinds are the following findings:

1. *Threatened abortion*—Bloody vaginal discharge or frank bleeding occur; slight intermittent low abdominal pain may or may not be present; the cervix is closed.

2. *Imminent abortion*—Bleeding and cramping pain increase and the cervix is effaced (the neck of the womb becomes flatter).

3. *Inevitable abortion*—The membranes (bag of water) rupture and the conceptus starts to protrude through the dilated cervix.

4. *Incomplete abortion*—Part of the conceptus, usually the fetus, is expelled, while the placenta and the membranes remain in the uterus; bleeding, which may sometimes be profuse, continues. Administration of iron for anemia, convalescent regimen for one week, and a checkup after three weeks should bring about complete involution (normal state) of the uterus.

5. *Missed abortion*—The fetus dies in the uterus and a considerable period of time may elapse before its delivery. Missed abortion is often psychologically very trying for the patient. Medical induction (estrogen, progesterone, quinine, and oxytoxics) is apparently

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

valueless in shortening the interval between the diagnosis of intrauterine death and the delivery of the fetus; if the fetus is retained longer than three to four weeks, surgical intervention is indicated, though it may be quite difficult.

Habitual Abortions

Spontaneous abortions can occur either nonrecurrently or repeatedly; three or more abortions consecutively are called "habitual abortions." A single spontaneous abortion is frequently due to temporary factors, to be compared, as trivial as it sounds, to the premature fall of a bad apple. If no obvious cause for one abortion is found, the physician will suggest the patient try again.

According to Hertig, 3.6 to 9.8 per cent of all abortions are habitual. The incidence is only 0.4 per cent of all pregnancies. Habitual abortions are not accidental. In order to avoid them a complete preconceptional investigation of all aspects is mandatory. The procedure should include:

1. A conference with the husband and wife, discussing the problem and the possible results and prognosis; the obstetrical history is obtained at this time.
2. A routine medical examination, including the following:
   a. complete physical and pelvic examination;
   b. blood studies;
   c. basal metabolism, PBI (protein-bound iodine), and other indicated hormone tests (17-ketosteroids, urinary pregnanediol, etc.);
   d. hysterosalpyngogram for the diagnosis of any anatomical abnormalities of the reproductive organs. Uterus septus, uterus bicornis, double uterus, and cervical pathology, including incompetent internal os, retrodisplacement of the uterus, and fibromyomas and their relationship to the endometrium (inner lining of the uterus) are determined by this diagnostic means;
   e. endometrial biopsy;
   f. careful examination of the husband's semen. Correlations between morphological abnormalities of the spermatozoa and certain types of abortions are suggestive; the quality and quantity of spermatozoa are contributing factors, but further clinical studies are necessary before final conclusions can be drawn.

Treatment of Habitual Abortion

Improvement of the general health of the patient is essential. Weight, rest, exercise, etc., must be controlled, local and general infections eliminated, and, if tests indicate the necessity, thyroid and other hormone therapy administered.

Uterine abnormalities may sometimes be corrected surgically, such as the Strassmann operation for double uterus and the Shirodkar operation for fascial repair of incompetent internal os. The latter operation can be performed during pregnancy up to the sixth month.

Myomectomy for extirpation of myomas is rarely indicated since only submucous myomas can influence the nidation (fixation) of the fertilized ovum and the placenta.

Retroflection of the uterus should be corrected, even if it only rarely produces passive congestion. A ring, inserted preconceptionally and removed after the fourth month, is all that is necessary. The suspension operation, so fashionable in the past, is rarely indicated.

Sexual abstinence is stressed by many clinicians, less because they are convinced that intercourse per se causes the abortion than for the psychological impact it may have on the husband, making him a participant in the regimen.

Syphilis, formerly blamed as the main cause for habitual abortion, is rarely responsible, but may be the reason for prematurity and stillbirth and should therefore be treated.

In the past thirty years therapy of habitual abortion has mainly stressed the endocrinological aspects, although hormonal imbalance can be responsible for only a small percentage of the cases. Since half of the abortions are due to defective germ plasm, and all the other abovementioned factors are also contributory, the overstress of hormone therapy appears questionable.

Widely used for hormone therapy is stilbestrol, a synthetic female sex hormone introduced by Smith and Smith, which stimulates the pla-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cental formation of progesterone. The results reported by Smith and Smith were excellent; however, many authors fail to support this view and some investigators have noted only an increase in missed abortions. Recently, several clinicians have claimed success with newer progesterone-like preparations, but only in cases in which laboratory tests showed low pregnanediol levels. Kupperman, by giving patients 1,000 mg. of progesterone a day orally, succeeded in lowering the recurrent abortion rate significantly.

Vitman E was hopefully used at one time; but many clinicians doubt its effectiveness now. Vitamin C and hesperidin are used for correction of capillary permeability.

The long list of varied and apparently successful treatments poses the question to the clinician as to a possible common denominator. Actually, many critical gynecologists agree that it is frequently not the specific treatment that succeeds, but the enthusiastically employed therapeutic regimen; the results may therefore be related to the personality of the therapist and the response of the patient. For this reason, Mann (1956) and many others, including the writer, stress the psychological aspects in their treatment regimen. Frequent visits and unlimited telephone calls are encouraged. All the psychological problems of the patient are discussed. Good medical care, including correction of poor dietary habits, the taking of sufficient amounts of vitamins, and avoidance of undue fatigue, are stressed in addition to the psychological approach.

Induced Abortion

Induced abortion is defined by Gebhard and his associates (1958) as "expulsion or removal of the embryo, preceded by some intentional act by the mother or another person, before it had developed to a point where it could survive."

History

Induced abortion is as old as the recorded history of mankind and its acceptance or repudiation depends on the general social, ethical, and legal views of the particular society under consideration.

The Assyrian Law, about 1500 B.C. punished with death the woman who willfully aborted; Jewish Law penalized abortion according to the rule "thou shall give life for life."

The opinion of the ancient Greeks was divided. Plato recommended abortion and feticide as regular institutions of the Ideal State. Aristotle advised the practice of birth control in order to keep the population within the limits he considered essential for a well-ordered community, and abortion was the logical choice if birth control failed.

Hippocrates, the father of the oath every physician in this country takes, pledging "I will not give to a woman an abortive remedy," expressed the minority opinion of the Pythagoreans.

The Roman Law did not consider the fetus a human being but only a part of the mother; since it had no independent life, it could not be the object of a killing. Abortion was considered property damage and punishable as such.

This approach remained in force until, centuries later, under the influence of Christianity, the evaluation of the fetus as a human being was introduced into the legislation.

The judgment of the Christian Church also varied in the different periods of history. Tertullian, around 200 A.D. (*Apologeticus*, chapter IX) was one of the first to formulate the idea that the fruit in the womb is a human being and that therefore abortion is murder.

The belief that the fruit has a soul at the moment of conception was subsequently submerged and St. Augustine, for instance, differentiated between a "formed" and a "nonformed" fetus and considered that abortion of the latter does not constitute murder. This distinction became embodied into the canon law about the middle of the twelfth century and from then on into the laws of England and the Continent. St. Thomas of Aquinas introduced the principle that life is related to movement and that therefore life does not start at conception, but at the moment of quickening.

The importance of quickening in relation to abortion and the opinion that termination of pregnancy before quickening is no crime, or at least is a lesser crime, became part of the common law in England and influenced some laws in the United States.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has settled the question of animation on the grounds that the soul enters the embryo at the moment of conception and that therefore the gravity of the sin of abortion is the same, regardless of the time when it is committed.

Induced abortions may be divided into two categories: (1) therapeutic and (2) illegal or criminal abortion.

The dividing line between the two, as every physician knows, may be very thin, even if the prevailing law in this country is very clear—that an induced abortion is illegal, unless it is necessary to preserve the *life* of the mother.

Therapeutic Abortions

Interruptions of pregnancy on clinical grounds have declined tremendously with the advance of medicine and therapeutics. Most organic conditions are not aggravated by pregnancy, if the disease is properly managed. Tuberculosis is probably the most striking example.

Postpartum advice to women, explaining the hazards of further pregnancies, has decreased the number of cases requiring therapeutic abortions even more. This type of patient has to make the choice between birth control and sterilization or the practice of abstinence.

Indications

The most common indications for therapeutic abortions are:

1. Hypertensive renal diseases;
2. Serious cardiac conditions, such as rheumatic heart disease, not amenable to surgery;
3. Advanced tuberculosis in the first trimester, if it does not respond to treatment;
4. Malignancies of the breast and of the genitourinary system;
5. Hyperemesis gravidarum (pernicious vomiting of pregnancy), but only if there is hepatic and renal involvement. This is actually a very rare complication;
6. Thyrotoxicosis and diabetes, but only rarely;
7. Mental diseases, particularly schizophrenia, reactive depressions with suicidal tendencies, and certain psychoneuroses.

The following three indications are accepted by many clinicians, although they stretch the definition "danger to the life of the mother":

1. German measles if contracted in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy will cause serious congenital defects in 10 to 20 per cent of the infants.
2. Rh sensitization might present an argument in favor of therapeutic abortion, but our limited knowledge of the subject and our inability to make an exact diagnosis speak against it.
3. Amaurotic familial idiocy.

As can be seen, there has been a tremendous change in the indications for therapeutic abortions. During the period from 1943 to 1947, circulatory diseases, fibromyomas, and mental diseases accounted for 45 per cent of all therapeutic abortions in New York City; 8 per cent of these were performed for psychiatric reasons. In the years 1951 to 1957, mental conditions alone accounted for 46 per cent of the therapeutic abortions.

Legal Position of the Medical Profession

This shift underlines a precarious situation. The obstetrician is under terrific pressures to widen his indications, but while the "preservation of the life of the mother" remains the only legal indication, he is unable to give in and remain within the law; in self-defense, he shifts the burden of the decision to the psychiatrist, who is requested now to make decisions which, strictly speaking, are the prerogatives of the lawmakers.

The legal position of obstetricians has become so difficult that, in order to protect themselves, they have developed rules and regulations for the management of therapeutic abortions that have become continuously stricter.

Most doctors will undertake a therapeutic abortion only after consultation with colleagues in a reputable hospital. Accredited hospitals have specific regulations for such cases, requiring letters from two consultants (certified specialists in their respective fields) recommending the abortion and outlining the reasons for their recommendation. A specially appointed committee consisting of hospital staff members examines the letters and sometimes requests further tests and examinations.

However, even if the physician follows the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

above procedure, he may still come into conflict with the law, especially if a fatality occurs. On the other hand, Dr. Milton Helpern, the Chief Medical Examiner of the City of New York, states that he does not know of a single instance where a therapeutic abortion performed in an approved hospital was ever questioned in court.

Techniques of Therapeutic Abortions

The techniques of abortion can be divided into medical and surgical. At this point, only legally and professionally accepted and practiced methods are discussed. The unauthorized, dangerous, and often ineffective methods of illegal abortions will be dealt with later.

1. X-ray radiation destroys the embryo, which will be expelled within a few weeks after the exposure to radiation. However, since an unpredictable temporary or permanent damage occurs to the ovaries, most gynecologists and roentgenologists condemn this method.

2. New experiments with so-called antagonists or antimetabolites are being tried out lately in university hospitals. Antimetabolites interfere with the growth of juvenile cells and therefore with the fetus; the best-known of these drugs interferes with folic-acid metabolism. These compounds are very dangerous in uncontrolled use because, if they are not successful in killing the fetus, they will produce development anomalies that result in the birth of an abnormal child at term; an additional danger is that they may affect the bone marrow of the mother.

3. Intrauterine injections of pastes were at one time thought to be a harmless method, but soon serious complications, including fatalities from fat and air emboli, were reported.

4. Laminaria—a seaweed pencil—is widely used in Europe, but not in this country. The laminaria pencil is inserted into the cervical canal, where, on contact with moisture, it swells and gradually dilates the cervical canal. Instrumental evacuation is performed on the following day.

5. Most obstetricians in this country agree that, if a pregnancy must be interrupted, it should be done in the early months of pregnancy by the technique of dilatation of the cervix and curettage; after the third month, hysterotomy (miniature Caesarean section) is the preferred method.

Sterilization together with therapeutic abortion is often indicated; however, it should definitely not become a routine procedure, imposing a punishment on the mother.

Risks of Therapeutic Abortions

Even when therapeutic abortions are performed under ideal conditions, not all risk is eliminated. Hemorrhage, injuries, and infections do occur. In the years from 1945 to 1947, of the 3,000 patients on whom therapeutic abortions in New York City were performed, 3.9 per cent died; this figure includes patients who died from the diseases that had constituted indications for the abortion.

Late sequelae of therapeutic abortions include placenta praevia or placenta accreta in subsequent pregnancies, and sterility. The latter is rare if the surgery has been performed properly.

Endocrine disturbances arise more frequently after repeated abortions.

Psychoneuroses follow abortions more frequently than is usually suspected. The major psychological effects are frustration, guilt, fear of retaliation, and resentment or even hostility against the male partner. This fact seems the more important in view of the increasing psychiatric indications for therapeutic abortions.

Incidence of Therapeutic Abortions

Nelson and Hunter of the Mayo Clinic estimate that 18,000 therapeutic abortions are performed in the United States each year; they consider 1 therapeutic abortion in 250 pregnancies an accepted rate in a private hospital. Interestingly, the Margaret Hague Hospital in Jersey City had only 8 therapeutic abortions in 150,000 deliveries. In the years from 1951 to 1953, there were 3.5 therapeutic abortions per 1,000 deliveries in New York City.

Illegal Abortions

Incidence

The number of illegal abortions performed yearly is difficult to estimate because of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

secrecy surrounding this type of procedure and the fact that the estimate depends to some extent on the judgment of the woman—whether she was really pregnant and caused the abortion or merely brought on a delayed period.

The number of illegal abortions in the United States is estimated to range from 200,000 to 1,200,000 per year. Gebhard and his associates from the Kinsey Sex Research Institute (1958) give the following figures: 88 to 95 per cent of all premarital conceptions terminate with induced abortion; 22 per cent of all married women have had at least one induced abortion; 87 per cent of the abortions are undertaken by physicians, while 8 per cent are self-induced.

The majority of cases of illegally induced abortions come to hospitals with the diagnosis of "incomplete spontaneous abortion," and hospital doctors are in most cases either unable or unwilling to ascertain the true facts.

Legal and Moral Conflicts

The enormous number of illegal abortions makes it obvious that all strata of our society are involved and that a deep conflict exists between the legal, moral, and social theories and the *de facto* findings. Many individuals who are publicly against illegal abortions cannot, under the pressure of biologic necessities and economic realties, easily uphold the hypothetical standards involved.

There is little public interest in this country in changing the existing laws regarding termination of pregnancy, although the United States has one of the strictest definitions in the world for lawful abortions.

Our approach to problems involving sex has changed markedly in the rapidly changing world of sputniks and atomic bombs, but our public attitude toward unwed mothers remains the same and the law still stipulates that premarital pregnancies must be carried to term.

Other factors increase the dilemma. The abolition of prostitution has increased the incidence of premarital intercourse; sex education is hampered by lack of trained teachers and by many reactionary P.T.A.'s. Illegal abortion is one of the results of an education that avoids teaching how to prevent conception but encourages a hysterical rejection of premarital pregnancy.

The problem of pregnancy in the married woman can be nearly as urgent as that of the single woman. Large families, housing shortages, the necessity for the wife to contribute to the family income in order to keep up with the excessive standards of living created and advocated by Madison Avenue, the breakdown of family life, and many other factors force thousands of married women daily to seek the only solution they know.

State laws regarding illegal abortions differ. Most states punish the attempt, *i.e.*, the intent to perform an abortion, irrespective of whether or not it was actually performed. In order to punish the attempt to perform abortion, twenty-seven states require proof that the patient was actually pregnant; sixteen other states do not require such proof. The penalties for performing abortions vary greatly and may range from one year to fourteen years imprisonment. Some states provide penalties for the woman who solicits or consents to an abortion. However, no recorded prosecution of abortion under this law is recorded in the United States.

Death of a woman as a result of an abortion attempt is considered in fourteen states as murder, and fourteen other states regard it as manslaughter.

Techniques of Illegal Abortions

The lay person intending to induce abortion usually tries one of the countless abortifacients on the market before resorting to vaginal or intrauterine manipulations. These remedies have been brought down by word of mouth from generation to generation and vary from country to country and from civilization to civilization, although they are basically alike. The large number of abortifacients makes it obvious that a real abortifacient does not exist. There is no oral medication that can terminate an unwanted pregnancy without doing harm to the mother.

Most of these drugs cause an intoxication of the mother and fetus. The fetus, being the less resistant organism, may die first, obviously leaving no margin of safety for the mother. To mention any oral abortifacient means only to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

warn against all of them. Phosphorus, arsenic, lead, acids, alcohol, apiol, aloe, ergotrate, quinine, and castor oil have all been tried with tragic results or no result at all.

Most women who claim to have aborted by using drugs or herbs were either not pregnant or would have aborted spontaneously anyhow.

Mechanical abortifacients, such as hot baths, steam, hot douches, etc., are equally ineffective. Certain disinfecting tablets have been especially popular. These have caused extensive erosions in the vagina, with severe hemorrhages and kidney damage from absorption, but no abortions.

Mechanical traumas are still erroneously believed to cause abortions. Jumping, stretching, traveling on bad roads, lifting, and even hitting and massaging the abdomen are practiced with poor results.

Insertion of an instrument and rupturing the membranes is a commonly used method, practiced by thousands who are admitted daily to our hospitals as cases of incomplete abortion. Either the patient herself or another person inserts a knitting needle, or similar instrument into the cervix. If the patient is successful, the abortion starts five to twelve days later. Most people are not familiar with the internal female anatomy and much organic injury, in addition to the dangers of infection from unsterile instruments, can result. Perforation of the uterus and of the vagina, peritonitis, parametritis, and fat emboli endanger the lives of these women.

Intrauterine infusions are used with quicker but even more catastrophic results.

Notwithstanding these dangers, the number of fatalities from illegal abortions dropped in New York City from 140 in 1918 to 15 in 1951, obviously due to the discovery of antibiotics.

Solutions to the Problem

The solution to the problem of illegal abortion is not found by denying its existence. However, the multitude of questions that arise concerning any attempt to manage this problem makes an early solution in this country very unlikely.

Positive approaches to this problem have been tried by other countries who faced this issue, and their experiences might provide us with certain ideas on how to solve the situation.

Scandinavian Countries

In 1938 Sweden adopted a law permitting therapeutic abortions for medical, humanitarian, and eugenic reasons; in 1946 the law was extended to include the indication of presumptive debility. Eugenic indications are determined by a special Committee of the Royal Medical Board. Therapeutic abortions number 4 to 5 per cent of all live births.

Contrary to expectations, the abortion law has not reduced the rate of illegal abortions.

Denmark passed a law in 1939 that provides a broad interpretation of therapeutic abortion (so-called extended medical indications), including socio-medical indications in addition to the purely medical, ethical, and eugenic indications. A special board, consisting of two physicians and one representative of the Mothers Aid Society decides upon all applications for therapeutic abortions, about two-fifths of which are approved. All therapeutic abortions must be performed in accredited hospitals.

Illegal abortions continue to flourish.

Norway's abortion laws follow Sweden's pattern. Therapeutic abortions are performed for medical reasons, but social and economic factors affecting the health of the mother are also taken into consideration. A pregnancy that represents a threat to the mother's health, even if it is not necessarily a serious threat, suffices as an indication. Psychiatric indications grow in number.

The Soviet Union

The U.S.S.R. legalized abortions in 1920 and this law remained in force until 1936. Reports mentioning the complications resulting from the abortions began to appear in the early thirties; chronic ill health, ectopic pregnancies, and sterility were the complications most frequently mentioned. Articles concerned with the low birth rate and the consequent low rate of population increase made their way into the press at the same time. The question arises as to whether therapeutic abortions were discontinued for medical or for political reasons.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

In 1955, therapeutic abortions were legalized again in the U.S.S.R. They must be performed in special hospitals, where the patient remains for three days or longer if she runs a temperature.

The Russians are apparently very much interested in birth control, not, as in Japan, in order to control the population growth, but as a method of reducing abortions.

Japan

Japan legalized abortions in 1948. This law was passed as the most promising method of population control. That this method could reach the proportions it has is due to the fact that the Shinto and Buddhist religions are ethically noncommital on the subject of induced abortion, claiming that there is no moral or ethical distinction between fertility limitation before and after conception. Contraception, therapeutic abortions, and sterilization (the latter usually accomplished by Hyams' method of intrauterine electric cauterization, which seals the entrance to the Fallopian tubes) are all used extensively. In 1956, 1,159,280 legal abortions were performed. Yet one million illegal abortions were supposed to have been performed during the same year.

There are two reasons for the performance of so many illegal operations in the face of legalized abortion. First, some physicians attempt to avoid the payment of income tax, and second, the patient is saved the mortician's fee, for after the third month, the fetus must be turned over to the mortician, whose fee might be higher than the physician's. In the interests of economy for the patient, the physician frequently alters the records.

Although this large number of illegal abortions is done in physicians' offices, the mortality rate has declined considerably, possibly because the dangers accompanying abortion by a physician are smaller than those of home delivery by untrained persons.

The experience of the Scandinavian countries shows that the extension of legal indications has not abolished illegal abortions. The extreme solution of Japan is apparently not acceptable to the occidental mind. The first step must be the creation of an atmosphere where free and frank discussion is possible.

Actually, a part of the problem of induced abortion might be solved by the practice of birth control. At any rate, the future will compel us to take a stand. Population pressures and other social and economic factors may force the Western mind to look for radical changes in its moral and ethical approach to induced abortion.

References

Abortion in the United States. A Conference Sponsored by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958.

Donnelly, Joseph P., "Are There Medical Indications for Therapeutic Abortions?" *J. M. Soc. New Jersey 52;* 112-118, 1955.

Eastman, Nicholas J., *Williams Obstetrics* (ed. 2). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

Eastman, Nicholas J., "Comments to Article on Therapeutic Abortion." *Obst. & Gynec. Surv. 13;* 4, 509-517, 1958.

Hertig, A. T., and Sheldon, W. H., "Analysis of 1,000 Spontaneous Abortions." *Ann. Surg. 117;* 596, 1943.

Javert, Carl T., *Spontaneous and Habitual Abortion.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957.

Joel, Charles A., "Role of Semen in Habitual Abortion." *Fertil. & Steril. 6;* 459-464, 1955.

Gebhard, P. H., Pomeroy, W. P., Martin, C. E., and Christenson, C. V., *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958.

Mann, Edward C., "Psychiatric Investigation of Habitual Abortion." *Obst. & Gynec. Surv. 7;* 589-601, 1956.

Shirodkar, V. N., "Surgical Treatment of Habitual Abortion." *Tendences actuelles en gynecologie et obstetrique. Librairie de l'Université,* Geneva: Georg & Cie, S. A., 1955.

Smith, G. V., and Smith, O. W., "Prophylactic Hormone Therapy Relation to Complications of Pregnancy." *Obst. & Gynec. Surv. 4;* 129, 1954.

Taussig, F. J., *Abortion, Spontaneous and Induced.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1936.

Thiersch, J. B., "Therapeutic Abortion with Folic Acid Antagonist." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 63;* 1219, 1952.

GOTTFRIED NEUMANN,
M.D., F.A.C.S.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Abstinence

SEXUAL abstinence, or continence, is the practice of refraining from sexual activities. Certain religious groups demand lifelong abstinence of their priests, monks, and nuns. Our society, in addition, requires men and women of all ages to abstain from sexual activities unless they are married. Although this is fortified by laws that threaten fornicators, adulterers, homosexuals, and even minor offenders with punishment, it is honored chiefly through the fear that attaches to its secret circumvention. Practically, this moral demand cannot be enforced and the majority of men and women either have sexual experiences before marriage or after marriage has been terminated. The widespread violation suggests that the average human is incapable of permanent or even extended abstinence. Even those who have voluntarily taken the oath of celibacy do not always equate it to complete chastity. From the Catholic clergy has come the argument that "celibacy . . . does not mean chastity" and the statement that many a priest's abstinence "is no more than a painfully maintained pretense" (Robinson, 1930).

The Controversy

These facts notwithstanding, abstinence is presented as a virtue, as an ideal worth striving for, and as beneficial. As a result, many young people go through a period in which they concentrate all their energies on checking the powerful sex drive. If they do not succeed—and few do—they feel shame and guilt and they sometimes fear that they have jeopardized their health or the happiness of a future marriage. The permission to have sexual relations in the marital union does not in all instances resolve the problems that have been created by these feelings. Many girls can comply with the moral restrictions only by convincing themselves of the lowliness and ugliness of all matters sexual. When they later marry, they cannot free themselves of the disgust they had cultivated in order to fortify their chastity. The aversion, however, deprives them of any pleasure, renders them frigid, and makes sex relations a chore that they try to evade.

It is partly because of this that many psychiatrists, physicians, and students of sexology question the soundness of the moral demand. Indeed, many consider prolonged abstinence detrimental to mental and physical health. They point out that consistent suppression of the sex drive leads to emotional imbalance and that continued inactivity of the sex glands and the nerves relating to them diminishes their ability to function, often to the point of atrophy. Satisfying this innate drive by other means than its natural gratification gives rise to psychoneurotic manifestations and often to behavior that is detrimental both to the individuals involved and to society.

The opinions expressed in these two camps are so diametrically opposed that their foundations must be examined if we want to find the truth.

Benefits of Abstinence

Venereal Diseases

The most dramatic appeal for abstinence plays on fears, in particular the fear of venereal diseases. Two of these, syphilis and gonorrhea, were a scourge of mankind for several centu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ries. Although marriage is no safeguard against them, the danger of infection increases considerably with promiscuous relations, especially intercourse with prostitutes where prostitution is not controlled.

This is an entirely negative benefit, to be sure, but it is worth considering. Stekel (1930) held that it did not justify the many undesirable consequences of abstinence, since the very fear of venereal diseases made spiritual cripples of people. Freud (1924) was of a similar opinion: Just as gastric disorders cannot be combated by dispensing with food, he said, so venereal diseases cannot be done away with by eliminating sex, but only by searching for cures and prophylactics. Obviously, this is the sounder view.

Actually, such cures have been found. In 1951, the proportion of people affected by gonorrhea or syphilis was about three out of one hundred. Yet the fact that only 1 per cent of the white population but 15 per cent of the colored population were infected indicates that further improvement depends largely on education, which in some groups is still defective. The treatment of syphilis in its early stages nowadays takes from one to two weeks and that of gonorrhea from one to several days. Similarly, means have been found to prevent the affliction of the unborn baby if the mother undergoes treatment in the first half of her pregnancy. Strangely enough, the advocates of abstinence were not silenced by this progress, nor did they seem to be happy about it. On the contrary, they reacted like fighters whose weapons had been knocked out of their hands. The spread of this information, they lamented, would result in loosening the sex mores. Such an argument can only mean that health had never been their true concern. Rather, the threat of venereal diseases was merely a pretext to frighten people into the acceptance of the idea of abstinence.

Marriage

Other benefits conveyed by abstinence, according to its advocates, are its favorable effects on the marital union and on character development.

The alleged advantages for marriage, unfortunately, are always couched in such general terms that it is practically impossible to study them objectively. There is supposedly greater beauty in a union that has been entered without previous experience and experimentation, there is greater happiness and greater depth of love. How abstinence brings about these wonderful states is never explained anywhere in the pertinent literature. Surveys show that actually a great number of young men desire their future wives to be inexperienced in sexual matters, but few appreciate unrelenting chastity when it tends to frustrate their own desires. Girls do not speak readily about their ideas concerning their own sex behavior, but quite a few expect their future husbands to be experienced so that they will not be "their guinea pigs" (Beigel, 1954, 1957).

Of course, these are only opinions. Like many popular beliefs, they could be mistaken. Yet sociological studies show that the adjustment most difficult to achieve in marriage is, as a rule, the reconciliation of the sexual wishes and habits of the partners, and that sexual adjustment is made more easily when the mates are sexually experienced. Together, these findings make it quite clear that about two-thirds of all marriages would be less troubled if our society were not so rigidly opposed to premarital sexual experiences, and that the man or the woman who expects relief from cumbersome restrictions through marriage would not so frequently be coupled with a partner who turned out to be prudish, frigid, or impotent. Even if none of these disturbing phenomena were caused by abstinence, they are often the reason why, to persons so afflicted, the partner's strict chastity is especially attractive. Since, in addition, long abstinence may bring about these states, most psychiatrists are agreed that "complete abstinence is not the best preparation for matrimony and that, in fact, in many instances it defeats the ends of marriage" (Freud, 1924). Their objection is particularly applicable if one partner intends to continue abstinence during marriage. Unquestionably, two people similarly inclined in this respect can build as satisfactory a union as any other two; it is the one-sided demand of abstinence in marriage that unfailingly wrecks the union. And it does so irrespective of any rationalization for this neurotic attitude: that intercourse must not

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

take place unless it aims at procreation, or that the attempt to convert the mate to abstinence is based on its spiritual merits.

Character and Personality Development

The beneficial effects of abstinence on character and personality development are no less dubious. If it is true that the development of neuroses is furthered by abstinence when a predisposition is present, and that abstinence brings forth substitute manifestations that are not appreciated in our civilization, then it is difficult to see how it can be considered beneficial. Certainly, neither the chaotic tangle of prudery and envy that snoops with indignation in other people's intimate affairs nor the inclination to see whatever is said and done almost exclusively from an erotic angle—both attitudes typical of sexually unsatisfied people—can be set up as an ideal of good character.

Of course, these are not features that the spokesmen for abstinence like to mention. Rather, they refer to sublimation to support their claims. The term and concept of sublimation are Freudian. Sublimation is a process in which the inhibited libido is deflected toward socially acceptable outlets. It is assumed, for instance, that ethical, esthetic, and scientific interests emerge as a result of the de-sexualization of the aim-inhibited impulses. In apparent conformity with this concept, people are admonished to sublimate their sexual libido instead of indulging it. In this way, they are promised, they will become creators of culturally valued works.

On the surface this sounds plausible, once one accepts the premise. Yet such an oversimplified interpretation misses the mark. It is possible to pick out several great philosophers, scientists, writers, poets, and artists who seem to have led abstinent lives. But by far a greater number of equally illustrious persons are known to have started an active love life early and to have continued it into old age. The correlate, therefore, is not necessarily the cause. Freud himself, the originator of this concept, did not share the belief in abstinence as a creative power. According to his writings, sublimation is not a conscious process. It cannot, therefore, be commanded at will. Secondly, as he explicitly states, only part of the libido is sublimated. The proportion that lends itself to this process is extremely variable. And finally he says,

> . . . It is contended Freud writes that the conflict with this powerful impulse (sex) brings out all the ethical and aesthetic forces in the psychic life and "steels" the character; and *this is undoubtedly true of some specially favored individuals*. . . . But in by far the largest number of cases the struggle against one's sensuality consumes the individual's energy at the very time when the young man needs all his powers to establish his place and station in the world. . . . In general my impression is that sexual abstinence does not promote the development of energetic, independent men of action, original thinkers or bold innovators and reformers: far more frequently it develops well-behaved weaklings who are subsequently lost in the great multitude. . . .

In another passage, Freud warns that "the very attempts at sublimation produce neuroses or disorders" in those "who are trying to be better than their constitution permits them to be."

These observations are borne out by the many cases in which prolonged abstinence has proved injurious. All too frequently it promotes the development of hostile, acrimonious, and malicious character trends, the emergence of hypochondria, hysteria, anxiety, and compulsion neuroses. It is blamed for many instances of frigidity and psychogenic impotence, for sexual aberrations and physical disorders such as chronic prostatitis, premature ejaculation, weak erections, somatogenic impotence, chlorosis, congestion of the ovaries, and so on.

Although no statistics are available as to the frequency of such ill effects, their very existence makes the stand of those who advocate abstinence untenable. Indeed, one can only wonder that people so concerned with these matters do not seem to be aware of this fact. Of course, they are aware of it, but they pay no heed to the discrepancy between medical opinion and their own because the benefits in which they really believe lie on a completely different plane. These benefits have actually nothing to do with health, happiness in marriage, or a harmonious character development. They originate from concepts much older than scientific observation, hygiene, or rationality. These concepts come out of the ancient belief that human destiny can be managed by magic.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The Magic of Abstinence

Anthropologists have often described man's attempts to control nature's inimical forces. In primitive societies, men must refrain from sexual intercourse before they go on a journey or a big hunt, women before they sow crops or brew beer. The period of their abstinence extends from one night to a week or longer. Violation of this rule would cause the undertaking to fail; the hunters would suffer accidents, the crop would be destroyed by drought or floods. Insecure in his existence, primitive man feels that he is surrounded by hostile forces. Any power he usurps is an invasion into the realm of these spirits, any pleasure is snatched from demons or deities. To avert their envious revenge, therefore, he must sacrifice some of his possessions or some of his pleasures. Guilt, too, has its share in this magic outlook: in some of the head-hunting tribes the men must remain sexually abstinent for several days after their raids.

Strange though such ritualized forms of sexual abnegation may appear to a human being in our civilization, they are not entirely alien to our feelings of hope and guilt. Not only do children regenerate such magic thinking, not only do neurotics often regulate their lives in accordance with it, but quite normal people often secretly pledge themselves to forego certain pleasures in order to secure success in a particular enterprise or to avert a feared event.

Such private magic does not always involve the sexual need; often it concerns food or something else one cherishes, but self-denial with regard to sexual activities takes a prominent place among the offerings. This is so partly because sex involves the mystery of procreation and partly because it is the most flexible of the physiological drives. One cannot go for a long time without food, air, drink, or elimination, but the suppression of the sexual desire does not result in death or an immediately traceable illness. Moreover, having the merit of a virtue, abstinence becomes a magnificent cloak beneath which socially unaccepted tendencies, such as homosexuality, or supposedly shameful conditions, such as impotence, can be concealed. To those who, in fear of the opposite sex, of venereal diseases, of pregnancy, or of sadistic or exhibitionistic tendencies, have had to repress all libidinal urges, it gives not only the feeling of safety but also one of a superior morality that has succeeded in taming the animal in the human. All these ideas, however, are possible only because the primitive magic has, in a modified form, been implemented with our own religions and has thus become part of the cultural tradition of our society.

The sexual magic of the preliterate groups aimed exclusively at the prevention of a dreaded evil. In some of the monotheistic ideologies it took a spiritual turn. The deity was no longer to be bribed by an occasional sacrifice to favor a certain undertaking of material usefulness; rather, self-denial and relinquishment of earthly pleasures was assumed to please the god. The benefit that derived from the renunciation of wealth, comfort, and sexual pleasure lay in the hope of securing a special place in heaven. With the forcible Christianization of the West these ideas infiltrated Europe and gradually became part of all its national cultures and thus eventually also of the American.

The ideal of voluntary poverty was soon given up, but that of chastity remained. Yet this demand, too, encountered difficulties. Lifelong abstinence was not practicable. The early Christian insistence on complete mortification of the flesh had to be modified: sex relations were permitted for married people. That this concession was granted only reluctantly is quite clear from the letter that Paul of Tarsus addressed to the Corinthians. "But if they have not continency," he wrote, "let them marry. It is better to marry than to burn." Even so, later leaders were not sure that married people who made use of the privilege would not have to burn anyway. For centuries they debated the degree of sinfulness of marital love until they finally agreed that, because sex relations are necessary to procreation, they might be tolerated in marriage. Continence, nevertheless, was regarded as more meritorious.

Economic Considerations

The belief that abstinence conveys benefits is a remnant of these concepts. If its advocates allude to the advantages for marriage and per-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sonality, they are merely trying to find rational reasons to prop up a preconceived idea. But these obviously weak props could not have lasted so long had they not had additional support. Although few middle-class families would be happy to see their children choose the career of saint, the moral demand for abstinence does not completely lack in appeal. Limited to "the others," and especially to young unmarried people, it is in harmony with the economic interests of those to whom it does not apply. As long as sons and daughters are economically dependent on their families, parents may not always be able to evade the responsibility for children who might result from their offspring's premarital relations. The moral demand is a great help to them. Young people are therefore instilled with it early and thoroughly. Since the mention of materialistic, that is economic, considerations is not in keeping with the spiritual pretenses of our culture, the moral demand is the main bulwark against desires at an age when the sex drive is strong but foresight is scanty and economic conditions do not yet permit marriage or independence.

Economic considerations, however, have also altered the strictness of the original demand. In our time, it is actually uncompromising only with respect to unmarried young females. Circumvention of the taboo by the young male and by unmarried adults is more or less overlooked.

The benefits of abstinence, then, are not of this world. But this does not imply that restraint may not at times be the lesser of two evils. The economic conditions and their concomitants, such as status considerations and reputation, cannot be entirely neglected. Nor can certain physical factors be disregarded. To give birth to offspring before the reproductive apparatus is fully developed is undesirable for both the young mother and her progeny. Continence must often be advised during an illness that taxes the patient's energies. Abstinence during the period of the mate's sickness, during the later stages of pregnancy, and several weeks after delivery is obviously no more than an inconvenience. And hard though it may be to bear, persons infected with a venereal disease must curb their needs so as not to endanger the health of others.

Disadvantages of Abstinence

Sexual abstinence runs counter to human nature and therefore upsets the normal functioning of the organism. Yet, there is obviously a difference whether it is permanent and total or relative and practiced only over a short period. There is no doubt about the many instances in which it has proved to be injurious, but it is more harmful in certain circumstances and less so in others. Since abstinence may become inevitable in some instances, it seems advisable to examine these various circumstances.

To a certain extent even personal evaluation plays a role. The effects of abstinence on the sexual power, for instance, will be feared by those who intend to marry and, some day, to raise a family, but hardly by those who have decided on a life of celibacy. To them the diminution of the sex drive may indeed be desirable because it also brings relief from sexual phantasies and from the fight against temptations.

But whether it is viewed as a threat or as a promise, the ultimate effect depends on many factors. Physical impairment of the inactive nerve centers or eventual cessation of the sexual function depend on the sex, age, and constitution of the individual, on the duration of the continence, and on its completeness or relativity. In young people, abstinence is apt to increase sexual desire and to evoke an abundance of sexual imagery. This may result in inability to concentrate, irritability, insomnia, extreme nervousness, or more serious complications, the extent of the disturbance depending on the individual's drive intensity, temperament, and environment. These conditions may become so distracting to some people that they cannot work; others manage the situation without lasting consequences. Healthy people who live strenuous outdoor lives can apparently abstain for many months without injury to their systems, and even a temporary weakness of the sexual apparatus disappears on resumption of normal sex relations. In mature persons, the restoration to normalcy encounters greater difficulties than in young ones.

Intensity, Totality, and Relativity

The intensity of the sex drive has been mentioned as a decisive factor. To men and women

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

whose libido is weak, abstinence even of long duration will do little or no harm. The average man or woman can abstain for some time without injurious effect; but the stronger the drive, the shorter the period before disturbing symptoms make their appearance.

Of greatest importance, however, is apparently the completeness or relativity of abstinence. Those who advise chastity mean, of course, the denial of any gratification. Nature has provided a self-regulating device. In males, the sexual products are involuntarily emitted during sleep (nocturnal emission) or in strong excitement. Like all natural devices, however, this safety valve is imperfect. Although harmless in itself, it does not suffice to prevent somatic or psychic ill effects. In addition, in people whose aim is suppression of all sexual manifestations, this involuntary process often rouses fears or feelings of guilt. Besides, prolonged dependence on it appears to cause premature ejaculation when normal sex relations are taken up.

Abstinence is relative when substitute outlets are used to satisfy the sexual needs. Among the many possibilities, masturbation is the most frequent. Unless it becomes excessive it is innocuous. It eases the discomfort of prolonged temporary abstinence and seems to prevent serious consequences. It has, however, the disadvantage of too easy availability, and may result in a fixation, in comparison to which normal sex relations appear full of troublesome efforts. For the same reason it may become a kind of narcotic in which all frustrations can be drowned so that no endeavors are made to overcome them by appropriate action. Furthermore, it is seriously frowned upon, especially when practiced by adults. The unsatisfied husband or wife who tries to relieve his urge by masturbating is often looked upon as "abnormal" by the mate. Young people, too, well aware of the taboo, often have the feeling of being marked and thus of being noticeable to others as masturbators. Self-conscious because of their secret "sin," some become extremely shy, feel morally inadequate, and incline toward depressive moods. The real damage is done, of course, not by the self-gratification itself but by the many tales that are spread about the dangers it holds, such as impotence, insanity, and weakening of the brain or of the will power. These may cause sufficient fears to result in neurotic symptoms.

Petting that may or may not involve manipulation of the genitals is another frequent substitute outlet. It is the usual method for two people who are physically attracted to each other but cannot permit themselves sex relations. It is condemned, of course, but not beset by irrational dreads.

Disposition and Environment

The foregoing makes it clear that the physical effects of abstinence need not become manifest in all instances; it is equally evident, however, that undesirable psychological results cannot always be avoided.

Disposition seems to be of major significance. People predisposed toward neuroses are more susceptible to the ill effects of sexual frustration than others. Similarly, psychotic symptoms are sometimes precipitated through inner conflicts in persons who are predisposed in this direction. A stunting of the personality in general, the development of peculiarities in character and behavior, and a tendency toward narrow-mindedness and vindictiveness are expected, albeit not inevitable, syndromes.

Again, disposition, environment, and the degree of conscious frustration are variants that may influence the effect of abstinence. Abstinence to which one is coerced, for instance, is more destructive than voluntary abstinence. To the physical discomfort is added a sense of injustice and powerlessness, which fosters deep resentment against those who are considered responsible. This state of mind is particularly detrimental to the marital union. The normally sexed partner can hardly help resenting the denying or impotent partner. Adjustment is possible, of course, if for some reason the union cannot be dissolved, but it will always mar the personalities involved. Besides, since only the thwarted partner searches for substitutes and most of them are forbidden, it is usually the denying partner who dictates what form the adjustment can or must take. In other people, especially the young, resentment often turns into hatred of the parents, defiance of all their rules and teachings, and an enmity towards society and all its values.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

People forced to remain abstinent are naturally more likely than volunteer abstainers to seek substitute outlets. Some of these are not sought, however, but obtrude obsessively on the frustrated persons' minds. If abstinence is prolonged, such obsessive thoughts and phantasies may turn into impulsive or compulsive action and bring the perpetrator in conflict with the law. Men of mature age may molest strange women with whom they come into unintended physical contact, as on a crowded subway, for instance. Elderly men sometimes buy the favors of minors or commit the misdemeanor of exhibiting themselves in public. Thirty-two to 35 per cent of all rapes are committed by persons under the age of 21. In prisons, men and women turn to homosexuality, and violent attacks on an unwilling target are no rarity. The armed forces all over the world have found enforced abstinence a formidable problem, endangering discipline and morale. Several nations have made attempts to counteract this, some by licensing prostitution near camps, others by setting up official brothels, and still others by supplying libido-reducing drugs to their soldiers.

Voluntary abstinence is easier to bear; but in a strongly or normally sexed individual even the best motivation is not sufficient to prevent physical disorders or undesirable mental states from developing. Among the latter are neurasthenia, depressions, phobias, anxieties, and neuroses marked by compulsions.

Anything that makes the fight against temptations more difficult worsens the consequences of abstinence. Therefore, nutrition, occupation, and external conditions also become important. Overeating, alcohol, lack of physical or mental work, boredom, and anything that is sexually stimulating increase the libidinal desire and thus aggravate the psychological conflicts. Absorbing and satisfying work, on the other hand (not to be confused with sublimation), makes temporary abstinence at least more bearable.

In most persons, the intensity of the sex drive lessens as they pass the peak of maturity. But the end of the reproductive period means neither for men nor for women the cessation of all desire. If physiological features were the only decisive ones, these people could, nevertheless, go for a long time without sexual contact. There are, however, so many meanings integrated with the sexual function that, at these stages too, forced abstinence frequently either leads to psychological difficulties or speeds up their development.

Women as a group seem to bear temporary abstinence better than men but, as in the latter, it is ultimately always a question of individual constitution and personality. This, the significance of individual differences, is what the advocates of abstinence apparently cannot grasp. They beat their chests and set themselves up as models for emulation, most of them completely unaware of the havoc their proudly flaunted control of sensuality has wrought on their own personalities. For, varied though the consequences of abstinence may be, the gratification of the sexual drive is a necessity for the normally developed human, and the disregard of this necessity over a long period of time is likely to break the life impulses and thus to affect not only happiness and well-being but also physical and mental health.

References

Beigel, Hugo G., "Body Height in Mate Selection." *J. Social Psychol. 39;* 257-268, 1954.

Beigel, Hugo G., "The Evaluation of Intelligence in the Heterosexual Relationship." *J. Social Psychol. 46;* 65-80, 1957.

Blaschko, A., "Sexual Abstinence." In W. J. Robinson (ed.), *Sexual Continence.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1930.

Drummond, Isabel, *The Sex Paradox.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Psychology of Sex.* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1940.

Eulenburg, P., "Sexual Abstinence and Its Influence on Health." In W. J. Robinson (ed.), *Sexual Continence.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1930.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

Freud, Sigmund, "'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness." In *Collected Papers,* Vol. II. London: Hogarth Press, 1924.

Guyon, René, *Sexual Freedom.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, Wardell B., and Martin, Clyde E., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, Wardell B., Martin, Clyde E., and Gebhard, Paul H., *Sexual Behavior in the*

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Human Female. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Landis, Judson T., "Length of Time Required to Achieve Adjustment in Marriage." *Am. Soc. Rev. 11;* 672-84, 1946.

Reich, Wilhelm, *The Function of the Orgasm.* New York: Orgone Inst. Press, 1948.

Robinson, William J. (ed.), *Sexual Continence.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1930.

Rutgers, J., *How to Attain and Practice the Ideal Sex Life.* New York: Cadillac, 1940.

Stekel, Wilhelm, "Sexual Abstinence and Health." In W. J. Robinson (ed.), *Sexual Continence.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1930.

Taylor, W. S., "A Critique of Sublimation in Males." *Genet. Psychol. Monogr. 13;* 1-115, 1933.

Vecki, Victor, "The Dogma of Sexual Abstinence." In W. J. Robinson (ed.), *Sexual Continence.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1930.

HUGO G. BEIGEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Adolescent Sexuality

ADOLESCENCE is usually defined as the period of development in human life extending from puberty to maturity. Puberty is denoted, primarily, by certain physical, physiological, and bodily changes. These, to mention a few of those that are the most indicative, are: (1) occurrence of rapid physical growth, as of the spurt in height and weight, (2) accelerated growth of the sex organs, (3) development of secondary sex characteristics, such as the breasts in girls, and appearance of axillary and pubic hair, (4) occurrence of first ejaculation (in boys), and of first menstruation (menarche, in girls).

Sex and sexuality are words given such a multiplicity, divergence, and broadness of meanings that little or no clarity in concept results. For example, apparently the origin of the word *sex* is in Roman Catholic theology (Robinson, 1933). It derives from the Latin word for six, the number of the Sixth Commandment of the Roman Catholic faith—that is, the commandment that prohibits adultery. To the layman, "sexual" usually implies normal adult heterosexual activity, and usually and more specifically, coitus. In the Freudian view all the phenomena of human life related to pleasure-seeking are encompassed. Brown (1940), one of the more orthodox Freudians in this country, indicates that by the concept sexual is signified, "... all the behavior in which human beings come in close physical contact."

The foregoing illustrates, somewhat, the divergence in meanings attached to the word, but by no means the full extent of such variation. With such nonuniformity of meanings, no specific delineation can result. Consequently, one can go far afield in describing sexuality and especially so if one uses such broad concepts as are contained in the Freudian view. As a result, the word needs to be redefined for the sake of clarity and in order to narrow our scope.

Adolescent sexuality can be defined as the state of the human sexual life during the period from puberty to maturity. Included are those conditions of behavior, phantasy, feelings, and attitudes that have as their aim one or any combination of the following: (1) tumescence, (2) erotic stimulation of various parts of the body, (3) erotic arousal and orgasm, and (4) procreation. Practically considered, adolescent sexuality ordinarily deals with the circumstances of the sexual life of the human from the chronological age of approximately 12 to 21, with early adolescence being from 12 to 17, and late adolescence from 17 to 21.

In discussing adolescent sexuality, the emphasis is usually on sexual behavior in the nonmarital state, making the assumption that marriage is not associated with adolescence. This will be the approach here, although it is known that teen-age marriages are increasing and that at the time of the 1940 census about one-sixth of American adolescents were married.

A complete description of the sexual life during this age span would include an account of (1) motoric sexual response, both normal and abnormal, (2) the attitudes and feelings relating to sexual behavior, and (3) the psychological stimuli, antecedent conditions of motoric response and of the mental imagery that is correlated with, stimulates, or substitutes for motoric sexual activity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The sexual behavior of the adolescent includes specifically sexual motoric responses and proximal sexual motoric responses. The major types of directly sexual motoric activity that occur during adolescence are, *in toto,* equivalent to those of adulthood and are: (1) masturbation, (2) petting, (3) coitus, (4) nocturnal sex dreams, (5) homosexual contacts, and (6) animal contacts. The proximal sexual motoric responses are those behaviors of the adolescent which, although not always manifestly sexual in the sense of the foregoing, nevertheless are closely related to these activities and accomplish for the human much the same aims with respect to the sexual motive.

Knowledge about the directly sexual motoric activity of the adolescent is not yet complete or definitive and what will be described will apply mainly to the United States. However, it might well apply in broad outlines to Western civilization, for, as Udo Undeutsch (1955) has stated, "The unusually high agreement between the data of Kinsey and those obtained in Europe by others, as well as theoretical considerations, point in the following direction: *sexual activity when regarded within larger populations represents an area of human behavior which shows the largest conceivable uniformity.* Consequently the differences among population groups—especially the occidental—are in all respects unusually small" (italics the author's). Sexual behavior of the adolescent needs further study, as too little research of a controlled nature has been done with the adolescent. And what studies have been done have certainly not been representative of the population as a whole. Until the publication of the Kinsey reports, most knowledge of adolescent sexuality derived from clinical studies (usually of small numbers of delinquents). With the publication of the Kinsey reports and other studies, such as those done by Ramsey, we are in a better position to make reasonable statements about adolescent sexuality. Now we can give a rather general picture of the incidence (accumulative and active) of different types of motoric sexual response of all age ranges, including adolescence.

Kinsey (1953) has called attention to the fact that some thirty-one American studies and some sixteen foreign studies have been done that are statistical in type and serve as the best factual basis for statements about motoric sexual response. Since the publication of the Kinsey reports a few persons have been conducting small-scale studies, statistical in type, that are applicable to the period of adolescence (particularly the late period). The principal investigators are Ehrmann, Kirkendall, and the present author. In the studies of all of these persons the sampling has been small and has related principally to middle-class college students. For these and other reasons the investigations in no way compete with the Kinsey reports. Although these studies have diverse motivations, a few of the findings by these scientists tend to confirm some of the general notions put forth by the Kinsey studies.

Most of the statistical studies that serve as our best evidence for statements about motoric sexual behavior have been either questionnaire or interview studies and, of late, there has been some tendency for the better-known authorities to claim greater validity for the interview technique in the study of sexual behavior (Kinsey, Ramsey, Kirkendall). The first two researchers base their claims mainly on the fact that they have noted a trend for interview studies to show greater total incidence of sexual behaviors of the various types than has been found through the questionnaire studies.

The validity of studies of sexual behavior rests, in the final analysis, upon the ability, desire, and veracity of the informants in telling about their sexual behavior. Some cautions, then, must be adhered to in taking any general statements about sexual behavior as truth, for reports about sexual behavior are subject to certain degrees of inaccuracy. This impreciseness is due mainly to the inability of persons to state the exact facts, even if they are highly motivated to do so. This inability may arise from faulty memory, blocking of memory, or distortions of memory. The truthfulness of reports might also be reasonably questioned on the basis of motives, for persons may be motivated to overestimate or underestimate their sexual performance, being influenced to do so because of various personal, sociocultural, and other motives. Further, there is great difficulty

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

in obtaining adequate, representative samples of persons of any particular group as, for example, a sample typical of upper upper-class adolescents. Some special groups resist the scientific study of sex, and often, then, the researcher confines himself to the use of volunteers. An exception to the foregoing might be where incarcerated groups, such as delinquents, are studied. Since volunteers are most often the subjects of study, it is possible that some distortion in reports results. The evidence (slight in amount) is contradictory on this point, but a few pieces of evidence are suggestive of the fact that little or no error in report is introduced by "volunteer bias."

Taking these cautions into account and being ready to revise our conclusions if in the future more representative and more valid studies provide us with a different picture of the scope and incidence of sexual behavior, we can proceed within the limits of our present knowledge to describe the patterns that seemingly exist today.

Sexual Motoric Behavior

Male Masturbation

Albert Moll (1912), a physician-sexologist who wrote in German during the early part of the century, was willing to give the benefit of doubt to some human males. Berger, as reported by Havelock Ellis in his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* concluded that "99 per cent of young men and women masturbate occasionally, while the hundredth conceals the truth." Berger's opinion was upheld by that of Cohn (H. Ellis, 1936), and Moll stated that "the only point in dispute is whether there are any exceptions." Wilhelm Stekel (1950), psychoanalyst and student of Freud, maintained that every human male has had this experience. The evidence from statistical studies, although not confirming these opinions, tends in this direction. The following summary taken from Ramsey (1943) is suggestive of the possible truthfulness of their surmise.

"Data concerning the masturbatory experience of mature males have been reported as follows:"

SOURCE	PERCENTAGE REPORTING MASTURBATION
Dickinson and Beam° (1932)	100
Kinsey° (unpublished data)	97 (2,300 men and older boys)
Hamilton° (1929)	97 (100 men)
Peck and Wells (1923, 1925)	86 (187 college men)
Hughes (1926)	85 (1,029 boys)
Merrill° (1918)	85 (100 boys)
Taylor° (1933)	70 (40 men)
Achilles (1923)	63 (470 men)
Exner (1915)	62 (53 men)
Brockman (1902)	56 (232 older boys and men)
Bromley-Britten (1938)	7 (592 men)

° Personal interview studies.

Studies done on boys of varying ages give an accumulative incidence ranging from approximately 22 to 99 per cent. Many studies done before 1940 report the accumulative incidence before the age of 21 as within the range of approximately 70 to 99 per cent, with some few reporting an incidence of less than 40 per cent. In general the trend is for the later studies to report a greater incidence than the earlier ones. Since there is a tendency for the more recent studies to be more carefully done, the larger figures can be accepted with considerable confidence. We can conclude that by the end of adolescence the accumulative incidence (percentage who have ever masturbated) of masturbation is such that *possibly* every male has masturbated, to the point of orgasm, at least once in his life. For all intents and purposes masturbation can be thought of as almost universal during adolescence. The most extensive study (Kinsey, 1948) gives the incidence as 92 per cent by the age of 20.

For the male sex this behavior reaches its height during later adolescence (age 17-21). This is the period of life when the greatest total proportion (active incidence) of males is actively involved. During this period well over four-fifths (Kinsey, 88 per cent) of the male population masturbates with a frequency of one to four times a week (Kinsey, 1948; Ramsey, 1943), and a mean frequency of about one and a half times a week. The period of highest frequencies of masturbation is just before, however, when among those who masturbate the mean frequency is about two and a half

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

times per week. Most of the males have their first experience after the age of ten, with an estimated 13 to 16 per cent having masturbated before this age.

For a great number of adolescent males this activity precedes slightly or begins with the advent of puberty, after which time the incidence rises markedly. Boys who become pubertal earlier initiate the behavior at an earlier age and maintain a greater frequency of masturbation during the early teens as compared to those whose puberty is delayed. This group (early maturing) is also the group among whom the highest active incidence exists at all ages during adolescence, and by late adolescence nearly 100 per cent have masturbated. During the early teens active incidence is greatest among those of low social level, who attach little value to education. But in later adolescence the active incidence is highest among those of higher social levels, who attribute value to prolonged education. Social level appears to affect the frequency more so than the incidence of masturbation. Kinsey discovered the curious phenomenon that those "destined to go to college"—even if living in an environment of low socioeconomic status—masturbate at all ages during adolescence with greater frequency than those who are destined to stop at the maximum of grade-school or high-school education. He reports the frequency during the period from puberty to age 15 as being, respectively, 1.8, 2.2, and 2.7 times per week for those who will attain grade-school, high-school, and college level, respectively.

With approaching maturity masturbation tends to become less and less a preoccupation of youths of all age levels and social classes. Of course, throughout adolescence there are males who masturbate, and masturbation, considering all individuals together, remains the primary sexual outlet during adolescence. However, by the late teens the incidence of both petting and coitus increases considerably and the frequency of masturbation drops markedly from the period of early adolescence, when about two-thirds of the adolescent's sexual outlet to the point of orgasm is by masturbation. In the late teens the boys of the lower social classes and those who come from lower educational levels tend to concentrate more and more on coitus. However, those of the higher social levels, who are the more likely to become part of the college group, begin to concentrate on petting as a source of erotic arousal. For all adolescents considered together, however, masturbation still leads all other forms of sexual behavior as a source of orgasm.

Female Masturbation

It appears that a smaller proportion of females as compared to males have had the experience of masturbation during the teens. Few studies deal with the period of adolescence, per se. Usually when the accumulative incidence of masturbation in the female sex is reported, the statistic has been derived from reports of adult women reporting statements in which they recall the facts about their adolescent activity. Such reports of accumulative incidence frequently vary from 9 to 80 per cent, with the majority of the studies giving figures clustering in a range of approximately 30 to 60 per cent. The Kinsey report is almost alone in giving incidence figures derived from any large numbers of adolescents themselves. These are such that it appears that some 12 per cent of girls arrive at puberty (age 12) with the experience, while by late adolescence nearly two-fifths (40 per cent) have had the experience. The figures of other authorities giving data on the proportion of females who arrive at puberty with the experience vary from 12 to 20 per cent.

During any particular year during adolescence smaller proportions of girls as compared to boys have masturbated (total incidence) and are masturbating (active incidence). Kinsey (1953) reports that probably no more than 20 per cent of the female population masturbates at any particular age. He also indicates that, "Many males, projecting their own experience, are inclined to overestimate the incidences and frequencies of masturbation among females." He thus tends to discount the subjective estimates of many early sexologists who frequently wrote without reference to statistical data. Such authorities, to name a few, are Kisch, Stekel, and Haire.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Contrary to the finding with boys, there is no definite trend for girls who reach puberty earlier (or who menstruate earlier) to initiate masturbation at earlier ages or to maintain it at a higher frequency than those who mature late. The young women who are destined to go to college are more accepting of masturbation as a sexual outlet in their late teens as compared to those who will conclude life with the minimum of education. In the early teens, however, the accumulative incidence of masturbation among the various social and educational groups is relatively identical.

In the late teens, especially, girls from the lower social levels and educational backgrounds turn to coitus and away from masturbation as a type of sexual response. Those who will go to college, compared to those who accept other educational levels and are from lower social backgrounds, consider masturbation more desirable than coitus. Consequently, for them, masturbation becomes a major source of sexual stimulation. Particularly is this trend true up to the age of 15 (Kinsey, 1953), when as much as 90 per cent of the total release to orgasm is through masturbation (it is approximately 50 per cent for the grade-school level at this age). This trend for the college-destined girl continues through to maturity for the single girl, and at almost any age or year she achieves more of her outlet in orgasm from masturbation than those girls of lower social level and educational promise. By late adolescence girls of all social levels become more accepting of coitus. However, its incidence is still relatively low among girls of all social levels, even in late adolescence.

As is the case with boys, petting and coitus are the two major activities that tend to displace masturbation, when both accumulative and active incidence are considered. At practically all ages, not only are the incidence and frequency of masturbation for females during adolescence much less than for males, but it is a much more sporadic activity. Among girls greater individual differences in frequency exist and the range of variation is much greater. Some girls report a frequency of masturbation as little as once or twice a year, while others may masturbate as many as ten to twenty times a week. The modal frequency is probably less than once a month.

For all adolescents adherence to a strict religion (devoutness) has a restraining effect upon masturbation, affecting total incidence, active incidence, and frequency. Its restraining effect, in general, appears to be greater upon girls than boys.

The techniques of masturbation, of course, vary somewhat as to sex. But the techniques employed by adolescents are, in the main, no different from those employed by adults. Genital manipulation by hand is the most frequent technique employed by both sexes. Vaginal insertions are sometimes employed by girls. Thigh pressure is a little less frequently used by girls than vaginal insertions. Boys, however, seem to be almost unaware of this technique as a means of inducing orgasm, although it is effective in the male sex also. A few girls rub their vaginal areas against objects such as pillows, bedclothes, covers, edges of chairs, and the like. Similar techniques are infrequently used by boys, who rub their genital organ against bedclothes, pillows, and the inside of mouths of bottles and other holes (Ramsey, 1943).

Petting

As yet there has been, as Ehrmann (1957) points out, little research into petting. But from what evidence we have we can safely say that petting is another motoric sexual behavior that is extremely frequent among adolescents of both sexes. The accumulative incidence of petting during the adolescent period is high. By the end of the period of adolescence the great majority of males and females have engaged in petting and some authorities, such as Ehrmann and A. Ellis, describe its incidence as being universal. Again, as with masturbation, the hypothesized total incidence is 100 per cent. The trend is for later, more extensive studies to report a higher incidence than earlier ones.

The varieties of petting techniques ("... any sort of physical contact which does not involve a union of the genitalia but in which there is a deliberate attempt to effect erotic arousal"—Kinsey, 1948) are numerous in adolescence

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and are most extensively described by Kinsey, especially on pages 251–259 of the volume on the female. One also can get a good picture of the techniques by reading the studies by Ehrmann (1952) and the author (1959). Of the male sex, very few persons have had a petting experience before puberty. However, a sharp rise occurs in the accumulative incidence of petting at about the age of 13 for both sexes. There is a steady increase into late adolescence in the numbers of persons of both sexes who pet, so that by late adolescence the preponderant majority of adolescents have petted, 88 per cent of the boys and approximately 88 to 91 per cent of the girls by the end of age 20, according to Kinsey (1948, 1953). The highest frequency for the male sex appears to occur after the age of 21. For both sexes late adolescence appears to be the period of highest active incidence, when one-quarter of the girls and one-third of the boys are actively involved to the point of orgasm.

At this period of life over eight-tenths of the girls and nearly all the boys are petting, perhaps not to the point of orgasm but with varying degrees of erotic arousal. The petting of girls is more sporadic than that of boys and estimates as to the frequency of petting among them are much less certain. As in the case of masturbation, there are great individual differences among girls, according to the situation of the particular girl and what time span in her life is being considered. For example, a specific girl may pet three or four times in one evening with several or more partners, and again the same girl in another time period may not pet for weeks or months.

In some subgroups of the adolescent population nearly all of the adolescents have petted. This is particularly true of those who have experienced their adolescence since about 1930 and certainly those of present generations; and also for those adolescents who are of higher social levels and who appear destined to go to college. For this group of male adolescents the accumulative incidence by late adolescence is at least 94 per cent and its active incidence and frequency become such that it begins to compete with masturbation as a source of sexual arousal. For boys of lower social levels, however, by late adolescence coitus rather than petting competes strongly with masturbation and becomes the preferred source of erotic arousal. Its accumulative incidence in this group nears 100 per cent and its frequency and active incidence are such that approximately seven-tenths (85 per cent of the grade-school level is active) of the outlet in orgasm is being provided by coitus. In the college group, where active incidence nears two-fifths after the age of 20, the proportion of outlet in orgasm by means of coitus is near 20 per cent. In the college group, where after the age of 20 active incidence nears 40 per cent, the proportion of release in orgasm by means of coitus is near 20 per cent.

For the female adolescent, there is not as definite a relation between educational level or social level and petting experience, in terms of report of accumulative incidence. The incidence of petting at almost any particular age is almost as great among those who are destined to go to college as among those whose parents come from a laboring class.

For both sexes there is little or no relation between onset of puberty and incidence of petting. Many girls and boys have been pubertal for a few years before they start to pet. However, there is a relation between religious upbringing and the accumulative incidence of petting, although for girls the relation appears to be slight at any age and particularly during the years of early adolescence (before 15), when the difference between the devout and inactive is slight. There is one exception, and that is where petting to orgasm is concerned. Here devoutness affects the activity, petting to the point of orgasm being more frequent among the girls who are religiously inactive. The accumulative incidences and frequencies of premarital petting among the devout and inactive groups are not great where male youth are concerned and especially is this so at late adolescence.

From what studies have been done, some rather clear historical trends are evident with respect to petting. Adolescents today are petting at an earlier age and the accumulative incidence and frequency of petting among today's adolescents are greater than was true of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the past (Terman, 1938; Kinsey). Truly, petting can be called a phenomenon of present-day youth, as almost all of today's youth is experiencing it. Its total incidence and its frequency have increased in present-day generations. Also, there is some evidence, as Kinsey has suggested, that today's youth is elaborating the techniques of petting. For these reasons it is a sexual activity that has received much attention and in all probability it merits further study. Present-day adolescents have learned to employ petting as an end in itself, and for many adolescents it is the method of achieving heterosexual orgasm or heterosexual satisfaction in a sociosexual context where, frequently, coitus can be avoided.

Kinsey has spoken much about petting as serving as a substitute for coitus. There is evidence that more elaborate techniques of petting have been and are being generated by present-day adolescents (Reevy, 1959a) to serve as substitutes for coitus. Vestured genital apposition and coitus is one of these techniques. This is a petting technique that seems to be more frequent than, for example, genital apposition, cunnilinctus, etc. The author has given statistical evidence for the existence of this behavior and defined it as erotically stimulating sexual behavior in which coitus is simulated by the male apposing his clothed genital area to the clothed genital area of the female while in the horizontal position, male usually prone, female supine, both or either moving the body in coital-like movements.

All the techniques that in married life are called the techniques of foreplay and that are possible preludes to coitus are employed by adolescents as petting techniques. These, to mention only a few, are kissing (deep), breast and genital petting, mutual masturbation, cunnilinctus, fellation, and genital apposition. Of these kissing, breast and genital petting, and mutual masturbation are the most prevalent. As Kinsey (1953), Ehrmann (1952), Podell and Perkins (1957), and the author (1959a) have indicated, these behaviors find a hierarchial acceptance among adolescents, with kissing being almost universal and the incidence of such behaviors as fellation and cunnilinctus being quite low.

Premarital Coitus

Considering both sexes together and without reference to any other factor, such as age, social level, or religious upbringing, coitus (premarital) is one of the major motoric sexual activities of adolescence. The accumulative incidence as well as the active incidence of coitus in the male sex is high. The late teens is the period of the highest active incidence for the male sex, when almost three-fourths are involved (Kinsey, 1948; Ramsey, 1943). The accumulative incidence of premarital intercourse during adolescence reported in other studies varies from 2 to 60 per cent, with many clustering in a range of 40 to 60 per cent.

Some people are very surprised to learn that single adult males are less active in heterosexual coitus than the older teenager, whose mean frequency of intercourse (according to Kinsey) is about one and one-third times a week, and even less active than the early teenager (less than 15), whose frequency is about twice a week. At any age the highest active incidence of premarital intercourse is among those boys who come from (or are destined for) the lowest educational and social level. At about age 15 those with potentiality for the least education have experienced considerable intercourse and the active incidence in this group is about one-half, while among those who are destined for college-level education the incidence is approximately 10 per cent. At age 21, or near the end of adolescence, the respective incidence figures are approximately eight-tenths (85 per cent) and four-tenths to one-half. For the population of adolescents (male) taken as a whole, the accumulative incidence figures rise steadily with age.

Of all the sexual behaviors so far considered, none is more influenced than coitus by cultural influences, such as those reflected particularly in social level and social-class upbringing. Social level is a factor affecting incidence of coitus so markedly that by late adolescence almost all of the boys of the lower social levels but not nearly so many of the higher social classes have experienced intercourse. Approximately one-half of the college-destined, three-fourths of those who have reached the high-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

school level, and eight-tenths of those who have stopped at the grade-school level have experienced heterosexual coitus by the end of adolescence.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of one-third (range of one-tenth to three-tenths, according to Ehrmann, 1957) of the female population has experienced premarital coitus by the end of adolescence. Accumulative incidence as reported in other studies varies from 7 to 87 per cent, with the majority of them reporting an incidence clustering in the range between 30 and 40 per cent. In the mid-teens a greater proportion of girls from the lower social levels has had intercourse as compared to girls from higher social backgrounds, but the differences are not marked and certainly not as great as in the case of boys. Toward the end of adolescence the gap between the social classes, where the female is concerned, becomes less wide, and after 21 or thereabouts there is virtually no difference. In the instance of the male adolescent the accumulative incidence of coitus takes an upswing at about the age of 13, just as in the case of masturbation, while the accumulative incidence in the female grows *gradually* over the period of the adolescent years within a much narrower range. Generally, perhaps twice as many boys as girls have experienced premarital coitus by age 21.

In the male, early puberty is related to greater active incidence in coitus at an earlier age, but in the female the relationship, if it does exist, is slight. Here again we see a trend that was found in both sexes relating to masturbation.

As in the instance of masturbation, religious background is a factor relating to total incidence of premarital intercourse. Also, its active incidence and frequency are found to be less in both sexes among the devout of all major creeds.

For the female adolescent, particularly, premarital intercourse tends to be a sporadic affair. For her it is relatively rare in frequency (under age 20, once in five weeks, over 20, once in three weeks), and rare in another sense. Most premarital intercourse for adolescent girls appears to be experienced with a limited number of partners of about their own age. Many adolescent girls who have histories of premarital coitus will have one contact with as many as five weeks intervening before there is another. And the majority (over one-half) have intercourse with one person who later may become their spouse. The great majority have intercourse with fewer than five persons.

For the female sex, taking all adolescents and the entire period of adolescence into account, masturbation remains the primary activity throughout, with premarital petting and premarital coitus having about equal status during late adolescence (17-21). As maturity is approached coitus gains considerable ascendancy over petting. For the male sex masturbation is the major sexual activity during early adolescence, with coitus being second in order. At late adolescence coitus becomes the activity of major importance and masturbation is relegated to second place. In terms of outlet to orgasm, petting, for the male sex considered totally, in no way competes with either of the foregoing at any age.

Adults have always been curious about where petting and coitus take place. Today it is much the same as it was in the day of Havelock Ellis. He maintained that the majority of girls lose their virginity in the homes of their parents. Most of the petting, according to Kinsey (the author has confirmatory data), probably occurs in the girl's home, in the male's home, in the automobile, and in rented rooms or other rooms where the girl lives. Likewise, a great proportion of premarital coitus takes place in the female's home, in other domiciles, or in cars. Apparently the patterns of sexual motoric behavior of adolescents are developed before young people leave home (as for example, to go to college) and these patterns develop under their parents' "watchful eyes." Fears that their offspring will behave in markedly different ways sexually, once they leave home, are largely irrational.

Nocturnal Emissions and Nocturnal Dreams

When judged against the yardstick of their importance in contributing to orgastic release, neither nocturnal emissions nor their counterpart in the female, nocturnal dreams, are really

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

important. Kinsey estimates that nocturnal emissions contribute about one-twelfth of the total sexual release in orgasm in the early twenties for the male and nocturnal dreams never any more than 2 per cent for the female. Total incidence for the male is 78 per cent by age 21 and less than 10 per cent for the female. The peak of occurrence of nocturnal emissions in the male is in the late teens, but for the female the peak in the incidence of nocturnal dreams does not take place until after adolescence. As to numbers of persons who experience these activities, Kinsey tells us that in the late teens approximately 70 per cent of the males are having orgasms in dreams while probably less than 10 per cent of the females are.

For both sexes there is practically no relation between socioeconomic level (as exemplified by father's occupation) and the onset of nocturnal dreams. For the female sex there is little or no relationship between the beginning of puberty and the occurrence of nocturnal dreams. But for the male nocturnal emissions tend to occur a year or two after the beginning of adolescence. The educational level a girl will finally achieve has little bearing upon the commencement of nocturnal dreams. But in the male there is a definite, positive relationship between the educational level that will be attained and the occurrence of nocturnal emissions. Before the age of 15, 70 per cent of the college-destined boys are already experiencing nocturnal emissions, compared with 25 per cent of the boys who will conclude life with only the lower levels of education. Near the end of adolescence 91 per cent of the college-level boys and 56 per cent of the boys of lower educational levels are having nocturnal dreams. By the end of adolescence the accumulative (total) incidence of nocturnal dreams is nearly 80 per cent for the male population at large; and 67.5, 80.8, and 94.5 per cent for the grade-school, high-school, and college levels, respectively (Kinsey, 1948).

Homosexual Activity, Animal Contacts

Relatively few adolescents of either sex are involved in actual or "true" homosexual activity. Homosexual relationships of a rather permanent type in which the liaisons approach or resemble the relationship of a heterosexual type in degree of attachment or involvement are relatively rare. Also, animal contacts are uncommon in this period of life. Of course, some adolescents at any age are involved in such activities sporadically and for brief periods of time. By the end of adolescence about 20 per cent of the male adolescents have had an active homosexual erotic contact of such a type as to induce orgasm, while about 3 per cent of the girls have experienced the like. Approximately three times as many girls have had homosexual contacts of a relatively uninvolved, fleeting, social variety than have had homosexual contacts of such a degree of involvement as to induce orgasm. About two-fifths of the boys (by late adolescence) have had occasional casual homosexual experiences.

Though homosexual contacts during adolescence are of social significance, and though there are severe social, legal, and moral strictures against them, they in no way compete with petting, masturbation, coitus, or nocturnal sex dreams as a sexual activity of youth.

Animal contacts for both sexes are extremely rare during adolescence, both in accumulative incidence and in frequency. Probably less than 2 per cent of the total population of female adolescents and no more than 6 to 8 per cent of the males have had this experience. However, adolescence is the period of the most frequent animal contact for the male and female sex. The frequency of animal contacts among the males is practically nil in urban areas but is considerably higher on farms, where as many as 40 to 50 per cent (Kinsey, 1948) of the farm boys have been in such proximity with animals. Among girls, the contacts seem to be confined to household pets, mostly dogs, touching of the animal's genitalia being one of the more frequent sexual responses made by girls. For the male, masturbation of the dog is a frequent type of conjunction with the animal.

When adolescent sexuality is considered *in toto,* these activities are relatively unimportant because of their low incidence in the total population and because of the infrequency of the specific acts in the histories of those persons who have had any experiences of this type. However, these activities are socially significant, undoubtedly, because of the social and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

moral indignation and psychological turmoil that is aroused when persons are identified as having been involved in such behaviors. Further, most of the states have laws that prohibit such sexual contact and in some cases the penalties are most severe. From this standpoint they receive more attention than is warranted.

Proximal Sexual Activity

A second class of adolescent motoric sexual behavior is that of the proximal sexual motoric type. There exists a class of sexual behavior not always considered as falling in the domain of sexuality, either by the layman or even by many scientists. Therefore this class of activity needs to be defined.

Adolescents take part in many behaviors that are linked with the sexual motive and its aims as previously indicated. These are actions that may (1) stimulate, (2) be antecedent conditions for, (3) substitute for, or (4) be disguises for directly sexual motoric activity. These activities are termed proximal sexual by the author because they are *near to* or closely resemble the directly sexual motoric responses previously discussed in that they are motoric, related to the sexual motive, and have the same or nearly the same aims. These activities often serve the same functions as adolescent sexual phantasies, which can also (1) stimulate, (2) be antecedent conditions to, (3) substitute for, or (4) act as disguises for the directly sexual motoric responses.

Many adolescents of both sexes are attracted to rock and roll dancing. A number of adolescent girls spend time outfitting themselves with tight brassieres, tight sweaters, panty girdles, or special brassieres (to illustrate, ones with holes in the middle so that the bare nipples may jut into the cloth of a tight sweater). Further, they wear tight jeans, toreador pants, or underclothing that may rub the genital regions or, in a highly sexually conscious culture such as ours, draw attention to the buttocks, genital regions, or other parts of the female anatomy. Many adolescent girls strut about when wearing this singular apparel in front of or in places where adolescent boys may view them. Some adolescent girls purchase and wear special, "fancy" panties, which may be highly colored, lacy, crocheted elegantly, or cut in unique ways. These may be worn when they look forward to a special, somewhat premeditated petting session with a certain boy or when the aim is less specific than this, as for example when they are "just going to be downtown."

Adolescent boys outfit themselves in special wardrobes and garb, too. The wearing of particular cuts of trousers, of singular cuts and types of jackets, of certain styles of haircuts (as "ducks' asses"), of long chains, of especial brogue shoes, and the like is behavior that has a sexual significance. Also, they indulge in particular bodily movements, mannerisms, or lingo with which to flirt and to quip with the girls.

Little is known of the true sexual significance of these behaviors as virtually no empirical statistical research has been done in this area. Kinsey, in Chapter 16 of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* presents some data about behaviors of a type related to that under discussion. He indicates that certain patterns of behavior are acquired that lead an individual to react positively or negatively to various classes and types of stimuli. More so than those *actions* discussed by Kinsey, the proximal sexual behaviors appear to be responses that occur in a social situation that has some potentiality for becoming a sociosexual setting. These responses have an effect of stimulating sexual phantasy, sexual emotions or feelings, or directly sexual motoric activity in a second person or one's self.

Taking girls as an example, the wearing of tight sweaters that accent the breasts, or of individually fitted skirts that accent the region of the mons veneris in such a way, for example, as to outline a V shape near the sexual regions, may serve a variety of purposes or aims depending on the individual psychological make-up and preferences for action of the particular girl. It should be pointed out that the girl may be unaware of, or not clearly aware of, the motive for some of these choices.

For one young girl such conduct may be a way of arousing the young boy to further heterosexual responses. The result may be that a boy will interact with her, stimulate her, and bring about direct physical sexual response. For another it may serve as a means of achieving

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

some sexual satisfaction without provoking too-advanced petting or coitus on the part of the male, both being sexual activities of a directly motoric sexual type which may be taboo for her. The sexual satisfaction for this girl may come by way of a complicated process, one example of which (though there might be many others) could be the following. The proximal sexual activity that she initiates has several effects, some upon her and some upon the male. Her sexual phantasies, emotions, and other classes of sexual responses are stimulated, as are the sexual phantasies, emotions, and sexual approach behavior of the male. The reacting human is an integrated complex of phantasy, feeling, and sensorimotor potential for response.

Although one girl may become conditioned to respond erotically with orgasm only if there is actual physical stimulation of the erogenous zones, the girl just being discussed may respond sexually only if a more complicated series of events (reactions) takes place in a chainlike manner. She dresses in a sexually provoking manner. This elicits sexual phantasies, feelings, and some partial sexual responses in her, and perhaps partial tumescence which she would perhaps call, introspectively, a "warm feeling." The male viewing her responds in like manner, perhaps with sexual phantasies and partial erection. He may begin to pet her if the sociosexual setting is environmentally and culturally appropriate. The combination of all these responses in either or both is perhaps enough to bring about (in some instances) sexual orgasm on the part of one or both. The latter response would sometimes, and in some cases, serve the aim of ultimate sexual release without the girl having to think of herself consciously as seriously violating the mores and without having actually been involved in heavy petting, or coitus, which she may fear or wish to avoid. Analogous behavior on the part of the male can achieve the same or similar ends for him.

Feelings and Attitudes Toward Motoric Sexual Behavior

In view of the fact that masturbation is for male adolescents the major source of sexual outlet during early adolescence (estimate of active incidence 92 per cent by late adolescence), with approximately three-fourths having initiated the activity during early adolescence, we can assume that masturbation is not causing untold conflict in the general male population, at least not enough to stop it. There appears to be a considerable change in the attitude of present-day adolescents toward this behavior from that of adolescents (particularly male) of previous generations. Also, there seems to have evolved a change in the sociocultural attitude toward the behavior, as well as a change in the attitudes of many professionals, such as educators and physicians.

From what little statistical evidence we have, it appears that in the 1900's, 1920's, and as late as the 1930's the great proportion of male adolescents believed that masturbation had deleterious effects. In studies done before 1940 the majority of boys gave evidence of being concerned over the possible harmful physical and mental effects of masturbation. In one study done by Pullias (1937), 82 per cent of male adolescents thought its effects were noxious and as many as 16 per cent thought insanity could be the direct result. This is not entirely surprising, for these adolescents and their parents were brought up on literature, purporting to be "scientific," that supported such beliefs. As Kinsey (1948) and Ramsey (1950) point out, the *Handbook for Boy Scouts,* all editions from 1911–1945, and many pamphlets (some written by physicians, sexologists, etc.) wrote explicitly about such effects—usually without presenting empirical evidence.

Today, however, psychiatrists, psychologists, and physicians rarely make statements stressing the harmful physical or mental effects of masturbation. The attitudes of many of these professionals are so "enlightened" that theologians and clergymen voice considerable annoyance at them for not stressing moral effects. As a direct result of the changes in attitudes among many professionals who work directly with sexual problems, fewer adolescents are taught that physical and mental deterioration result from masturbation. Although it is reasonable to assume that fewer adolescents have masturbatory guilt, many still have fears and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

worries that masturbation will produce physical and mental harm.

Kinsey points out that the adolescents of the higher social levels (among whom masturbation is the more frequent) are better able to rationalize their feelings on the basis of the facts that today's scientific literature has provided them. Since they are often taught that no deleterious effects result therefrom, they feel freer to masturbate and perhaps are *driven* toward this outlet as they apparently have strong social taboos against intercourse. Adolescents of lower social levels, who have strong taboos against masturbation and who consider it somewhat perverted and unnatural, rationalize their greater coital activity on the basis that this is more "natural." These boys are more likely to believe that masturbation will cause physical harm, wear one out, or "drive one crazy." Girls of lower social levels also consider coitus more natural than masturbation and tend to give up the masturbatory activity of early adolescence.

Generally, however, in the female sex, where much smaller proportions report having masturbated, there still remain rather strong attitudes that masturbation is a despicable habit. Several persons who have attempted to study extensively this behavior in the adolescent female have learned that it is a behavioral act about which these adolescents are the most reticent, and that they experience the most discomfort when verbalizing or writing about it. In a questionnaire study done by Wolman (1951) in Israel, many female adolescents left the questions about masturbation unanswered, although they answered questions about premarital intercourse, petting, etc. In a study done by the author, many girls of late adolescent age gave evidence of the fact that they were uncomfortable while talking about masturbation. They talked more freely about all the other types of sexual behavior. Of those who had experienced masturbation, a majority reported that they had felt "unworthy" because of their masturbatory activity. A near majority admitted to having felt guilty about this behavior. Considerable proportions of these adolescents believed that the girl who masturbated excessively could be distinguished from the girl who did not masturbate. They were of the opinion that such a person could be identified by certain covert, revelatory behaviors. This belief may have been a projection of their own guilt feelings about this behavior.

Petting has not only considerable behavioral acceptance, but also considerable attitudinal and emotional approval among youth. Very few adolescents of either sex believe that kissing (light petting) should be delayed until marriage. Over 90 per cent of both sexes believe that kissing is an appropriate activity in the very early stages of dating (Drucker, Christensen, and Remmers, 1952). Petting is an almost universal activity during adolescence and considerable numbers of male and female adolescents express the attitude that heavy petting need not be delayed until marriage. About one-third of the females and two-thirds of the males are of this view. However, the proportion of adolescents actually involved in heavy petting is greater than that allowing it as an acceptable activity. It would seem that, because of the discrepancy between those (total incidence) involved in petting and those who express the foregoing attitude, considerable numbers are in conflict about the behavior. Girls who pet (and who may still be in conflict about the behavior) apparently are motivated to pet in order to (1) please the boy, (2) attain or retain popularity, (3) avoid censure by the peer group, and (4) find acceptance through sexual behavior for felt insecurity of various orders.

The conflict over differences between attitudes and behavior becomes more clear when premarital intercourse is considered. Here the double standard with respect to sexual activity, which is patent in our society in adult life, becomes more clear among youth. And youth echoes the attitudes of adults. Considerably greater proportions of young women than of men believe in the concept of premarital virginity, and the majority cleave to the conservative standards. The female adolescent is a little more demanding of premarital virginity for the female than for the male. When those adolescents who are having intercourse before marriage are questioned about their attitudes on this point, almost all of those whose activity is with the person they expect to marry say that the sexual intercourse is serving as a bond

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

to strengthen their emotional relationship (Burgess and Wallin, 1953). Several studies indicate this trend.

When, however, one looks more closely at the nature of the relationship between the coital partners, things are different. According to an authority (Kirkendall, 1958) who is studying this particular aspect of sexual behavior intensively (*i.e.*, the effect of premarital intercourse upon human interaction), premarital intercourse in the majority of cases adversely affects the relationship between the persons involved. In his analysis, in this culture, since premarital intercourse is taboo, many young people have difficulty in honestly expressing their feelings and motives with regard to having intercourse with each other. Often young girls, to use the language of Reisman (1954), are "other directed" and, as in the case of petting, involved in order to please the date, in order to gain and maintain popularity, or because of fears of various kinds, such as fear of being ostracized by some group or of not being accepted for felt inadequacies in other areas.

Young men, especially those of the lower class, are more accepting of premarital intercourse, behaviorally and attitudinally. And many young men may exert considerable pressure upon girls for sexual intercourse. The motives for such behavior are frequently (1) desire to prove manhood, (2) pursuit of the hypothecated drive, "needed sexual release," *i.e.*, fulfilling of the belief that the male has a need to expulse or get rid of semen, and (3) pursuit of the belief that boys are more sexual than girls, with the consequent attempt to live up to the "level of aspiration" held up to boys by peers, societal propaganda, and the like. The young men, if of a middle or high social class, show a tendency to fulfill these motives by having intercourse with girls of a lower socioeconomic status than their own and are likely to stop at petting with girls of their own social class. This attitude and behavior on their part have given rise to the theory that in our culture the youthful male is sexually exploitative, seeking to "force" sexual relations with girls lower than himself in social status and having a relationship of sexual dalliance with them (Kirkpatrick and Kanin, 1957; Hollingshead, 1949). Recently, this theory has been criticized as a false explanation of the facts and another theorist has advanced the notion that girls of a lower social class may be making themselves more available to men of a higher social class in order to take a chance on bidding themselves up socially.

Whether adolescents are any more sexually exploitative than adults is not certain, but in the main, in this instance as in many others relating to sexual behavior, they reflect, in their general attitudes, the mores of the adult culture. They are aware of a double standard of sexual morality and act on the assumptions involved.

Adolescents share with adults much the same attitudes toward homosexuality, contacts with animals, and other infrequent and socially condemned behavior. There is almost wholesale condemnation of these activities and the efforts of such special groups as scientific investigators, educators, sexologists, etc., have not been very successful in educating the public toward a more rational, scientific, less moralizing approach toward these behaviors, which are now viewed as social problems, as oddities or activities for social condemnation and censure.

Sexual Phantasies and Conditions Antecedent to Motoric Sexual Behavior

As members of both sexes become pubertal their interests become more heterosexual and there is an increase in erotic feeling. Also there is an increase in phantasies with sexual content. Stone and Barker (1937, 1939) found that girls of advanced sexual maturation, although of the same chronological age as girls not so advanced, had different interests from the latter. The more sexually mature girls were more interested in personal adornment, in boys, and in responses, "indicating heterosexual interests." Male adolescents of more advanced maturity—as evidenced by the increased output of androgens—were more likely to be interested in dancing, dating, and other sociosexual activities, as Sollenberger (1940) indicated.

These changes in interests from preadolescence to adolescence have often been attrib-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

uted to the increased hormonal activity that occurs with the onset of puberty. Irrespective as to the cause, the evidence is clear that, with puberty, for both boys and girls in our culture, a change in attitude toward the members of the other sex results and an increased interest in dancing, dating, and other sociosexual activities eventuates.

It is clear that in the foregoing environmental contexts the opportunities for the types of sexual responses that we have already discussed can arise. Not only does increased interest in the other sex seem to be correlated with increased hormonal activity occurring at puberty, but there is also at this time increased erotic feeling and an increase in sexual daydreams of various types. Various activities and behaviors are phantasied: kissing, viewing the sexual organs of the opposite sex, and sexual intercourse are frequent types of sexual phantasies. Girls to a lesser degree than boys phantasize viewing the sexual organs of the other sex. The tendency of the male to voyeurism is so well known that Kinsey (1953) makes the statement that "There are probably very few heterosexual males who would not take advantage of the opportunity to observe a nude female." The incidence of "peeping" in the male population during adolescence is not well known from statistical studies of random samples but, among cases seen in juvenile courts, heterosexual intercourse, homosexual activity, and fellation appear to be more frequent charges against boys than "peeping," and in the order given (Markey, 1950). Since voyeurism is admitted to by the great majority of adult males, it is reasonable to assume that it is very frequent among adolescent males. That voyeurism is probably frequent among boys is supported by the evidence presented by Ramsey (1943), who found that female nudity was the most potent stimulus to erotic feeling for boys during the years of mid-adolescence.

Conversation involving sex, pictures in which nudity or sex acts are depicted, and daydreaming about sex were the stimuli (in the order mentioned) most potent in producing erotic response. Probably about one-fifth of the female sex and two-fifths of the male sex have phantasized intercourse, the phantasy of most direct sexual content, before the beginning of adolescence. Although exact statistics are lacking, phantasies of kissing, hugging, and petting (heterosexual and homosexual) are much more frequent. In a study done by the author, a majority of the female adolescents of college status (mean age 20.5 years) phantasized men doing sexual acts with women, approximately 16 per cent daydreamed about girls having sexual contacts with other girls, and less than 10 per cent daydreamed about masturbation.

In the Ramsey study, literature was one of the stimuli least provocative of erotic feeling and in the author's study less than a quarter of the girls of the late adolescent period had read books that they would call obscene.

Adolescent boys seem to be most responsive, in terms of erotic feeling, tumescence, and erection, to stimuli such as viewing of female nudity (total or specifically of the genital organs), obscene pictures, and motion pictures. Sex conversations, the viewing of burlesques, and dancing are also stimuli to which they are reactive. Literature, music, and similar abstract stimuli are not very evocative.

The viewing of nudity of the opposite sex (total or genital), of obscene pictures of the opposite sex, and of burlesques is probably not as stimulating erotically to girls as to boys. Girls may be less interested in these stimuli than boys. Or they may have learned to disclaim interest in them in certain social contexts, as for example when in the company of other persons, especially male. Again, as is often the case with premarital intercourse, whatever exhibitionism and showing of genitalia girls partake in with boys may be due to the desire to cooperate with the male in order to accede to his wishes. However, boys, especially in preadolescence, are very interested in viewing the sexual parts of girls and during this age this is a frequent heterosexual activity on their part. Exhibitionistic sex play is the second most frequently occurring behavior of a heterosexual type and young girls are often willing to show their sexual organs to boys or be involved in other exhibitionistic sex activities.

Stimuli more frequently provoking to girls are phantasies of sexual behavior with boys, phantasies of and during masturbation, and reading romantic literature and viewing romantic motion pictures.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The reasons for these differences in responsiveness on the part of boys and girls are not known exactly, but the following are frequent speculations: (1) Boys differ from girls in innate sex drive and/or libido; (2) the sensory capacity to stimulation of boys differs from that of girls; and (3) the sociosexual acculturation of males and females is different.

General Theoretical Explanation of Adolescent Sexuality

It cannot be denied that with the beginning of adolescence there is a marked increase in sexual responsivity and sexual motoric behavior. A frequent and usually undisputed explanation of this fact is that the upsurge in sexual activity is, at base, physiological. The usual explanations, to quote only a few, are the following:

Willoughby (1937), in his review, *Sexuality in the Second Decade*, concludes that "the necessary motive [presumably for increased sexuality] is present in the changes in hormonal balance probably initiated by the involution of the thymus . . . an increase [in hormonal balance] would account satisfactorily for the increasing numbers of individuals manifesting any normal type of sex behavior as the decade progresses."

Kimble (1956) voices a view typical of American psychologists:

> The physiological and anatomical considerations important to the understanding of sexual activity parallel those treated in the cases of hunger and thirst. As in the case of hunger and thirst, local stimulation plays an important role in sexual behavior. . . .
>
> As everyone knows, the physiology of sexual behavior is largely hormonal. Indirectly sexual behavior is controlled by the anterior portion of the pituitary gland. . . .

There is little doubt that physiology plays an important role in the increase in sexual activity that takes place during adolescence, in contrast to the period of preadolescence, as the researches of Sollenberger (1940), Stone and Barker (1937, 1939), and others suggest. We have seen how, shortly after the age of 12, sexual behaviors such as masturbation, petting, and premarital intercourse generally increase greatly in accumulative and active incidence, with many persons having their first experiences of various types during adolescence. Such facts, coupled with the evidence that the increase in these activities is correlated with increased hormonal activity at adolescence, suggest that an important and perhaps the original stimulus to this *increased* sexual activity is physiological in type.

The theory of Freud that sexuality is latent from childhood until puberty lends support to the notion of the physiological basis of sexual activity during adolescence. Under the influence of physiological changes occurring during adolescence, sexuality can no longer, according to the Freudian view, remain latent. Mead, Devereux, Malinowski, and others have shown that, without much question, no true latency period exists and that what is found, if one studies sexual behavior closely, is that at all ages of life and in all environments sexuality is universal and ubiquitous. There are always some persons at any age in all places on earth who are doing something that is sexual.

As puberty arrives something happens to make sexual behavior more nearly omnipresent. Undoubtedly, the basic stimulus for increased sexuality at this age is hormonal. But although these physiological changes are necessary, they are not the only factors in sexual response. Even at as late an age as adolescence only very limited types of sexual responses would be evident in the absence of learning. At adolescence, although sex hormones may be at the base of the sex drive, the drive would be largely undifferentiated as to aim if sexual activity did not become psychosexual. The activity of the youngster becomes psychosexual when the initial sexual drive or interest becomes conditioned through learning (cultural, institutional, or individual and idiosyncratic) toward some specific object, goal, or activity.

For example, if a young adolescent couple, both of whom are physiologically and neurally capable of tumescence or erotic arousal or orgasm, learns through dating, perhaps through physical exploration and manipulation, that sexual release or orgasm can be pleasurable to both, this activity may be repeated. Sexual response (but not drive) may be "latent" (but

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

not in the Freudian sense) before adolescence when the cultural framework exerts such pressures (or when the individuals cannot find ways around these barriers) that all responses that might be labeled as sexual are prevented.

Of course, no such *absolute* repression ever exists before or during adolescence and *some* sexual responses of *some* type will be made and conditioning of *some* type will result. Influences exist in any culture (the word environment could be substituted) that will modify the sexual response in some way. When these outside influences are spoken of, taught, or enforced through the institutional body called the church, we speak of religious influence. Thus, for example, a church may teach that masturbation is a sin. If it does, the devout of that church may modify their masturbatory behavior completely or to such an extent that the masturbation may be so truncated, as Taylor (1933) has shown, as to appear not to be masturbation at all. For example, an adolescent boy may sleep on his stomach and when only slightly awake rub his genital organ against the bed clothes without touching his penis and without being fully aware of what is happening.

If by transmission through cultural mores or folkways specific sex practices are recommended or condemned, we speak of cultural influences. Thus, one culture may teach or indoctrinate youth in the specific practice of masturbation while another may condemn the practice through various means, such as the mother threatening the child who masturbates or the culture teaching invidiously that a person who masturbates "is not mature."

In like vein, outside influences of all sorts affect specific sexual responses or behavior. What is taught in sex education courses and how sex is treated in the press and in magazines available to youth are such environmental factors.

The major outside influences that have a relation to adolescent sexual behavior are religion; general sociocultural influences, such as rural-urban upbringing and the socioeconomic level of the family; more specific sociocultural influences, such as the teachings, practices, and mores specific to gangs, peer groups, and certain cultural-ethnic mores; and, finally, general and specific sexual teachings. All these influences can be grouped together as environmental influences and appear to have a major effect upon the specific sexual patterns of groups as well as individuals.

Another class of influences upon the adolescent are the truly psychological—which in a large degree are specific, individual, and often *accidental;* that is, factors in the life of this particular individual. For example, the seduction of a boy by a housemaid might be an individual factor influencing his future sexual response and sexual proclivities and preferences.

A final class of influence is the philosophical, which for most adolescents is very remote from the world of everyday reality and action and response. A youth highly developed intellectually may believe in the "good life," have rationalized that masturbation and homosexuality, for example, are sexual behaviors that interfere with the goal of a "good life," and so avoid these behaviors. Another youth highly developed intellectually may not accept the premise of the hereafter, may not accept masturbation as evil, and may not avoid this behavior.

References

Ausubel, David P., *Theories and Problems of Adolescent Development.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1954.

Brown, J. F., and Menninger, Karl A., *The Psychodynamics of Abnormal Behavior.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940.

Burgess, Ernest W., and Wallin, Paul, *Engagement and Marriage.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

Butterfield, Oliver M., *Love Problems of Adolescence.* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1939.

Drucker, A. J., Christensen, H. T., and Remmers, H. H., "Some Background Factors in Socio-Sexual Modernism." *Marr. Fam. Living 14;* 334-337, 1952.

Ehrmann, Winston W., "Student Cooperation in a Study of Dating Behavior." *Marr. Fam. Living 14;* 323-326, 1952.

Ehrmann, Winston W., "Social Class and Premarital Coitus Among Male and Female College Students." In Jerome Himmelhoch and Sylvia Fava (eds.), *Sexual Behavior in American Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1955.

Ehrmann, Winston W., "Some Knowns and Unknowns in Research into Human Sex Behavior." *Marr. Fam. Living 19;* 16-22, 1957.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Charles Boni, 1951.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Hollingshead, August B., *Elmtown's Youth.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

Kimble, Gregory A., *Principles of General Psychology.* New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, Wardell B., and Martin, Clyde E., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Pomeroy, Wardell B., Martin, Clyde E., and Gebhard, Paul H., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kirkendall, Lester A., "Sex Problems of Adolescents." *Marr. Hyg. 1;* 205-208, 1948.

Kirkendall, Lester A., "Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationship." Corvallis, Oregon: mimeographed by author, 1958.

Kirkpatrick, Clifford, and Kanin, Eugene, "Male Sex Aggression on a University Campus." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 22;* 52-58, 1957.

Markey, Oscar B., "A Study of Aggressive Sex Misbehavior in Adolescents Brought to Juvenile Court." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 20;* 719-731, 1950.

Moll, Albert, *The Sexual Life of the Child.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912.

Podell, Lawrence, and Perkins, John C., "A Guttman Scale for Sexual Experience—A Methodological Note." *J. Abnorm. & Social Psychol. 54;* 420-422, 1957.

Pullias, E. V., "Masturbation as a Mental Hygiene Problem—A Study of the Beliefs of Seventy-five Young Men." *J. Abnorm. & Social Psychol. 32;* 216-222, 1937.

Ramsey, Glenn V., "The Sexual Development of Boys." *Am. J. Psychol. 56;* 217-233, 1943.

Ramsey, Glenn V., *Factors in the Sex Life of 291 Boys.* Madison, N. J.: printed by the author, 1950.

Reevy, William R., "Premarital Petting Behavior and Marital Happiness Prediction." *Marr. Fam. Living 21;* 349-355, 1959.

Reevy, William R., "Vestured Genital Apposition and Coitus." In press.

Reevy, William R., "Female Masturbation and Marital Happiness Prediction." In press.

Reisman, David, *et al., The Lonely Crowd.* New York. Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954.

Robinson, William J., *Medical and Sex Dictionary.* New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1933.

Seward, Georgene H., *Sex and the Social Order.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946.

Sollenberger, R. T., "Some Relationship between the Urinary Excretion of Male Hormone by Maturing Boys and Their Expressed Interests and Attitudes." *J. Psychol. 9;* 179-189, 1940.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Autoerotism.* New York: Liveright, 1950.

Stone, Calvin P., and Barker, R. G., "Aspects of Personality and Intelligence in Postmenarcheal and Premenarcheal Girls of the Same Chronological Ages." *J. Comp. & Physiol. Psychol. 23;* 439-455, 1937.

Stone, Calvin P., and Barker, R. G., "The Attitudes and Interests of Premenarcheal and Postmenarcheal Girls." *J. Genet. Psychol. 54;* 27-71, 1939.

Taylor, W. S., "A Critique of Sublimation in Males." *Genet. Psychol. Monogr. 13;* 1-115, 1933.

Terman, Lewis M., *et al., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938.

Undeutsch, Udo, "Comparative Incidence of Premarital Coitus in Scandinavia, Germany, and the United States." In Jerome Himmelhoch and Sylvia Fava (eds.), *Sexual Behavior in American Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1955.

Willoughby, Raymond R., *Sexuality in the Second Decade.* Washington: Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1937.

Wolman, Benjamin, "Sexual Development in Israeli Adolescents." *Am. J. Psychotherapy 5;* 551-559, 1951.

WILLIAM R. REEVY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Africans, The Sex Life of

SINCE Africa has an area of about twelve million square miles (about four times the size of the United States of America), we can do no more than consider representative samples of its many cultures. The population is estimated at 170 million, mostly Negro, but with millions of Arabs and Berbers in the North and a strong Hamitic element in the East.

The most satisfactory method of describing the sex life of Africans, when brevity is necessary, is by considering (1) a typical sex cycle from conception, through pregnancy, to birth; (2) puberty, with the physical changes, initiation into the tribe, and marriage; (3) normal relationships of husband and wife, and marital maladjustment and divorce; and (4) irregular practices that involve deviations from the usual moral codes.

From Conception to Birth

Negro tribes often do not seem to have a clear idea of the act of fertilization, although, unlike Malinowski's Trobriand Islanders, they do recognize paternity, and generally say that the husband puts something into the woman and it grows.

Children are desired by all tribes, but barrenness, although creating domestic dissatisfaction, is not necessarily a cause for divorce. The husband merely takes a young girl as second wife, but the first spouse keeps her position as chief wife, and she may be distinguished by a special headdress or an ornament. Sterility of the husband is sometimes suspected, and this also calls for a second marriage. Impotence of the husband, however, may cause divorce. If evil magic is suspected as the cause of barrenness, a medicine man will apply protective paint to the wife's face, or he may give her a charm to wear. A favorite talisman is the small sea shell known as a cowrie. This shell has a deep cleft and is thought to resemble the vulva.

Abortions are sometimes induced by pressure, but taking herbal concoctions is a more common method. The practice is generally under severe reprobation. Miscarriages from natural causes occur, and the mortality of infants during the first three years of life has been estimated at 50 per cent. But the birth rate is high and, although the exact statistics are not known, the total African population is increasing.

Under a system of legal polygamy and early marriages the social problem of illegitimate births is of little importance. Infanticide has been practiced in time of famine and by hunters on the march, and no doubt deformed children and those with supernumerary fingers or toes were destroyed. Albinos were sometimes allowed to live, and became respected as having some magical power. A regional survey of the attitude toward twins clearly indicates that many different customs prevail. The mother and both infants might be killed, or they might all escape death because the medicine man performed a purification ceremony. Twins might be so welcome that if one died a wooden doll was "nursed" by the mother so that the surviving twin might not suffer from loneliness.

Pregnancy is a condition fraught with many dangers, both physical and spiritual. Negro religion involves a system of ancestor worship, and during pregnancy the spirit of some deceased relative is thought to enter the womb. There is reincarnation. Many taboos are ob-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

served, especially with regard to food; thus, flesh of the owl will give the baby large round eyes, and meat from a hare causes harelip. Magical methods are sometimes used to produce offspring of the desired sex. For example, a woman who has borne only boys will contact a woman whose children are all girls. A change of sex is supposedly brought about by an exchange of gifts, the mother of boys receiving a field basket and a hoe, which are symbols of female interest. In return for these, the mother of the girls receives a bow and some arrow points, symbols of manhood.

A system of couvade, whereby the father goes to bed during delivery of the child, is known in Africa but is very rare; however, during a pregnancy the husband has to take special care of himself, for accidents to him might affect the unborn child. Difficulties in delivery are sometimes combated by opening wide all boxes and vessels, and in anticipation of trouble a pregnant woman usually drinks some concoction supplied by the medicine man. Normally the delivery takes place at home with midwives in attendance, but births while a woman is at work in the fields are not unusual. A difficult delivery, such as the birth of twins, is often thought to result from some act of unfaithfulness on the part of the wife, and the midwives exhort her to confess the name of her seducer. Sometimes the names of the parents are changed at the birth of the first child.

The custom of the husband and wife refraining from sexual intercourse during pregnancy and throughout the long period of lactation is common among the Negroes of Africa. But here, again, the medicine man offers his services with rituals and potions that permit sexual relations without harm to the unborn child, or to the infant of a nursing mother. Infant betrothal is fairly common, and the arrangement made by parents is ratified by an exchange of gifts, which are returned if the agreement is not fulfilled. Frequently such infant betrothals are repudiated by the children when they mature.

Puberty and Tribal Initiation

At an early age boys and girls become separated in their play interests. Girls work in the field with their mothers and their play is largely an imitation of tasks relegated to women. Boys make blunt wooden arrows, and at an early age are expert in catching and shooting small game such as birds and small rodents. Before initiation, perhaps in the early teens, boy and girl friendships exist, along with nocturnal visits, which are supposed to be innocent of sexual intercourse. I noticed in Angola that the age range of boys at initiation seemed to be a wide one, probably due to the fact that ceremonies are held only once in three or four years. The boys seemed to vary in age from 12 to 16 years.

When boys are ready to be initiated into the tribe they are assembled in an enclosure in a secluded part of the woods. Tribal elders are in charge, and in some instances each boy has an initiated youth as a personal guardian. The objects of initiation are twofold, mental and physical. A boy must learn respect and obedience toward elders, and he has to be well schooled in tribal laws, especially with regard to permissible marriages, for taboos exist regarding marriage with some, but not all, cousins. Where totems and clans are part of the social organization marriage is forbidden between members of the same clan or totem.

Boys are made to endure hardships in the form of exposure to cold, long, fatiguing days in hunting and fishing, and corporal punishment for minor offenses. Running between two lines of elders who are armed with sticks is a common test of endurance. I saw among the Fulani of west Africa a special type of flogging ceremony in which each of two boys, at the time of their initiation, gave and suffered severe blows on the ribs. The beatings were delivered with a thick stick and in the presence of a crowd of girls who applauded loudly when each boy in turn showed no sign of pain. Circumcision of boys is usual during initiation, and the camp is not disbanded until the last boy is healed. By this time every boy is a capable hunter and fisherman and is qualified to provide food for himself and his family.

Fiber costumes and masks that have been made during the period of seclusion are worn at a final ceremony attended by all villagers, who celebrate the occasion by drinking beer and dancing. At this time each boy receives a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

new name. This is his adult name and any future use of his juvenile name would be an insult. The novice is now prepared for marriage.

The time for initiation of girls is indicated by swelling of the breasts and the menarche. This is a period attended by many evil possibilities, and many taboos have to be observed. Diet is restricted and the girl perhaps has a separate hut or a part of the living room shut off by mats. Cleansing ceremonies of a magical nature are performed at the end of the menstrual period. In the Mohammedan states of north Africa and among some west African Negro tribes, girls begin a fattening period at puberty. To attain this mark of beauty they may be in seclusion for a few months or even for years, according to the wealth of the parents. If scarification is a tribal custom, certain patterns will be cut on the abdomen, or the scars may be made by applying a hot stick. When the period of menstrual seclusion is ended the girl will resume normal family life, and once more she is able to follow such occupations as weaving or making pottery. But for all her life the menstrual period will involve certain taboos.

When in the initiation camp the girls receive instruction in domestic and sexual matters from several old women, but young females do not suffer the hardships imposed on boys. During residence in camp girls may suffer excision of the clitoris or more severe operations on the genitalia. These rites may cause "infibulation," a sewing up of the vagina so as to make sexual relations impossible, although the orifice is not entirely closed. Before marriage a surgical operation has to be performed.

Authentic accounts from many parts of Negro Africa are not in agreement with regard to the value set on chastity before marriage. The Ovimbundu tribe of Portuguese West Africa are typical of people who at least in time past have demanded chastity, and if a bride was not a virgin she would be sent to her mother with a hole bored in her skirt. The parents would have to refund part of the payment or presents given to them by the groom. The evidence points to regard for virginity among the eastern and southern Bantu Negroes, but to a laxity and disregard for virginity in Bantu tribes of the Congo region.

Marriage

The boys and girls who have completed initiation rites are now men and women who are free to marry, and soon they enter into a state of legal sexual union with the primary object of founding a home and a family. In Negro Africa marriage is a serious legal contract, binding on husband and wife. A brief courtship follows the initiation ceremonies; then a relative of the youth makes an indirect approach to the parents of the girl. Presents are offered, and these vary with the social status of the boy's parents; the gifts may be no more than a blanket and a coil of tobacco. The bride brings with her a dowry, possibly cattle, the marriage contract being ratified by the exchange of gifts.

The husband may have to reside with his wife's people, at least for a time until their first child is born (matrilocal condition). On the other hand, the young bride may be expected to reside with her husband's people. Consummation of the marriage is sometimes delayed for three days or more, while elderly women who have borne children and led happy married lives live in the new home. The duty of these elders is to make new fire by the friction method, to bless the home, and to initiate the new wife in domestic work.

Marital troubles may arise from many causes: impotence of the husband, barrenness of the wife, female frigidity, the wife's incompetence in home or garden. A wife, as well as a husband, may have claims to divorce, but perhaps the most usual cause is infidelity of the wife. Attempts at reconciliation are made by parents, but if a divorce is decided upon the parting ceremony is performed by a village chief. There are rules respecting the rights of a woman to take with her the very young children and some domestic utensils. Adultery is severely punished if the social status of the seduced female is higher than that of her seducer. A man who seduces the wife of a chief is likely to suffer death or castration. With commoners the retribution is less severe; a wife might be beaten by her husband, and her seducer be forced to pay a fine to the aggrieved husband. The idea of sin because a divine command has been broken does not seem to exist.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

But ancestral spirits are thought by some tribes to be deeply offended by adultery, and they may inflict calamity on the community.

A contradiction seems to exist in the fact that, whereas adultery is condemned, wife-lending as a form of hospitality is condoned. There are, however, certain reservations in this practice. The man so favored should belong to the husband's age group, and the wife-lending custom must not transgress any local laws forbidding sexual intercourse between certain cousins or members of the same clan or totem.

A wife's duties do not end with the death of her husband. She may have to remain in the hut with the corpse for several days, loudly voicing her grief. Her period of mourning may last for a year or more; then with due purification ceremonies she can remarry provided gifts and propitiatory rites are offered to the ghost of the deceased.

Polygamy

Polygamy has two forms, polygyny, the marrying of more than one wife, and polyandry, the marrying of more than one husband. An extreme form of polygyny was at one time practiced in Dahomey, Ashanti, and in other regions of west Africa. A ruler might have several hundred legal wives and, although he could not possibly have had regular intercourse with all, the women were severely punished for adultery. These plural marriages seemed to be political in their import, for a ruler who secured the persons of many of his leading subordinates felt some security, and his possession of the women encouraged allegiance from their male relatives. In small polygynous families with two to six wives, each wife has her own hut and kitchen within the household compound, and the husband must follow the custom of a one- or two-night cycle.

Polyandry is not common in Africa, but in the northeast of the continent, among the Banyankole and kindred tribes, the system arises from poverty. A man asks one or more of his brothers to join him in the necessary gifts for procuring a wife. She is the legal wife of all who contributed to the dowry and lives with each brother in turn. When pregnant the wife remains with the eldest brother until her child is born. All offspring are recognized as the children of the eldest brother. Concubinage is a term usually restricted to describe the women of a Mohammedan household. In addition to legal wives there are women of the harem (concubines) to whom the male owner has access. In Dahomey a peculiar rite of a woman marrying a woman exists. One form of this custom, which has no connection with lesbianism, is the purchase of a young woman by a woman who becomes her "husband." This purchaser lends the purchased woman to one or more men on payment. The custom has no connection with commercial prostitution, although the men have to make a payment. The point seems to be that children belong to the woman who made the purchase, and these children, by marriage and earning ability, become a profitable possession.

Irregular Sexual Relations

Beyond doubt the general establishment of marriage and the founding of a family is fundamental in the social structure of Africa, but many sexual aberrations occur, as they do in all social groups, ancient and modern. These deviations should not be overemphasized.

Rape is usually punishable as a crime, as it is a violation of property, which calls for payment of a heavy fine. The tendency is toward severe corporal punishment for sexual violence, but as a rule the relatives of the offender muster their resources and save the culprit from retributive violence. Payment of a fine to the injured party is fundamental in Negro law and relates to theft, sex crimes, and personal injury.

There is evidence that solitary and mutual masturbation are practiced among boys, and mention is made of public disapproval of the act after the boys can no longer be regarded as young children.

In Negro society, unaffected by foreign influence, there is no need for commercial sexual relationships. But prostitutes thrive when men are nomadic, as in the Sahara; the Tuareg (Hamitic) and their Negro servants travel from one oasis to another, and in these resting places prostitutes are a part of the social life. In most large towns, where there is an itinerant population, prostitutes live in colonies. Venereal diseases are known and feared. Certain

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

customs may give the impression of a general laxity of morals, but, regarded more closely, the practices are evidently a necessary part of the military system. In the Masai military organization, which demands the services of all males for many years, each warrior has a girl companion with whom he lives during temporary relief from military duties. When the period of service is ended the warriors marry their girl companions.

Details respecting homosexuality are rarely given but this perversion does exist, and I think that the words of my interpreter in Angola are a fair summary of the public reaction. He said of homosexuality, "There are men who want men, and women who want women. The people think this very bad. A woman has been known to make something that helps her to act like a man. There are men who dress as women, [transvestites]; they place palm oil on their hair and join the women to pound corn on the rocks. One man of this kind was laughed at and beaten by his father and brothers, but he would not given up his female dress or feminine habits."

The word *incest* has both a narrow and a very broad application in African Negro society. The limited application of the term is with reference to an illicit sexual relation between brother and sister, father and daughter, mother and son. My interpreter said that people guilty of such incest might be killed, or they "would have to go so far away that no tribesmen would ever see them again." A male sometimes calls his mother's sister's daughters his sisters, and it would be incestuous to marry them; nor may he commit incest by marrying his father's brother's daughters. This is but one aspect of the cross-cousin system of permissive and forbidden marriages, but it serves to illustrate a broader connotation of the word incest. A still wider meaning exists in the application of the idea of incest to coitus between members of the same clan or totem.

Conclusion

A survey of the sex life of African Negroes from birth through adolescence and married life reveals a well-coordinated social arrangement. After allowing for many local differences, certain general principles become clear. Each person is trained in such a way as to cooperate in the functioning of his social group. Many African ideas and ideals differ from those of western nations, but a system is evident.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the African concept of sex and our own is the lack of a religious backing among Africans. Throughout Negro Africa there is a concept of a supreme being and creator; but he issues no commands relating to sexual morality. And although under such names as Suku or Nzambi he has unlimited power, he does not offer rewards or threaten punishments. The system is concerned with crimes and not with sins. The breaches of law are offenses against individuals and social groups, not against God. The disrupting force of the impact of western cultures is a modern problem for the study of sociologists and anthropologists.

References

Bryk, F., *Voodoo Eros*. New York: Falstaff, 1933.

Bryk, F., *Dark Rapture*. New York: Juno, 1944.

Delafosse, Maurice, *Haut-Sénégal Niger, Soudan Française*. 3 vols. Paris, 1912.

Fallers, A. Lloyd, *Bantu Bureaucracy*. Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons, 1956.

Gluckman, Max, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

Gunther, John, *Inside Africa*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.

Hambly, Wilfrid D., *Ethnology of the Ovimbundu of Angola*. Chicago Field Museum, 1934.

Hambly, Wilfrid D., *Source Book of African Anthropology*. 2 vols. Chicago Natural History Museum, 1937. (Contains a large bibliography that covers this article.)

Hambly, Wilfrid D., *Bibliography of African Anthropology. A Supplement to the Source Book*. Chicago Natural History Museum, 1952.

Herskovits, Melville J., *Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom*. 2 vols. New York, 1938.

Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe*. 2 vols. Neuchatel, 1912.

Meakin, B., *The Moors*. London, 1902.

Meek, C. K., *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. 2 vols. Oxford, England, 1925.

Meek, C. K., *A Sudanese Kingdom*. London, 1931.

Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti Law and Constitution*. Oxford, England, 1929.

Rattray, R. S., *Tribes of Ashanti Hinterland*. 2 vols. London and New York, 1932.

Rodd, F. Rennell, *People of the Veil*. London, 1926.

Roscoe, John, *The Baganda*. London, 1911.

Roscoe, John, *The Banyankole*. London, 1923.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Ross, Sylvia Leith, *African Women*. London: Faber and Faber, 1938.

Schapera, I., *The Khoisan People of South Africa*. London, 1930.

Seligman, C. G., and Seligman, B. Z., *The Kababish, a Sudan Arab Tribe*. Cambridge: Harvard African Studies, 1918. Vol. 2, pp. 106-184.

Seligman, C. G., and Seligman, B. Z., *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. London, 1932.

Talbot, P. A., *In the Shadow of the Bush*. London, 1912.

Talbot, P. A., *The People of Southern Nigeria*. Oxford, 1926.

WILFRID DYSON HAMBLY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Aging and Sex

IN THE middle forties, if not sooner, a man begins to be alarmed by the slightest change in his sexual power. He is haunted by the fear of the loss of manhood. The average woman, even at an earlier age, dreads the approach of the menopause. To her mind, it seems the coming end of her sex appeal and function, with the loss of all the psychological and realistic value her womanhood has meant to her.

This anxiety in both sexes is without scientific reason—born of superstitions and old wives' tales. Middle age normally brings a leveling off but not an erasure of all physical capacities, including sexual power.

Two Functions of Sex Mechanism

Fears for libido and potency arise because the nature of the sex mechanism is not generally understood. It has two distinct functions: (1) propagation, Nature's method to preserve the human species; and (2) stimulation of the whole organism, especially the brain and nervous system.

Waning of the reproductive potential in no way affects the stimulation function. The sex glands continue to produce hormones—androgen in the male, estrogen in the female. A man may become infertile and even impotent and a woman sterile without weakening libido. Furthermore, it is not unusual for the procreative process as well as the sex drive to remain effective in men through the later years, sometimes into the eighties and beyond. In this respect they differ definitely from women, who become infertile with the menopause, although retaining hormonal activity and libido.

The failure to appreciate this distinction between the two functions of the sexual system makes for confusion and helps foment anxiety. Anxiety, in turn, can hurry both men and women into senility with consequent loss of sexual power and physical fitness. On sex and old age, Dr. Th. H. Van de Velde (1928), noted authority on marital happiness, says: "Moderate and suitable use of the sexual function—which is possible up to a very great age—keeps the entire organism completely vigorous and efficient."

Growing Old Versus Aging

How old is "old"? There are no figures available or even possible because there are too many variations in physique and personality that have nothing to do with the calendar. Age is not chronological—a mistaken idea that has caused much mischief and misery—but physio-psychological. Alarming changes in body and mind come primarily not from advanced age but from earlier physical impairment and emotional disorders, often neglected.

Another important distinction—in addition to that between the two functions of the sexual system—is generally overlooked. There is a wide difference between "growing old" and "aging." To grow old is inevitable; it is a process of maturing and is progressive despite a natural slowdown. To age, however, is pathological and therefore regressive. It is often the result of an unwise mode of living, the abuse and neglect for years of the most marvelous machine known to man—the human body. "Growing old" really starts with puberty. In fact, geriatrics (science of old age) may well be said to begin where pediatrics (science of young age) ends.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Good Health

Given the right heredity, hormonal pattern, and nutrition, sexual power is no more weakened in man or woman by the advancing years than other bodily functions. The ancient Greeks and Romans stressed as their goal a "sound mind in a sound body." There is still no better way, centuries later, to assure sound sexual function and defy passing time.

In the Bible, the natural life span is given as "three score years and ten." Almost three thousand years later, this has finally nearly become the average length. However, thanks to the progress of medicine and hygiene, there are many favorable exceptions. Some individuals live into the eighties and even up to 100 years. And longevity sometimes brings long-lasting sexual competence.

Those who "grow old" rather than "age" respond with reduced strength to *all* emotional stimuli. Their sexual responsiveness is not an isolated reaction. Flagging sensitivity seems to be a subconscious mechanism of defense in a weakened organism. The sexual excitement of younger years could prove a threat to heart and brain.

Statistics can be deceiving. However, there is no doubt that there has been a striking increase in life expectancy in the United States. The life span during the Roman Empire was 23 years. In this country it rose in 1900 to 47, in 1940 to 63, and in 1960 it will go up to 75 years. Here is the challenge: to attack the pathological process of aging, to prevent it, and to revitalize connective tissue, nerve centers, and the endocrine system. It is far more important to add life to years than years to life.

Modern science shows the way. Man—and that means woman, too—must lead a well-balanced life from youth on so that the later years will find him physically and emotionally ready and fit to cope with decreased energies. Then his sexual power will take care of itself.

Dr. Kaare Rodalel of Lankenau Hospital, Philadelphia, has pointed out that "what a man is able to do at seventy depends on what he did at twenty." This does not mean that a man's sexual potential or virility at seventy will be as strong as it was at age twenty. However, if a human being could be protected from the wear and the stress of life per se, his sexual capacity at sixty might well be little impaired.

Change of Life

In the middle years there does come a change for both man and woman. This may consist of a simple slowdown with scarcely any disagreeable symptoms or debilitating ills if the earlier years have not taken their toll in strain and anxiety. From the beginning of the human race the menopause or "change of life" has been considered solely woman's portion. However, in recent years it has been thought by some authorities but denied by others that the male, too, passes through a climacteric. In any event, he also may be beset by unfamiliar physical and psychological disturbances.

Dr. Ernest Boas, eminent authority on geriatrics, says: "Men do not experience an abrupt climacteric as do women. . . . With the years they undergo a gradual reduction of sexual vigor and potency. Sexual capacity does not depend alone on a normal hormonal state—psychogenic factors are of great importance—and men often find that they are as old as they think they are."

Anxiety and Impaired Sexual Function

The extent and degree of waning sex energy in middle age vary in both sexes with the state of mind and physical fitness, and the so-called "change of life" tends to intensify existing body disorders. More often than not a woman's mental and emotional disturbance over her climacteric does more harm than the process itself. Anxiety has been proved to be the prime danger to the well-being of a man or woman during this period. Its destructive power is still not fully realized by the layman.

It becomes more and more obvious that psychological attitudes, especially in the male, determine his sexual capacity more than any other factor. Dr. Milton I. Sapirstein in his book, *Emotional Security*, points out that recent animal experiments indicate that the male sex performance employs the entire nervous system. "Small cerebral lesions will make the male animal impotent. But relatively massive nervous lesions in the female will not interfere with her sexual performance. . . ."

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Dr. Sapirstein explains further that when any animal feels threatened, there is a suppression of the sex desire. Naturally, then, when a person is under anxiety for any cause his virility will be afflicted.

Fears—of the loss of virility and libido, rejection by the other sex, shelving by society as outworn, forced retirement—all do a great damage. A man can worry himself into impotence and a woman into frigidity. What Nature deals out to both sexes is kindness compared to what they often do to themselves.

Physical Changes at Middle Age

What actually happens in middle age? The female reproductive organs no longer produce ova after a woman's menopause; the older male may or may not cease to produce fertile spermatozoa. There is general agreement that gonadal (sex gland) failure is the only endocrinal alteration in old age. (The so-called pituitary-adrenal axis, the physiological promoter of sexual power and effectiveness, responds with average expectancy years after the climacteric. The thyroid gland seems to have an age-time curve of reduced capacity. The parathyroids are resistant to the change of age.) As for the sex glands, in the male the secretion of androgen hormones falls from 55 I.U. per twenty-four hours at the age of 30 to about 8 units at the age of 80. In the aging woman estrogen secretion falls sharply at the age of 40 and continues to drop throughout life to less than 7 units each twenty-four hours.

Sexual Activity and Aging

Sexual desire, even in its impaired state, is quite beneficial to an aging person. As long as it functions, interest in life persists. Kinsey reports that "even in the most advanced ages there is no sudden elimination of any large group of individuals from the sexually active. This seems astounding for it is quite to the contrary to the general conception of the aging process of sex." In their volume on the female, the Kinsey researchers describe the difference between male and female in sex desires and capacities. They have found that women retain their sex potential longer than men. According to Dr. Karl M. Bowman (1959), "it poses a difficult problem to solve, especially for women, about half of whom are widows by age sixty-five or married to husbands with less sexual capacity than their wives." It seems that the role of the sexes is sometimes reversed in later life. Women, freed from the fear of pregnancy and from hampering precautions, often have a "second blooming" just when men are slowing down.

Yet a recent study reported by Dr. Gustave Newman, Duke Medical School psychiatrist, at the twelfth annual meeting of the Gerontological Society, pointed out that more than seven out of ten healthy married couples over 60 are sexually active, some into their late eighties. The age at which couples over 60 stop having sexual relations varies widely. Usually they stop because either the husband or the wife develops ill health. Couples who were asked to compare their sexual virility in old age with that of their youth reported a drop in desire with increasing age, those with the strongest urges in youth retaining greater sexual drive and virility in old age.

There is often the problem of ignorance even at advanced age. Dr. Irving C. Fischer of Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City says: "Proper instruction in the sex act is always in order, regardless of the patient's apparent sophistication and education." Dr. Fischer has found such patients are often naïve about the "facts of life" and "too ashamed to talk about their sex habits," but they must be encouraged to do so.

Impotence and Behavior Changes

Is impotence a stigma of senescence? And what is "impotence"? The simplest definition is the inability to perform the sexual act. The mechanism of sexual activities has a wide range of expression in the human species. One can be impotent but still sexually desirous. As long as there is interest in sexual play there is hope of restoring sexual performance.

Since libido continues and is sometimes intensified long after impotence has manifested itself, ungratified desires in a maladjusted, aged man may lead to overimpulsive and immodest behavior. Disorders of behavior may develop, which differ little from those found at other years. A sudden flare-up of homosexual or other deviated tendencies may occur as a result of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

severe emotional disturbance or mental incapacity due to toxic or arteriosclerotic changes in the brain. Such disorders may be treated by a cooperative approach of the endocrinologist, nutrition specialist, and psychotherapist.

Nutrition

Modern science is now certain that nothing is so important to total vitality, which includes virility, as proper nutrition. All authorities on aging stress the right diet for physical and sexual strength and health. Dr. T. Brailsford Robertson, eminent English nutritionist, says (1923): "The quality of food in its chemical aspects exercises a great influence on the endocrine glands—especially on the adrenal cortex and the sex glands." The standard balanced diet for the theoretical average man is not sufficient for the aging man or woman. As the years add up, the aim must be maximum essential nourishment with minimum digestive labor.

Dr. Morton Biskind (1947) attributes impaired libido and potency in the male directly to nutritional deficiency. He believes waning desire and virility begin long before the trophic capacities of the gonads (sex glands) are exhausted. Faulty nutrition leads to impaired liver function, which in turn induces secondary changes—alteration of the estrogen-androgen (female and male hormones) balance. To maintain this equilibrium is the most essential step in correcting disorders of sexual power. Out of our own experience we agree with Dr. Biskind that our main concern should be to correct liver disfunction by proper nutritional and endocrine hormone treatment.

Dr. Tom Spies (1957) and associates believe that geriatric problems, whether physical or mental, correspond largely to tissue changes which need not become "irreversible" if proper assistance is given the patient's ability to mobilize nutritional substances to relieve or retard tissue damage. Prolonged subclinical depletion of essential nutritional elements leads to deterioration of the tissues and premature aging in the body with resulting loss of libido. Supplemental therapy in the form of vitamins, minerals, and hormones, with psychiatric treatment where necessary, can do much to relieve both the physical and psychological symptoms as well as to extend, as Dr. Spies terms it, "the prime of life."

Dr. Alexis Carrel (1928) found factors in the blood responsible for youth and aging, substances still mysterious and unknown. However, he was certain improved nutrition restores glandular balance, reduces body toxins, and avoids the exhausting effects of stress.

What is the proper diet in the middle or later years? Experts agree, first of all, on an increase of protein which supplies the amino acids, the body-building blocks. Proteins have been considered the key to life since the ancient Greeks. Today amino acids are beginning to be used as medicines. Two of them are known to be effective for sex support. Dr. Charles S. Davidson of the Harvard Medical School and Boston City Hospital says: "Eating more protein may retard the withering effects of old age."

The customary diet does not provide sufficient protein for building muscle and tissues, as the chemistry in the aging body is changed with the decreased functioning of certain glands. More beefsteak and other meats can supply the necessary replacements in body protein content. This does not mean that the meat-and-potatoes man is on the right track. He must add fresh fruits, salads, and properly cooked vegetables for vitamins, along with minerals and trace elements to help sustain healthy nervous tissue and lessen fatigue, depression, and listlessness. A liberal use of Vitamin A is recommended for the aging, especially for the health of the liver.

Recent experiments have shown that a lack of Vitamin B leads to the degeneration of the sex glands. One of the factors of the Vitamin B complex is para-amino-benzoic acid, which for some people acts as a sexual stimulant. More important is the over-all action of the entire B complex that helps to stabilize the nervous system.

The benefits of Vitamin B are enhanced by the action of Vitamin E, the antisterility or potency vitamin. The two work together and are necessary to each other. A deficiency in Vitamin E may cause a degeneration of the sperm-forming tissues of the testicles. In both sexes Vitamin E is used by the pituitary, the "master gland," which controls the sex glands.

Both Vitamins B and E are richly supplied by whole wheat cereal and bread. A good portion of wheat germ may fulfill the daily requirement. Other excellent sources of Vitamin

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

B are liver, brewer's yeast, milk, oatmeal, peas, beans, peanuts, and lean pork. The effectiveness of both Vitamins B and E is increased by a high protein diet. However it must not be too high for that creates imbalance. Vitamin C builds resistance. With Vitamin A it fights infection, shock, allergies, and poisons.

As for minerals, the American diet is woefully lacking in calcium. Dr. C. Ward Crampton, in the Merck report of 1948, calls calcium one of the secrets of youth prolongation. It plays a vital role in heart, brain, nerve, and blood action. In the aging, blood poor in calcium robs the bones and teeth for its needs. Emotional people are great calcium wasters. Sexual excitement can cause a large quantity of calcium excretion in a short time. The best source of calcium is milk and dairy products. Bone meal supplies it as a food supplement.

Essentials, too, for those in the upper age brackets are iron, phosphorus, manganese, cobalt, iron, and other trace minerals. They are found in kale, turnip, and dandelion greens, soybeans, eggs, milk, cheese, molasses, almonds, spring salads, and canned sardines. Steak provides iron and sulphur, together with protein. In Canada, lack of cobalt in the soil was found to induce infertility in the sheep. Sexual vigor needs a certain amount of phosphorus, which is plentiful in fish, particularly sea food. Sunflower seeds supply protein and all the vitamins and minerals.

A reduced intake of animal fats is urged as the years pass. Such foods produce excess cholesterol in the blood—a condition associated with high blood pressure, heart disease, and nephritis. Carbohydrates, too, should be consumed less. They supplant essential nutrients and add unwanted calories. An experiment with animals fed a low carbohydrate diet from birth showed that they lived to an age corresponding in a human being to 100 and 150 years and remained fertile. Overweight, a threat to the aging, results chiefly from excessive consumption of starches and sweets. Lean men live longer, remain youthful, active, and *vital.* At 60, the basic caloric requirement diminishes 35 per cent from that required at the age of 30.

Fortunately, the most needed elements in an adequate, balanced diet are found in the commonest and cheapest foods. All the leading nutritionists join in warning against drastic reducing diets and food fads. They insist that there is no wholesale prescription to be used blindly at 60 (or at any other age). Each individual's needs must be decided by medical examinations and numerous geriatric tests. A short fast may benefit the sex mechanism but prolonged hunger is harmful.

Aphrodisiacs

A belief in magic foods and drugs to stimulate sexuality—a delusion as old as the human race—has been exploded by modern science. There is no magic outside the magic of the sex drive itself. What is good for the whole organism is good for the libido and virility. The popular medical writer and educator, Dr. Herman Bundesen, maintains that sex potency is inseparable from "total vitality" and from a properly cared-for and nourished body.

History reveals how credulous and eager to believe in magic men have been through the ages in their pursuit of potency. The Romans had great faith in lampreys, eel-like fish. Irish peasants praised potatoes, their staple food. (Havelock Ellis has pointed out what a fallacy this was; potatoes are known to be below average in sexualizing activity.) Tomatoes were once called "love apples." At various times there was belief in onions, asparagus—perhaps for their phallic shape or because they were expensive when first introduced—clams, oysters, caviar, eggs, and a host of other foods. Recently it has been steak, rare or raw.

There is some ground for favoring fish, which are rich in phosphorus and iron, as well as caviar, truffles, and eggs, which also provide iron. They nourish the sexual mechanism but are hardly aphrodisiacs.

Some have sought stimulation in drugs like morphine, but these dull libido and weaken potency in addicts. Tobacco in moderation does no harm. The man or woman who likes a glass of wine or beer is sometimes said to preserve sexual power longer than the abstainer. However, the beer must be properly brewed and the wine—or gin or whiskey—properly blended and aged so as not to be poisoned in hasty manufacture. Liquor, wisely used, may sometimes enhance libido.

Aside from the important indirect effect on sexual activity from nourishing foods, there is, of course, the psychological stimulation to be

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

gained from a sensuous atmosphere and setting, a compatible partner, or a well-chosen meal with appropriate drinks. All the senses play a prime part in enriching desire and vigor.

Conversely, a scene that is an affront to the sensibilities—signs of neglect in the man or woman, irritability, discord, petty bickering, and annoying actions—are inhibiting factors. Many a man who thinks he has become impotent and a woman who fears she is frigid owe their disability to impossible conditions. Experts also emphasize the importance of a psychic bond between two sexual partners in marriage.

As men have eagerly sought magic foods so they have pursued aphrodisiacs. Practically none of the many praised at one time or another has real value. Modern science recognizes only two: catharides ("Spanish fly"—a South European beetle—reduced to powder) and Yohimbine from the bark of a South African tree. They are both powerful, dangerous drugs that inflame the gastro-urinary tract, producing violent effects, and may cause death. Science today wants no part of artificial excitement. It is perilous to interfere with Nature, especially in sex matters. It seems that the search for an effective aphrodisiac finally focuses on such prosaic items as fish, dried peas, and beans.

"Rejuvenation"

Sensational claims for methods of rejuvenation have also been found to be wishful thinking. In the 1920's, the European scientists Voronoff, Steinach, and others tried to lead men to the "fountain of youth" on the operating table. Voronoff experimented in transplanting the sex glands of monkeys in senile men. The Steinach operation was intended to stimulate sex secretions. There was temporary improvement but the "rejuvenated" men, encouraged to marry younger women, died rapidly. The strain was too great for their aged bodies. Those that survived became more worn out and decrepit after a few months.

However, it must be acknowledged that those who pioneered in attempts to rejuvenate the aging—Brown-Sequard, Steinach, Voronoff, and Bogomolets, to mention the best known—laid the foundation for modern treatment in endocrinology, nutrition, and psychotherapy. For all their pioneering efforts, means have not yet been found for transplanting tissues other than our own or those of an identical twin which will take root and last in our bodies.

Any product or therapy that promises to increase, restore, or heighten the capacity for sexual relations is sure to find many takers. Fortunately, today we are protected by the federal government and by our own growing knowledge of medicine against dangerous or fraudulent products, but there was a time when the public fell prey to a host of gadgets, pills, lotions, systems of physical culture, and even medical therapies promising to restore or increase virility. Medical literature describes the most unbelievable contraptions subscribed to by gullible people to raise their potency.

So-called gland products and "hermetically sealed" combinations of gland tablets, phony radioactive water that exploited the discovery of radium by Madame Curie, fake X-ray lamps to "tone up" metabolism, and radiation and gland combinations reaped fortunes for manufacturers. During the 1920's purveyors of many of these products took advantage of sensational rejuvenation claims of gland experts.

Recently, a secret formula of Prof. Anna Aslan of Bucharest, Romania, has been published that purports to restore youth and virility. The drug, H3, is known to contain procaine, a local anesthetic. In a lecture to members of the British Geriatric Society, cases were demonstrated, as for instance the alleged remarkable improvement in a 113-year-old man and in a woman of 73. In both cases white hair turned black, and vigor allegedly was restored. In other cases, old age sufferers from heart and rheumatic disease were said to be regenerated. The medical profession, however, although interested in these experiments, is skeptical until more and better controlled trials are made. The same may be said about the Niehans cellular-change therapy, which has recently been advocated in Europe as especially effective.

Some worried men have gone to physical instructors, who make claims for specific exercises to energize waning virility. Too much is not to be expected. The value of such efforts lies mainly in the benefits to the general health that result when an interest in body-building distracts the individual from anxiety and hope-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

lessness. Virility has nothing to do with muscles. Of supreme importance are steady nerves and vigorous circulation. All-around exercise is the best means of improving both the blood and the nervous system. It increases the intake of oxygen—the greatest nerve food and stabilizer. Swimming is one of the preferred exercises for physical weakness. Incidentally, extreme muscle culture may be emasculating. Some of the "Tarzans" are impotent.

Virility cannot be strengthened or regained by magic pills, massage, lamps, special gymnastics, or gadgets. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no road back through the years except that of general physical and mental improvement under the guidance of a competent physician.

A fierce attempt to preserve his libido and potency is and has always been the angry protest of an aging man in the face of destiny. It is no wonder that, from biblical times to the modern era of endocrinology, scientists have been trying to preserve the sex capacities of their fellow men as long as possible.

In our time it is actually difficult to be a man in the truest sense of the word, especially when handicapped by age. Up to the twentieth century women were largely frigid and expected no sex gratification. Now there has been a shift from almost complete inhibition in woman to the high standards of performance set by the marriage manuals. This tends to create great anxiety in many aging males who feel inadequate when they fall short of these standards. It has been found that the impotent male is often a frightened man.

Science is constantly reporting and physicians applying new revelations in the field of geriatrics. With sensational advances in prolonging life and youth and restoring sexual powers, some day the problem of transplants and other methods of rejuvenation will be solved.

For the present there is real hope for aging men and women fearful of becoming "unsexed." A clinician, equipped with thorough laboratory tests, knowledge of nutrition, and the psychological approach, can often deal effectively with sexual decline and supply new vigor and joy to the later years of life.

References

Benjamin, Harry, "Impotence and Aging." *Sexology* Nov., 1959.

Benjamin, Harry, "Problems of Old Age and Their Treatment." *J. Dent. Med.* July, 1951.

Benjamin, Harry, "The Nature of Old Age." *Senior Cit.* 1958.

Biskind, Morton S., "The Relation of Nutritional Deficiencies to Impaired Libido and Potency in the Male." *J. Gerontol.* Oct., 1947.

Biskind, Morton S., "The Technic of Nutritional Therapy." *Am. J. Diges. Dis. 20;* 61, 1953.

Biskind, Morton S., and Falk, H. C., "Nutritional Therapy of Infertility in the Male." *J. Clin. Endocrinol. 3;* 148, March, 1943.

Blumenthal, "Aging Processes in the Endocrine Glands of Mice." *J. Gerontol.* July, 1955.

Boas, Ernst Philip, *Treatment of the Patient Past Fifty.* Chicago: Year Book Pub., 1947.

Bowman, Karl M., and Engle, Bernice, "Some Current Trends in Problems of the Aged." *Geriatrics.* March, 1959.

Carrel, Alexis, *Man the Unknown.* New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1935.

Carrel, Alexis, "The Mechanism of Senescence." *New York Acad. Med. Graduate Fortnight. Problems of Aging and Old Age. 4;* 1928.

Castro, J. D., *Geography of Hunger.* London: Gollancz Ltd., 1952.

Crampton, C. Ward, "Selective Nutrition for the Aging." *The Merck Report.* April, 1948.

Kemper, Werner, *Die Störungen der Liebesfähigkeit beim Weibe.* Stuttgart: Thieme Verlag, 1943.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Lewin, S. A., and Gilmore, John, *Sex After Forty.* Medical Research Press, 1952.

Pillay, A. P., "The Role of Vitamin A in Infertility." *Indiana Med. Gaz. 75;* 91, 1950.

Robertson, Thorburn B., *The Chemical Basis of Growth and Senescence.* Philadelphia, London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1923.

Robertson, Thorburn B., *The External Inheritance of Man.* Adelaide: Hassell Press, 1926.

Rubin, Isadore, "The Search for Rejuvenation." *Sexology,* April, 1959.

Sapirstein, Milton I., *Emotional Security.* New York: Crown Press, 1948.

Van de Velde, Theodore H., *Ideal Marriage, Its Physiology and Technique* (translated by Stella Brown). London: W. Heinemann, 1928.

Van de Velde, Theodore H., *Fertility and Sterility in Marriage, Their Voluntary Promotion and Limitation* (translated by Stella Brown). New York: Random House, 1948.

MAXIMILIAN LE WITTER AND
ALBERT ABARBANEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

America, Moral Evolution In

A COMPLETE treatment of sex in America should start with—or before—the days of the first settlers and proceed up to the present. But inasmuch as the colonial period and the current "Kinsey" decade are treated elsewhere in this volume, the time span herein treated will extend from pre-Revolutionary years to the middle of the twentieth century.

American ideas and behavior are both involved in studies of sex ethics and sex practices. The materials on behavior are largely inferential because meaningful observation and reporting are available only for recent times. Moreover, ideas set forth in print must predominate because reading has been a chief means for receiving newly formulated approaches to the subject. Furthermore, printed matter is available to research, whereas unrecorded behavior is not.

Up to the early part of the nineteenth century, the churches and the courts (those of New England in particular) were perennially engaged in the religious and legal regulation of sexual behavior. The ample publicity given such activities kept matters pertaining to sex under public discussion. When these means of social enforcement lost their control value, the legal apparatus was, for the most part, laid aside, and religious sanctions were translated into community pressures. From then until the second quarter of the twentieth century, America's sex history was one of reticence, except in those instances where new ideas evoked thunderous rejection from conservative quarters.

Ministers, missionaries, and moralists of every generation have decried the immoralities of their time, but we have no way of translating their laments into specific behavior patterns. Also, from time to time, travelers, observers, and welfare agencies have provided knowledgeable accounts of extensive urban prostitution, and recollections and memoirs of older and wiser men have occasionally mentioned the prevalence of premarital and extramarital sex contact in an earlier generation. Much of America's sex conduct, however, must be inferred from the writings of bolder minds. Most frequently, the subject dealt with by such writers has been the modification of marriage institutions so as to improve the sexual relationship —or to bring it closer to actual behavioral tendencies. Some have gone as far as to suggest the abolition of marriage because, they said, this institution perverted the goals of sex harmony. In more cases than not, ideas were promoted not as sex psychology (or its pre-modern equivalent) *per se*, but as part of larger political, social, or philosophical reform movements. Practically every reform program contained a platform on woman's right to individuality and equality. This was in recognition that the female sex role was at a disadvantage under the *status quo* as compared with that of the male.

The Age of Reason (1750–1825)

From the middle of the eighteenth century until well after the Revolution the dominant theme of "sex" literature was the achievement of marital happiness by basing the choice of mates on an initial sexual attraction rather than on social or financial convenience. Mutual respect and understanding would perpetuate the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

satisfactions of an originally happy choice. The less compromising rationalists, such as Ben Franklin and Tom Paine, applied the prostitution label to mercenary marriages, but representatives of English and American middle-class thinking confined themselves to a vague insistence on catering (with due regard for parental advice) to the wishes of the individual.

Much of the relevant pamphlet and magazine literature essayed marriage counseling in a generalized and moralistic vein. Here and there one finds an astute observation that departed from the category of glittering generalities. The Reverend Enos Hitchcock noted that the relationship of parents to each other, along with an atmosphere of secure affection in the household, had much to do with children's subsequent success in marriage. The humorists repeated—half in jest—age-old advice to young men against marrying intellectual, high-bred, and markedly beautiful women. Superannuated virgins and termagants were also on the blacklist. Benjamin Franklin came closest to discussing sex liberties in marriage when he cautioned against their abuse. Consistent with his counsel of moderation in all things, he spoke of the commonly (sic) known paradox of indecent relationships between husband and wife. Such abuses, he thought, would dull or destroy the subtle joys of married life.

Other themes touched upon in this period were the status of women in the family and in society, and the outrages committed by libertines upon hapless females. It was commonly agreed that, were victimized women to speak out in self-justification, they would only condemn themselves in the public eye. Still rare and radical, though not unknown, were writers who called for a redefinition of standards of sexual morality, or for a redefinition of the current concept of chastity.

A highly articulate call for the single standard arrived with the importation in the 1790's and early 1800's of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women.* One of the worst forms of sexual inequality, this brilliant English feminist pointed out, was the double standard of virtue. Regardless of the sacrifices a woman might make to preserve her reputation, one minor slip would lose it for her; and her society, especially the female part of it, would never let her regain respectability. There was no such thing as a fractional diminution of public esteem. Men, on the other hand, could preserve their virtue while wallowing in a mire of assorted vices. The evil was compounded when a woman found herself in the once-slipped situation: cast from society, without resources or vocation, only one means of livelihood, woman's oldest, remained.

Mary Wollstonecraft affirmed her belief in conventional marriage; that is, the marriage of social and intellectual equals entered into by mutual desire. William Godwin, that superrationalist and individualist who would later marry Miss Wollstonecraft (their daughter Mary was a famous author and the wife of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley), rejected the marriage institution completely. He found it an obstruction to social justice, a restraint upon the free expression of human affection, and a drawback to full development of the personality. Godwins' ideas probably became notorious: a long list of vices were imputed to this couple by clerical and lay protectors of morality. The segment of their thinking that dealt with woman's equal role was carried to readers by America's first novelist, Charles Brockden Brown.

That Americans did not need to be incited to violate accepted sex mores is clear from the urgings of certain nineteenth-century clergymen that the church abandon its shyness and speak out against prevalent sex activities outside of marriage. Moreover, it seemed to conservative religionists that writers, playwrights, composers, painters, and sculptors were all too frequently enlisted in the job of seducing weak minds to sin. Their task was not difficult, said the Congregational minister Timothy Dwight as he argued against lenient divorce laws. It was "well known to every observer of human nature, that a prominent part of this nature is *the love of novelty and variety, in all its pursuits.*"

Few at the time defended divorce, but many promoted marriage for patriotic reasons. In Europe the Reverend Thomas R. Malthus, basing his conclusions on Benjamin Franklin's estimate of the New World rate of population

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

increase, was gloomy about the prospect of population outrunning the food supply. In America, Parson Weems spoke for many when he said "'tis population *alone,* that can save our bacon...."

Marry, and raise up soldiers, might and main,
Then laugh ye may, at England, France, and Spain.

The Free Inquirers and Associationists (1825–1850)

While patriots promoted marriage and propagation for the national welfare, there were always individualists as well as socialists arguing the cause of the individual and presenting the antimarriage point of view. The prime innovators were still Englishmen. In the nineteenth century, however, a few migrated to America to try out their ideas.

Robert Owen arrived in the United States in 1825 to experiment with his brand of community socialism. But his reform program carried more with it. Owen's "Declaration of Mental Independence," delivered (significantly) on the fourth of July, 1826, attacked what he termed a trinity of evils: ". . . Private, or individual Property—absurd and irrational systems of religion—and Marriage, founded on individual property combined with some of these irrational systems of religion." The plan was for a community committee to take over the registrations and dissolutions of marriage. The new marriage arrangements would correct the difficulties of the old with reference to insincerity of the parties, extraneous considerations in the choice of mates, incompatibility, etc., etc. Owen's community of New Harmony actually decided to follow the family relations laws of the state of Indiana. However, it continued to harbor antimarriage theorists, feminists, divorce-law reformers, and birth-control advocates.

Robert Dale Owen, son of the founder, and Frances Wright, a Scottish freethinker, led the campaigns for reform. Miss Wright was the more effective speaker and carried the causes of women's rights and free thought to the lecture platform. Owen was mightier with the pen. Many a column in the *New Harmony Gazette* and in the *Free Enquirer* was devoted to an anthropological exploration of marriage and sex practices in a variety of societies. The ultimate effect was to demonstrate that there was nothing sacred about European and American expectations of attitude and behavior. Tolerance of the other person's conduct was the lesson to be learned. The test of successful mating, according to Owen and Wright, was the happiness of the partners plus their ability to nurture and educate offspring. The proposed "marriage" contract—to replace the traditional *slave* contract—would be drawn by mutually independent men and women and would provide for the care of children.

The younger Owen, aspiring to be a scientist of human behavior, was interested in sex education and birth control. Hence the *New Harmony Gazette* carried a communication suggesting that the laws of propagation be taught children according to the measure of their comprehension. The plant-to-animal-to-man sequence was recommended. For an audience far less prepared than present-day readers to accept such notions, two important reasons were offered in justification for teaching sex to children: to relieve their anxieties and to give them useful education. Knowledge of the facts of reproduction would persuade the younger generation to guard the physical constitution that would, according to accepted belief in the 1820's and 1830's, eventually be handed on to one's progeny. Sex needed as much attention as hunger and thirst. All three were drives not subject to the will, and "their activity must therefore be directed."

The elder Owen had announced that a world that operated under the guidance of science and education would produce many times its consumption needs. His son, however, having come under the influence of neo-Malthusian thought, was soon convinced that the working class ought to limit family size for economic reasons. Besides, there was risk to health and life for some women to overbreed; there was also the possibility of checking the transmission of hereditary diseases. Birth control would also promote earlier marriages, curb resort to the brothel, and reduce the need for abortion-inducing drugs.

The little book that Robert Dale Owen produced was called *Moral Physiology* (1831). It dealt mostly with the social aspects of birth

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

control, devoting few pages to the description of three methods of contraception (two of which disappeared from later editions because the author had little confidence in them). Owen, as a matter of fact, knew his own limitations and was probably glad to see Dr. Charles Knowlton's more "physiological" *Fruits of Philosophy* come off the press in 1832. *Moral Physiology* had an estimated circulation of some 60,000 copies by 1874. A tenth edition appeared in Boston in 1881. Owen was subjected to sporadic charges of immorality but the law never challenged him. Knowlton was fined and jailed. Nevertheless, *Fruits of Philosophy; or the Private Companion of Young Married People* went into ten editions as well as numerous reprint editions in France, Holland, and England. The English edition (1876) sold over 300,000 copies in three years.

The utopians of New Harmony felt they were sponsoring woman's liberation when they fought for a freer sex morality, for more rational marriage and divorce laws, and for birth control. The associationists at Brook Farm and in other communities of the 1840's were more conservative in their goals for the advancement of women. They proposed a combined household in which community kitchens and dining rooms would free women for richer family, social, and vocational lives.

The associationists had to reply to charges of immorality partly because their shallow-minded accusers equated community kitchens with community wives, and partly because a few philosophically inclined members became interested in Swedenborgianism and Fourierism. It was Henry James, Senior, who translated and published anonymously Victor Hennequin's *Love in the Phalanstery*, a Fourierist plan for harmonizing sexual relations. James admitted his authorship later and explained his position: Society recognized sex only in marriage, and hence drove many an unwilling party into a relationship he would not otherwise have entered. If the science of human relationships could find a more satisfactory system of outlet for human expression, more power to it! James, a fundamentally conservative person, eventually withdrew to a more traditional position.

Dr. Marx Edgeworth Lazarus, a Fourierist with a strong Swedenborg component, brought together his somewhat superficial knowledge of the natural and social sciences to prove that a true permanent union of souls and/or bodies in marriage was impossible. His *Love Versus Marriage* (1852), addressed "To all true lovers. To the modest and the brave of either sex . . . ," came to the conclusion that everyone's private inclinations were his best guide in the sexual realm.

Freedom in Anarchy

Freedom from regulation by law and social custom was the objective of many social reformers. Much of the talk about the achievement of "passional harmony" on earth and in heaven, an achievement that required the revision or abolition of current sex ethics, covered up one general wish. This was the wish that both men and women be permitted, if they chose, to have more than one sex partner in a lifetime. These urgings for reform clearly wanted to render law and religion more consonant with the reality of sex practices.

The American anarchist call for "individual sovereignty" in law, economics, and sex pursued this line of thought during the second half of the nineteenth century. Stephen Pearl Andrews, who had debated the matter with Horace Greeley and Henry James, Senior, in the pages of Greeley's *Tribune*, proved to his own satisfaction that "free love" was the only true love. If society did not encroach on the sovereignty of the individual, and if the individual did not encroach on the welfare of others, the mutual adjustment of two people would take place without outside interference. "Free love" was still in its doctrinal form in the nineteenth century. Those who did not understand it, or who were not psychologically prepared for it, were advised not to try it. For the time being, free-love advocates gratefully accepted liberalized divorce laws or any other relaxation of social control over marriage. The ultimate goal expressed on the masthead of *The Word*, an anarchist periodical, was "Free Land, Free Labor and Free Love."

The high point of Ezra Hervey Heywood's (editor of *The Word*) campaign for sexual freedom came with his publication in 1876 of *Cupid's Yokes or, the Binding Forces of Con-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

jugal Life. This book, described as "an essay to consider some moral and physiological phases of Love and Marriage, wherein is asserted the natural right and necessity of Sexual Self-Government," brought its author repeated obscenity prosecutions under the Comstock Law of 1873. *Cupid's Yokes* contained many contradictory qualities. Its language was often crass and provocatively candid; at other times it was quite delicate, as when it defined the sex drive as "this mingled sense of esteem, benevolence and passional attraction called Love, [which] is so generally diffused that most people know life to be incomplete until the calls of affection are met in a healthy, happy, and prosperous association with persons of the opposite sex." Again, the book drew on some of the most respected scientific knowledge of its time, as well as on some highly dubious pseudo science.

The free-love forces organized on regional, national, and tactical lines. But always they carried forward the movement in behalf of women's emancipation from an enslaved social and sexual condition; always the leaders called for the building of a science of morals and marriage. At the "Social Freedom" convention of 1875, one participator, Lois Waisbrooker, remarked about the necessity of a "standard of nature and science" as distinct from the existing standard of authority. "To this end," she said, "personal experiences are in order; every person must not only be permitted but induced to come forward and give his or her personal experiences; and in this free enquiry those who are as chaste as ice should have no precedence over those whose fires are irrepressible." The following year marked the meeting of a Sexual Science Association in Boston.

Lacking foundation funds and scientists with twentieth-century knowledge wherewith to make large-scale studies, the sex scientists resorted to the publicizing of dramatic—or shocking—case histories. The freedom clique that specialized in this device was led from Valley Falls, Kansas, by Moses Harmon, an anarchist in spirit though not in name. Its organ, *Lucifer*, started publication in 1880. The abolition of sexual outrages committed by husbands against their subordinate wives was a central purpose of this group. However, Harmon also belabored a eugenic obsession to the effect that the personalities of offspring were deeply affected by the circumstances surrounding conception. Although he did not realize it, Harmon was considering heredity in the broad social sense, including the quality of parental relationships in general. The anarchist free-love ideology was carried forward in the twentieth century by Emma Goldman, who placed added emphasis on birth control as a measure for woman's social and personal emancipation.

Almost every social reform movement in American history carried a sexual component. The feminists, although mainly devoted to economic, political, and legal aspects of sexual democracy, harbored elements devoted to marriage reform and to the achievement of more satisfying sexual alliances for women. The socialist and communist movements, against the property relationship in marriage, extended their thinking to include the broader sexual problem. Clearly, sex was on the mind of America at all times but found public expression only from the pens and mouths of the most daring citizens.

Sex and the Sects

The influence of major religious bodies has been to discourage exploration and experimentation. This has not been true of several minor sects of the communistic variety. The maverick psychologist, Theodore Schroeder, writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, theorized that many a religious movement—religion itself, in fact—had been born under the stress of erotic excitement and/or denial. He illustrated his hypothesis, which he called the erotogenesis of religion, by delving into the early history of sects that practiced celibacy or polygamy. For example, he pointed out that Mother Anne Lee, the founder of American Shakerism (1774), could never resolve her religious, social, and sex motivations. Marriage had failed to banish her fear of impulses from which she wanted to be protected; it had failed to divest her of her guilt or sin complex. This personality pattern, Schroeder said, generally resulted in prudery or exhibitionism. The Shakers exhibited their celibate practices to the world, and their communities benefited economically from a stable population. The Rap-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

pites, who had owned New Harmony before Robert Owen bought it from them, gained an economic advantage by allowing married couples to live as man and wife for one year in seven. This would prevent the expense of more than one complete dependent in any one family at any one time.

Where some sects resolved their troublesome sex drives by "nonogamy," others evolved a system of polygamy. Each fused a religious with a sex rationale and, at the same time, strove for the economic benefits of communitarian structure. To Schroeder, Mormon history revealed that during religious revivals of the early nineteenth century the Mormon leader, Joseph Smith, had practiced adultery before developing a theological justification for polygamy. Moreover, during revival meetings, the parties most subject to "deliriums" were the younger folk whose emotional disturbances could best be ascribed to sex repression during adolescence. Contemporary observers (during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) of youthful participants in revivals attest that sexual excitement was generously stirred up along with religious excitement.

In the case of John Humphrey Noyes, inventor of "complex marriage" at Oneida, New York, early sexual disappointments and the stimulus of evangelical revivals are indicated, but it is impossible to say that the religion and sex ethics of his Perfectionism evolved from personal circumstances. What is more certain is that Noyes forced his preference for sexual pluralism into the mold of simple Bible communism. The idea of socialized mating seemed to fit with the re-establishment of heavenly love on earth. The thought was that a man should not embrace one woman exclusively any more than he should hold fast to private property. All men in the community should ideally be potential husbands of all women; and all children the pride and joy of all the adults. The Oneidists worked out a committee system for marriage *pro tem,* and for separation if and when desired. Noyes attempted to solve the population problem by advocating the practice of male continence, implying coitus without ejaculation. He also experimented with stirpiculture, a community-controlled eugenics program.

Sex Science

The influence of such religious and political practice, experimentation, thought, and writing on prevailing behavior was probably small despite fairly widespread controversy in print. The public mind was doubtless enlarged, or feelings confirmed, by the treatises and manuals of doctors and others who backed their words with the prestige of science. As far back as the 1830's, Dr. Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy* had consoled readers with the thought that sexual desire, within reason, was just another normal body appetite and had to be honored as such.

Health and diet reformers, such as Dr. William Alcott (cousin to Bronson Alcott) and Sylvester Graham, advised extreme moderation in sexual exercise. Accordingly, they counseled avoidance of "stimulating" foods such as meat and condiments. Sex education in the home and physiological education in the schools also promised a wholesome outcome.

The phrenologists, popularly patronized for psychological counsel and therapy a century ago, concentrated more on the "amative propensity" than on any other of their patients' behavior problems. Among the most popular of their little volumes, the income from which supplemented fees for feeling and massaging cranial bumps, was *Fowler on Matrimony; or Phrenology Applied to the Selection of Suitable Companions.* Another much-read book was *Amativeness: or, Evils and Remedies of Excessive and Perverted Sexuality, including Warning and Advice to the Married and Single.*

The hydrotherapists of the 1840's and 1850's did their share by advising cold wet sheets, baths, douches, and marriage reform. Nearer to modern interests were the water-cure doctors, who did not limit themselves to narrow hydrotherapy. Dr. Russell Thatcher Trall paid much attention to gynecological and sexual problems. His *Hydropathic Encyclopedia* advised on the merits of the "safe period" for women who wanted parenthood to be a voluntary matter. His *Sexual Physiology* (1866) discoursed on sponges, plugs, douches, and drugs as means to prevent conception. Other physicians of the post-Civil War era wrote pieces on social hygiene and women's problems but few were as informative as Trall.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The tenor of contemporary medical reporting indicated a public need for breaking through secrecy on the subject of sex. The prevalence of abortions was an important stimulus to convince physicians of such a need. Dr. Edward Bliss Foote and his son carried the work of informing the public to the beginning of the twentieth century. Their home encyclopedias of health (*Plain Home Talk about the Human System—The Habits of Men and Women—The Causes and Prevention of Disease*—and *Our Sexual Relations and Social Natures*) were best-sellers and brought handsome profits; but much of this income was consumed by court costs and fines resulting from prosecution under the federal obscenity law.

The Twentieth Century

Publishers did a lively business in the first decade of the twentieth century keeping older popularizations in print and adding a few new ones. Some of the more advanced scientific works of R. von Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, and Auguste Henri Forel were imported or republished here, but these books were generally sold only to physicians. Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung visited America in 1909 to lecture on the sexual roots of behavior and on the conflict between sex and society. American society was not ready to hear, however, and quickly suppressed any disagreeable notions it might have absorbed from the visiting Viennese.

In the five-year period before World War I many sound, inexpensive books were sold to an eager audience. Margaret Sanger offered *What Every Girl Should Know* and *What Every Mother Should Know*. Winfield Scott Hall wrote many family instruction pamphlets and the book, *Biology, Physiology, and Sociology of Reproduction*. Dr. William J. Robinson published in his sex education series *Sex Knowledge for Men; Sex Knowledge for Women and Girls;* and *Woman, Her Sex and Home Life*. A more formal treatment of the subject was published in 1916: it was *Sex Education* by Maurice Alpheus Bigelow of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Much literary, sociological, and psychological publishing and discussion on the perennial war of the sexes ensued during the war years and after. But it would seem that the greater interest lay in techniques of love wherewith to expunge the antagonism. In this genre were Walter Franklin Robie's *Rational Sex Ethics* (1916) and *The Art of Love* (1921), Marie Stopes' *Married Love* (1918), and Harland William Long's *Sane Sex Life and Sane Sex Living* (1919). These works, sold quietly at first and later placed prominently on bookstore counters, furnished a large population of readers both confirmation of their patterns of love-making and suggestions for experimentation. The 1930's brought expensive translations from the Dutch of Theodore Hendrick Van de Velde as well as the reasonably priced and justly popular *Marriage Manual* by Hannah and Abraham Stone. These and large numbers of less widely known manuals were read and discussed and translated into experience. Their major effect was to add a measure of confidence to relationships in which secrecy, productive of fear and diffidence, had formerly prevailed. Subsequent writings on marriage and sex were to succeed by promising to bring freedom from fear. These works were to flourish after psychoanalysis became the layman's property. Ideas of fear, guilt, and repression, when better understood, were more readily accepted.

The past twenty-five years have been notable for a rapidly expanding candor in discussions of sexuality and sex information, vast progress in psychological counseling towards the resolution of sex-oriented personality problems, and an increased body of sexologic knowledge. Private, social, and religious censorship are still strong, but government censorship has relaxed. Novel (and unpopular) ideas such as companionate marriage have been subjects for public debate. Marriage and sex education have achieved a firm hold in the colleges and are gaining acceptance in the secondary schools. A few advanced communities are employing appropriate sex instruction films in the elementary grades. The former reliance on parental instruction may return when educational agencies will have produced a generation of parents capable of educating their children in sex.

Much of the materials for education are expected to come out of studies on human sexual behavior in which modern psychology, psychiatry, biology, and sociology are participating.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Throughout the history of our scientific and pragmatic-minded people there have been expressions of a desire for such studies. The speed with which change in this field of endeavor can occur is illustrated by the contrasting fates of two studies, the second begun barely more than a decade after the first. In 1930 Professors De Graff and Meyer at the University of Missouri were visited with severe academic penalties for preparing and administering a questionnaire whose purpose it was to collect data toward devising a system of sex ethics. When Dr. Kinsey and his associates began their use of the questionnaire technique, both the University of Indiana and the Rockefeller Foundation supported their efforts.

References

Calhoun, Arthur W., *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1945. (Original three-volume edition, 1917–1919.)

Dingwall, Eric John, *The American Woman, an Historical Study.* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957.

Ditzion, Sidney, *Marriage, Morals and Sex in America.* New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1953.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Boni, 1951.

Folsom, Joseph Kirk, *The Family and Democratic Society.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1945.

Lerner, Max, *America as a Civilization.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1957 (chapter 8, sections 5-6, and chapter 9, sections 6-7).

Mead, Margaret, *Male and Female.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1949.

Oberholtzer, Emil, *Delinquent Saints; Disciplinary Action in the Early Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

Sorokin, Pitirim, *The American Sex Revolution.* Boston: Porter Sargent, Pub., 1956.

SIDNEY DITZION

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

American Indians, Sex Life of the

A full treatment and understanding of sexual behavior among American Indian peoples is hampered by four important limitations. In the first place, the diversity of cultures in the New World in combination with striking differences in their complexity do not allow the easy drawing of conclusions that have continental validity. Second, the uneven treatment of sex matters in travel, missionary, and ethnographic reports complicates our understanding the problems not only of behavioral motivation but also of institutionalized sex beliefs and practices. Third, the observation and description of sexual behaviors vary in point of time, some of our records appearing at the beginnings of contact with the West, but many appearing much later, after centuries of change. Fourth, the ramifications of sexual behavior for any people are such that a summary report of sex outside its cultural contexts is certain to oversimplify our understanding of the meaning and significance of sexual activity in the life of a particular people.

In the face of these limiting conditions the possibility for a thoroughgoing inventory and analysis of American Indian sex beliefs and practices is rather slim. However, it is possible to show something of the diversity and range of sexual behavior and belief and to indicate how this basic physiological datum affected Indian interpretations of the world, influenced the social order, and penetrated their daily lives.

Sex and the World View

Like other peoples of the world, American Indians and Eskimos perceive and emphasize the basic dichotomy and physiological differences of the sexes. Indian myths of creation and later transformations offer some distinctive evidences of their interpretations of the role of sex in the universe and in the life of mankind.

Myths of Creation

The creation myths of American Indians generally show deities distinguished by sex. The world of spirit as well as of man is bisexual, and although in daily life they are familiar with hermaphrodites and cross-sex behavior, and may formalize it as transvestism, still American Indians tend to identify the spiritual personalities of their pantheons as males or females. However, they do not stereotype maleness and femaleness. Male figures may be more active, the conquerors of monsters and the transformers of the world, while females engage in domestic activity and care for children, but both sexes may be sexually aggressive and may commit acts of violence.

Creator gods tend to be male, even when a female deity is described as "grandmother" of the gods (Iroquois). It is the grandson, Taronhaiwagon, and not the progenitrix, who creates and animates. Taronhaiwagon is the sky god who looks down upon men with sympathetic and benevolent eyes and supplies the vital gen-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

erative and regenerative forces for the Earth-Mother and her children. In centers of cultural advancement, such as the valley of Mexico, Yucatan, and the Andean highlands, the creator figures were addressed as "lord, the father," among other titles. Some creator gods, as among Zuni, give the appearance of a primeval ambisexuality, since all that is initially created, including maleness and femaleness, is generated by and from this always-existing figure. Yet the common tendency is to attribute maleness to the Creator, as do these very same Zuni, who consider Awonawilona the "Maker and Container of All, the All-father Father." In South America outside the Andes the supreme creators are also addressed as males, very often as "father" or euphemistically as "The Old One" (Yahgan). Female supreme beings occur in a few scattered instances (Cagaba, Yaruro, Chamacoco) in association with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence patterns. Generally speaking, however, female deities are not of great importance among either the North American or South American hunter-collectors and hunter-horticulturists. The earth commonly may be associated with a "mother" and with female productivity, but it is only among the advanced horticulturists in Central America that earth emerges as a goddess and mother-of-fertility and assumes a prominent place in popular belief and ritual practice.

In their accounts of the primeval creation, Indian and Eskimo alike seem to have a miraculous rather than a sexual generative process in mind. The eastern Eskimo account of the origin of whales and other sea life tells of their being formed from the finger joints of Sedna, the Goddess of the Sea. Deceived by a fulmar spirit who had married her on the promise of a life of ease, Sedna and her father flee the fulmars who attempt to swamp the boat in revenge for the slaying of the deceitful lover. In his terror Sedna's father casts her from the boat, and as she grasps the edge he cuts off her fingers joint by joint; these, falling in the water, turn into whales, fish, etc.

The Hopi Indians people primeval time with two female and two male beings, White-Shell-Woman, Spider Woman, Sun, and Moon. White-Shell-Woman sends Moon for Sun. From the scale-skin rubbed from different parts of her body, White-Shell-Woman creates birds for Sun. The latter in turn creates the deer, antelope, and other animals, and after forming the earth Sun turns it over to White-Shell-Woman. The fabrication of woman is accomplished in the cooperative presence of Sun, who voices impatience at the delay in finishing the human. Now White-Shell-Woman finds the creation of a lone woman "not good" and immediately sets to work to produce a male, also from her skin.

The near-by Navaho begin with First World, an island of dark or red earth floating in a sea of mist. Black Cloud and White Cloud, symbols of femaleness and of maleness, meet in the East and there and at that time the First Man and the first perfect ear of seed corn are formed.

Accounts of these primeval creations seem most matter of fact and sexless despite the apparently miraculous events that take place. Supernatural figures of either sex enter and leave the mythic dramas without any compelling necessity on the part of the narrators to account for their existence. At the dawn of life power is simply rampant and unstabilized when compared with today. Generation and vigorous growth are frequent occurrences, as when Dew Boy makes corn grow for the people of Oraibi (Hopi) in a single day. When the Zuni, during the time of emergence from Earth's four-storied womb, cross a river, the babies on the backs of the women turn into snakes, and those not held tightly by their fearful mothers escape to become water spirits associated with clouds and rain-bringing ceremonies. The Aztecs relate that in the time of Quetzalcoatl corn grew to such size that it was all a person could do to carry a single ear. Gourds measured several feet in length and cotton grew in all colors.

Myths of Sex

Neither the first spirit-beings nor the first men and women are wholly familiar with sex, and they often give the impression that proper attitudes and behaviors have yet to come. Spontaneous passion, violence, avoidance, and fear may be expressed in individual events, all of which, however, seem directed to an explanatory purpose. The Piro of the Upper Amazon relate how Tsla, both hero-trickster and Cre-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ator, was born of a mother married to three brothers, tiger-spirits. When she choked while attempting to swallow lice during a wifely delousing operation, they all pounced on her and tore her to pieces. Before all was gone the tigress mother-in-law snatched the uterus and placed it in a tree. From this severed member Tsla and three brothers were born to avenge their mother's death and to perform many feats, including the molding of Indians from red clay and of whites from white clay.

Sex and pregnancy are not portrayed as pleasurable, natural, or necessary for the spirits and people of the primeval days. The natural aspects of sex commonly give way in face of the miraculous, as the Menomini myth of Manabozo's birth illustrates. The first old woman cautions her daughter that she must face only to the south when digging "potatoes." No mention is made of sex or conception by the old woman and the forgetful girl suddenly finds herself turned around and around by a powerful rush of wind out of the north. The old lady threatens her daughter and warns her that she is being punished for disobedience. Later, in childbed, the daughter gives birth successfully to Manabozo and Little Wolf, but the third "child," a flint rock, cuts her and she dies. Disobedience to the injunctions of the old woman leads always to pregnancy and death, yet the daughter's fate, a consequence of her unwitting dereliction, is softened by the child she produces, for Manabozo is to be the instructor of mankind, sent from on high by the Master of Life.

In the Southwest a common event in the formative period of the earth and of man portrays the separation of the sexes, sometimes attributed to scheming Coyote (Navaho), at other times to the presumption of the women, who assert they do not need husbands to be married (Hopi). Generally, women are depicted as more lascivious and unstable in character than the men, symbolized by their lack of fertility, since they are unable to grow as full crops as the men. In their passion women use rocks, feathers, and cacti and give birth to monsters, such as the Great Stone that kills men. The men in their turn satisfy their passion with mountain sheep, mountain lions, and antelope, all of which die in the process, and the men are finally struck down by lightning (Navaho). Events such as these are part of the "emergence theme" in the Southwest, which stresses "wickedness" and strife before people learned what to do and eventually established themselves on the present earth. Yet it is like other Indian treatments of the primeval and formative eras since it features miraculous births, generations, transformations, violence, and sexual passion, all of which are cast within a matter-of-fact explanatory framework.

Myths of Animal-Spouses

Lovers and spouses who may be animal-beings belong to the formative period of earth and of man and illustrate the basic qualities of those times. Basic Indian attitudes toward non-human spouses also emerge. Generally speaking, it is considered reprehensible or adulterous for women to have animal-spouses. A common North American story of Bear-Woman describes her as transformed into a ferocious killer of humans when accused of having a bear-lover, or when she learns that her father and brothers have killed her animal husband. The story may turn into a magic flight with the brothers and younger sister ascending into the heavens to become the Dipper. In a Quinault version the father kills the dog-husband, but the puppies that are born (four male and one female) later are "fixed" in a human shape instead of being subject to a day-night transformation as their dog-father had been. They excel in hunting and ultimately are accepted as leaders by those who had abandoned the mother and her dog-babies.

Snakes sometimes figure as adulterers, and when the husband catches the pair *in flagrante*, he may kill the snake and serve up its genitals to his wife, or kill both of them, cutting off her head and sometimes serving her flesh to the children. The explicit phallic symbolism of the snake may account for the violence attributed to the wronged husband, but the killing and eating of an adulterous woman in North America occurs in contexts other than the snake-paramour. The South American Indian treatment of the animal-lover theme is much the same, with the young mother learning the iden-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tity of her husband when her baby changes into a deer, bird, reptile, or tiger, or when her husband suddenly bares his teeth and sets out to devour her. When wives or sisters are abducted by animals or sea-beings, husbands and brothers are portrayed in pursuit and finally as rescuing them, sometimes with the assistance of other animals (Northwest Coast).

If women who establish relations with animal-beings or other mythical personages are depicted as punished, devoured, or unhappily awaiting a rescuer, men who consort with animal-maidens or spouses are more often described as abandoned husbands. An Eskimo tale has geese-women surprised in their bath and trapped by the hunter, who holds their bird-skin clothes. He releases all but one, whom he marries and by whom he has two sons. One day while the hunter is away the goose-wife finds some wings and takes flight with her sons. The husband pursues and spears her, despite her effort to escape by feigning death. With this act the family is broken up, for it is stated simply that the sons go away together. In a Plains version a man takes advantage of a buffalo cow mired in the mud. She bears a child and lives with the man, assuming a human shape. However, her husband breaks an injunction not to strike at her with fire and so she and her child rejoin the buffalo herd. In pursuit, the husband is forced by the chief of the buffaloes to pick his child out from the herd. The test is repeated ritually four times, and each time the husband is aided by the buffalo child, who furnishes cues to his identity. In this way the human husband and his buffalo spouse and child are reunited. For the most part, however, animal- or bird-wives are usually easily offended and leave their human husbands, and in the pursuit that follows the family with the children rather than the sexual attraction of the spouse seems to be the important motive for the chase.

In South America the husband does not seem to fare any better than the wife in the animal- or demon-spouse encounters. Death is a frequent consequence when lured by ghosts or sirens who dwell within the dark forest. The advanced horticulturists of Nuclear America also describe these encounters as fateful. In Yucatan today men in the forest guard themselves against the long-haired siren who dwells in the ceiba tree, for she will lure them to their deaths.

Myths of Incest

Acts of incest by spirit-beings and people of the mythic past have also contributed to the formation of the world as men know it. The Eskimos explain the separation of sun and moon as due to the incestuous passion of a brother for a sister, accomplished when sex play occurred with the "lights out." Suspicious, the sister traps the passionate suitor with soot marks from her blackened hands, and in the anger of discovery she cuts off her breasts and offers them for her brother to eat. This act, however, only inflames his passion and he continues in pursuit. Both rush out into the darkness with torches, the brother tripping and extinguishing his light. The pursuit still continues in the heavens, the sister with her lighted torch being the sun, the brother the moon.

Tribes in central and northern California tell of a girl overwhelmed by passion for a younger brother who is kept hidden from her. At her insistence he comes forth and she chooses him to accompany her. This he consents to do, but at night, suspecting her intent, he puts a log in his place and takes flight. Upon awakening, the sister's unnatural desire is now accompanied by homicidal anger and she seeks to kill the whole family, who escape by ascending into the sky in a basket. However, against the instructions of the boy, the mother looks back and the basket falls to earth into the fire prepared by the vengeful sister. Miraculously the boy bounces into the air and escapes, to return later with his children to kill his sister. This he is able to accomplish only by discovering her point of vulnerability, the sole of her foot, into which he drives an arrow (Shasta).

In North America tales of incest seldom include father-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and son-in-law, or parent and child, but the Plains Indians, in their lovable transforming trickster, Old-Man-Coyote, possess a source of a wide range of sexual anecdotes that include father-daughter and mother-in-law and son-in-law relations. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tone of these tales is generally humorous, but at the same time the ridicule and public humiliation heaped upon Old-Man-Coyote make the copying of his behavior a perilous act. In the Northern Plains, too, a hunter's penis suddenly begins to talk and will not be silenced until it has been handled by his mother-in-law. Since the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo commonly prohibited all but the most discreet social interaction and indirect communication, this tale is especially interesting. However, its limited distribution does not permit any blanket explanation of the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo as based on a repression-projection mechanism.

Sexual desire for a son-in-law occurs in a few recorded tales, and here also lust leads to unrestrained violence, the older woman sometimes drowning her daughter by an act of deception. In some instances the older woman may be unrelated and apparently covets the beauty of both the girl and her youthful husband. She may dress in the skin of her victim, but eventually she is discovered, and with her disguise removed the hateful old woman is revealed. In a Wichita version the husband and chief removes the disguise by singing four "medicine" songs and then directs that the old woman be killed. Later he hears singing that comes from the middle of a river and there he finds his wife, for the old woman had tossed her into the stream. After the camp has been purified with appropriate ritual the wife returns to live with her husband.

Myths of the Sex Act

Although American Indians express the theme of inevitable hate, violence, and destruction when a person is overwhelmed by lust, they seldom describe forced intercourse or rape. The female sex partner never protests when confronted with sexual desire, but males are described as slipping away and avoiding the desire-ridden girl who calls upon them. When rape intrudes it comes in the form of an accusation by a rejected woman. As recorded in the tales, the sex act is not the focus for extended description–there is no heightening of sexual tension in anticipation such as occurs in the romantic literature of the West. Lust simply and suddenly appears and is immediately gratified with the cooperation of the partner.

The general lack of attention to the sex act itself in the Indian literature makes it difficult to infer much about attitudes, fears, and anticipated pleasures in the act-situation. Besides utilizing the sex act to offer explanations as to how some portions of the universe are shaped as they are, the usual Indian intent seems directed to the meanings and consequences of interpersonal relations. The lover who is deceived into disfiguring his face and then is laughed at and rejected by a haughty "princess" of the Northwest Coast, ultimately gains a revenge in which she, too, out of magically induced passion, disfigures herself. The hero, restored and made to look even handsomer by supernatural beings, rejects her and allows his companion to possess her. The princess, in her effort to erase the facial scars, journeys to the spirit land also, but her character does not change, and the spirits, in their fury at her hauteur, destroy her (Tsimshian). Another common theme is the poor, often dirty and ugly, youth who is rejected by his bride. Later he transforms himself and proves to be a handsome "supernatural" being in disguise.

Oedipal situations are hinted in the slaying of nephews or sons by a "jealous" uncle or father, but, as in a Kodiak version, it is not the slaying of his brothers or the implied sexual aggression that moves the Eagle-Boy to vengeance, but the denial of food to loved parents. After dropping his uncle into the sea, the hero induces his parents to accompany him to Eagle-land, where they now live. In like manner the testing of sons-in-law by the father of the bride can be interpreted as instances of sexual jealousy, but the tales do not make this explicit in the least. The test rather seems designed to bring out the "supernatural" powers of the suitor, who may convert the father-in-law by saving him from a perilous death.

The tale of the vagina knifed with teeth offers a striking exception to the usual treatment of the sex act since more description of the act itself is provided and a castration theme is baldly stated. The tale has a considerable distribution north of Mexico and usually portrays a hero outwitting a siren or an old woman and her daughter by substituting wood or stone for his penis. The women monsters usually die in the process and the Navaho make it clear that

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

with this feat Elder Brother forestalled the subsequent appearance of such women among mankind. In the South American Chaco, the Toba and Mataco tell how women let themselves down from the sky with the aid of a rope. They intended to steal food from men, who were in animal form at the time. When their rope was cut by a bird, the women were forced to remain, but men were able to have intercourse with them only after the culture hero, Carancho, broke their vaginal teeth.

Formal Expression and Control of Sex: Sex and Ceremonial

In a broad cultural point of view American Indians quite evidently were concerned with the generation and growth of life. Both in myth and in rite the little-understood but powerfully desired forces that germinate and sustain life were given preferential treatment. However, American Indians do not seem to have dramatized the procreative act itself to any great extent nor to have accorded feigned intercourse and sexual license a prominent part in fertility ceremonies. Their deities were not represented with enlarged genitalia and neither *enceinte* goddesses nor monumental phalli and vulva were enshrined along the trails.

The advanced cultures of Nuclear America provide more than usual evidence of a "fertility consciousness." From the early cultures in the Valley of Mexico many pottery female figurines have been recovered, but the treatment is not overtly sexual. By the time of the Mexican invasion of Yucatan (tenth to thirteenth centuries) the fertility cult may have included dramatization of intercourse, license, and homosexual behavior, for the Maya refer to the conquering Itza as the "unrestrained lewd ones of day . . . /and/ night, the rogues of the world." Possibly a phallic cult may have been introduced to the Maya from the Vera Cruz area about the time of the Mexican invasions.

Excavation in Central America occasionally turns up pottery models of the male organ, but it is on the North Coast of Peru from the Mochica (up to 1000 A.D.) that clay genitalia appear in quantity. The Mochica also possessed a feline god who propagated humans physically and maintained fertility, his organ at the moment of coitus being bathed with a special fluid by two assisting bird deities. The depositing of sexual pieces and pottery on which sexual scenes are depicted, including masturbation, fellation, cunnilinctus, pederasty, and unusual sexual postures, as funerary furniture may reflect a popular and ritual concern with sex and fertility. Some of the pieces evidently were intended as ribald humor, but others portray a physical destruction of the "pervert." It is quite probable that the male homosexuality prevalent in the coastal areas of Peru and Ecuador at the time of the Conquest was ceremonialized, representing a fertility complex comparable to that of the Mochica.

In comparison with African and Hindu cultures, obvious sexual symbols seem weakly represented in the ceremonial ritual and art of the American Indians. Sexual symbolism commonly was masked, as in the ritual drinking of fermented maguey juice to signify impregnation (Papago) or in the Pueblo ceremonial races where men kicked sticks and women hoops. Indian ceremonialism handled the fertility theme guardedly and with restraint. Commonly the conditions desirable for germination and growth were pressed into the ritual and symbolized, such as clouds, wind, rain, and creatures associated with water as frogs and snakes. Occasionally, as among the Hopi, cylinders and circlets that symbolized the male and female generative powers were taken to a spring by a procession of boys and girls and there smeared with fertile mud and then cast upon four ground paintings as they returned. But to all intents and purposes germination was a mystic act—the intervention of a supernaturalistic power activated by the sacred words and pleasing actions of purified ritualists to the accompaniment of symbolized desire.

Whether facing the issue of germination or growth, American Indians took their cues primarily from the heavens and the plants or from the strength-bringing act of eating. Their instruments for growth consisted of water or fermented drink dropped from pottery vessels, or the tears of children to be sacrificed (Aztec) or of tethered black dogs or llamas (Inca), who evoked the pity of the rain gods through their crying. From the Mexican Aztec to the Andean Inca the gods, as men, were nourished with

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

vegetable food and with the blood and meat of animals, birds, and humans. It was not the germinal and growth processes but the product that symbolized fertility, the first fruits—the full-bodied green corn. Sacrificial victims might be fattened to symbolize a full stomach and a healthy growing body, but not to signify a body pregnant or sexally virile (Skidi Pawnee). The cannibalism of the northwest Amazon tribes such as the Witoto and Cubeo included the eating of the victim's penis by the chief's wife or the warrior's wife. The Cubeo warrior customarily dried the penis and scrotum and performed a dance in which the victim's genitalia covered his own. Eating the penis was supposed to make the woman fertile. For the most part, however, the torture and cannibalistic complexes of the Americas did not include the victim's genitalia as a fertility trait. Rather, the genitalia were burned and otherwise mutilated by the women to humiliate the victim.

Ritual cleanliness also contributed to the general muting of sex in religious ceremonial. Sexual continence was considered essential to the preparation for and participation in ritualized activities and often extended to hunting and war ventures. In their ceremonials Plains Indians selected chaste women for special roles, but religious chastity was institutionalized only in Nuclear America, and even there it was not a universal condition for priest or priestess. Ceremonial continence and not celibacy was the Indian view.

In addition to the basic Indian conception that divided the sexes according to their respective generative roles, ideas about menstruation also influenced the separation of sexes in ceremonials. Women were considered unclean and potentially dangerous to men who worked with the supernatural powers that activated and sustained the world and the individual. Generally the menstruant was barred from public ceremonial and prayers described the ritual purity of the participants as resting in part on the exclusion of the "unclean" woman.

Ceremonial License

Sexual license within a ceremonial context was not a notable feature of Indian behavior. In the hunter-collector and hunter-horticultural societies the predominant association of men with supernatural powers and the special procedures for purification tended to separate and restrain the sexes throughout the ritual performances. Men organized themselves at times into secret fraternities that denied knowledge and participation to women.

The Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego concluded their puberty rites for boys and girls with a mock battle between men and women, and followed this with a feast. Like their neighbors the Alacaluf and Ona, the Yahgan possessed a ceremony that carried the individual beyond the puberty initiation, which was restricted to initiates and involved terrorization of the women. Chaco tribes held religious dances in which a young boy and girl impersonated deities to promote rain, abundance, and protection from disease. Although the "wife" appeared naked, there is no hint of license during or after the dances. Naked Mbaya boys would surround a girl smeared with charcoal and clothed with branches and try to strip her while other girls fended them off. When finally caught by the boys, the girl was taken to the river and the charcoal washed from her face. More often in the ceremonial context, the intrusion of naked sex took the shape of bald humor, as when Zuni men appeared with gourds to simulate phalli and the women drove them back with a bombardment of filth.

The ceremonial drinking bouts so prevalent among South American hunter-horticulturists seldom resulted in sex behavior. Young women commonly were *not* allowed to participate and in some cases no woman whose husband was a party to the bout was allowed to witness the drinking. The usual role of the woman was that of caretaker for the incapacitated and preventer of violence. Drumming and dancing were an integral part of the "bout" and the boasting of the men usually raised resentment and anger but not sexual passion. Similar behavior is reported from North American Indians following the introduction of liquor. The stuporous condition usually attained in these drinking festivities did not favor the arousal and release of sexual energy.

Sexual license was not a usual ritual accompaniment to American Indian fertility ceremonies or puberty rites. Sexual license did occur during the puberty rites of the Califor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

nian Yuki, Shasta, and Maidu. However, when fertility and license were combined, it generally occurred among advanced horticulturists in whose cultures premarital and extramarital controls also appear more severe than among the simple hunters and horticulturists. Despite the references of the padres to lascivious dancing and obscene behavior in Mexico, there is no firm evidence of fertility orgies. More often normal restrictions and surveillance were relaxed, stimulating momentary "affairs." Among the Hopi, for example, on the day of the Snake Dance and for three days thereafter a woman might snatch from a man any possession he happened to be carrying. Both married and unmarried women engaged in this sport in the daytime, but as the game continued after dark the married withdrew, leaving youths free to encourage pursuit to a secluded spot by exhibiting some attractive object before a young woman. Ceremonial prostitution for one night is reported for priestesses of the medicine bundles among the Zuni, but there is no evidence that prostitution was expected of priestesses dedicated to cult gods in Nuclear America.

Although fertility may not have furnished the usual context for sexual license among American Indian groups, social festivities of one kind or another did set the stage. Among the Iroquois, belief in a necessity to actualize personal dreams in the interests of individual health and public safety was associated with desire fulfillment of various kinds, including sex. In the Andacwander rite extramarital sexual intercourse was sanctioned so long as it stemmed from a dream. The Eskimo custom of "putting out the lights" and engaging in promiscuous sex play and intercourse took place during a festive social mood. Special situations such as the personal vow of the Plains warrior to become a Crazy-Dao-Wishing-To-Die also invited sexual favors. During the Sun Dance some tribes of the Northern Plains had the pledger's wife submit to the man's ceremonial grandfather (Arapaho, southern Cheyenne), but the Oglala and Arapaho alone seem to have permitted full license at one stage in the performance. During moments of sexual relaxation and even license there is no evidence that a formal contravention of incest prohibitions was enjoined or allowed.

Sex Education

Formal instruction in the practical arts of sex is not in evidence among American Indian societies. Knowledge of intercourse might begin in childhood with observation of parents, whose concealment in the limited quarters never was complete. Information passed on by older youths and occasional adults expanded this knowledge, but usually the coital art was learned firsthand from some person of the opposite sex who was older. When formal instruction that may connect with sex occurred, it usually was associated with transition ceremonies that marked passage from child to young adult. These ceremonies were multifunctional, designed as much to establish favorable relations with the supernatural powers that aid in growth and health and protect the individual and group as to provide moral instruction. The initiation practices also served to induce conformity and respect for adult authority and to signal a change to a status that involved more social responsibility and participation in adult activities in accordance with custom (Ona, Yahgan, Inca, Hopi, Zuni).

Owing to the tendency to bring sex into a magicoreligious configuration, much of the sexual content taught included ritual taboos on foods and avoidances of the opposite sex, besides the appropriate behavior and work for one's own sex. Ingalik men learned that they must take care that no menstruating woman walked over any of their tools or even the cast-off products, as wood shavings, for fear of losing their skill at manipulating tools and selecting trees. A woman in her turn had to learn that she must wait awhile before walking to where her husband had left the catch of fish, for if she were to tread on his fresh footsteps, his luck in hunting and fishing would no longer hold.

As with many tribal peoples, American Indians made use of behavioral patterns that dramatized the status-linkage of the interacting individuals. The emotional tone of these patterns tended to be either reserved or expressive, enjoining avoidance or access behaviors. Brother-sister avoidance was widespread in the Americas, generally induced in childhood by a feeling of shame-respect. Proper behavior usually dictated physical separation and restricted

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

communication. When riding in a canoe the Yahgan insisted that brother and sister sit apart, and Arapaho brothers and sisters acted in the best tradition when they did not remain together in the same group and when they exchanged information through a messenger. When talking to her brother an Arapaho girl was supposed to keep her eyes on the ground.

The joining of families in marriage commonly called for restrained relations among the in-laws, and frequently sons-in-law and mothers-in-law followed a pattern of total avoidance. Sexual references were barred in any respect relationship.

The presence of varied behaviors that not only enunciated differences between the sexes but separated them physically and emotionally indicates that American Indians generally conditioned the individual to a wide range of situational restraints with respect to the other sex. The magicoreligious interpretation of menstruation added but another dimension to the restraint configuration, based in this instance on shame and fear.

A contrary behavior can be found in the "joking" relationship that permitted and enjoined liberties, both humorous and sexual. Usually a joking relationship linked those who were potential spouses and sexual allusions, physical contact, and erotic caresses were quite in order. A Hopi youth expected his father's sister and her husband to wrestle him and to joke about his sexual intentions with respect to his aunt. His "grandfather" did not hesitate to include threats of castration in his humor.

Some societies provided practical opportunities for widening individual sex experience prior to marriage. Bororo youths commonly brought their sweethearts to the men's house, and the usually severe Aztec allowed youths in the telpuchcalli school, largely dedicated to training in arms, to have mistresses. On the other hand, the age-grading and segregation of boys and girls was used by Sherente and Apinayé adults to strengthen their control over youthful sex activity since chastity was the rule. Among the Mataco and other southern Chaco tribes, widespread love-making by the young people followed their social dancing. In a limited number of tribes the puberty ceremonies provided immediate opportunity for sexual intercourse. The Sae had the menstruant at the end of her confinement give a basket of food to the man she liked best and he had intercourse with her. Since marriage usually followed shortly after the puberty ceremonies, the issue of absolute restraint was never a serious problem.

Much of the sex instruction seems to have been carried on informally and to have consisted of admonitions and positive suggestions prompted by immediate recognition of need. If children were surprised in sexual experimentation, as two girls lying together, they might be advised to find some boys (Ingalik). Girls seem to have been given many warnings "to keep away from boys," and mothers as well as other relatives would implement the warning with surveillance, according to how permissive the sexual definition happened to be. Older people sometimes told didactic myths or lectured preadolescent children on what was appropriate, but there is no evidence to indicate that sessions of this kind were devoted especially to sexual matters.

American Indians were not inclined to discuss the physiological changes that would appear, except where menstrual taboos were highly developed and required immediate sequestering and ceremony. In such instances mothers would warn daughters to let them know at the first sign. Individual cases of fear and shame at the discovery of menstruation have been recorded, and this may have been a not uncommon experience, for free and easy exchange of information between mother and daughter and parents and children generally was not an ideal to which Indians addressed themselves. The "shame" that covered menstruation did not make it a fit subject of conversation. The thought system that accepted "like as producing like" also inhibited free discussion of sex. For example, the Arapaho were very guarded in talking about birth and related matters for fear pregnancy would follow in some relative.

Training in modesty seems to have intensified around puberty, when adult clothing was donned and puberty ceremonies or other social recognition defined a new status for the individual. Clothing probably implemented modesty in most areas since exposure of the genitals

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

in public usually evoked a feeling of shame. However, in a number of areas nudity or near nudity was the rule. In the Amazon-Orinoco regions both men and women frequently wore but token clothing, such as a penis sheath or a pubic piece. Until adolescence both sexes commonly went naked. In North America male nudity was frequent in California, the Northwest Coast, and the adjacent Plateau and Basin areas. Female nudity never was so widespread as male. Outside the areas where tailored or sewn skin and textile clothing is found, women were not inclined to clothe the breasts.

Childhood and Premarital Sexuality

Most American Indian societies were rather permissive in their attitudes toward childhood and premarital sexuality, especially with respect to males. The extension of considerable latitude to the male apparently reflects a common recognition of more and frequent sexual experimentation for maturing males in comparison with females, in conjunction with the belief that males played a more active role in the whole sexual configuration. A double standard for the sexes generally prevailed.

Fingering or stroking the genitals to pacify the infant was not a common practice, although blowing or stroking to induce urination occurred among the Nootka and Ingalik. Cain-gang mothers are said to have fingered the male genitals to stimulate sexuality. Over much of North America access to the infant's genitals was denied by use of the cradleboard or pouch. The frequent binding of arms likewise did not allow the nursing infant access to the mother's breast, although toddlers and even children of 4 and 5 could grasp the breast since weaning in the sense of full denial was deferred. It is hard to say to what extent mothers enjoyed the prolonged nursing and tactile contacts with the child. Tepoztlán mothers denied any special satisfaction from nursing, and they were not inclined to permit fingering of the breast because it was not a "toy." Teton Dakota women reported that a teething infant would bite the nipple and they in turn would give the baby's head a thump, sending him into a rage that was quieted by the nipple.

During childhood the naked condition of the children, the half-concealed sexual intimacies of parents, and the activities of animals provided ample opportunities for children to observe the workings of sex. Preadolescent gangs of boys served as a special source for sexual knowledge and experimentation. Such a group of Tenetehara boys would attempt to lure young girls into the bush, where they would attempt intercourse and other sex play.

Masturbation undoubtedly constituted a part of male experimentation since special inquiry usually elicits admission of the activity. As with other sexual behavior, the extent to which autoeroticism was practiced varied regionally and even tribally, Chiricahua Apache contrasting their restraint with Comanche self-stimulation. Group masturbation occurred occasionally. Crow youths as well as preadolescents played a game of "genitals" in which they attempted to touch a sleeping girl or woman, sometimes following with group masturbation. Kwakiutl boys of 5 and 6 would lie together and finger each other's genitals. Masturbation by females apparently was much less prevalent than among males.

The attitude toward masturbation in the young child more often involved amusement than alarm. Few peoples exhibited the extreme of indifference found in Pilagá mothers, who simply ignored the efforts of prepubescent sons to masturbate against their bodies. Neither are there many who follow the Tepoztecans in scolding and beating 5-year-olds who momentarily finger their genitals, although it is possible that the severity and restraint common to contemporary Mexican groups may owe something to a basic pre-Conquest attitude and practice.

Most sex experimentation took place away from immediate adult view and probably involved spontaneous as well as deliberate behavior. Sexual contests of one kind or another were conducted by Crow gangs. The erect penis would be measured against that of another claimant to determine the larger and they would divide according to clans and bet on champions who would attach a line to the penis and then drag a stone as far as possible. Like the Mohave, Crow youths would bet on ejaculation distance. A large penis was prized and preadolescents would pull on the pubic hair to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

stimulate growth and sometimes they would put an irritating plant juice on the penis to make it swell.

Most males probably had some experience with homosexuality during childhood and adolescence. It might have been mutual masturbation or anal entry, an older boy using a younger for the latter purpose. Adult use of children for homosexual practice was severely condemned, although institutionalized homosexuality as a stage in sexual growth may have occurred among the prehistoric Mochica and historic peoples of Ecuador as well as Caribbean groups, who maintained bachelor houses. Inquiry about female homosexuality prior to marriage usually reveals occasional cases; it appears never to have been so frequent or acceptable as among males.

Children who demonstrated a marked preference for the work, games, and habits of the opposite sex were watched closely in their development but no effort was made to force them into their natural sex pattern. The emergent transvestite was an amusing oddity for the most part, but to the Navaho he was a respected symbol of wealth soon to accrue to the family. The hermaphrodite likewise excited interest but was allowed to develop unhindered since Indians generally regarded sex deviation as a response to an inner nature or "call." Transvestism for a male was considered more acceptable than for a female.

Bestiality seems to have been a rarity in developmental experience except where youth gangs and domesticated animals coexisted. Hopi youths sometimes were directed to bestiality presumably to divert them and to preserve the chastity of maidens. The Plains youths experimented with colts and were known to use a freshly slain animal for sexual purposes.

Both boys and girls seem to have graduated to heterosexual contacts at an early age. Societal recognition of this fact is afforded by the brother-sister respect-avoidance behavior commonly initiated between the ages of 7 and 10. Chaco boys chased girls and openly tried to touch the vulva, and if a girl were caught they might attempt intromission. Kwakiutl boys of 6 or 7 would build little shelters in the forest and play house with girls of comparable age, lying with them in imitation of adult copulation. Play imitative of domestic life seems to have provided initial sexual contacts in many societies.

During childhood heterosexual relations were varied but predominantly genital. Girls would masturbate boys and themselves solicit digital play and intromission. Crow boys of 8 and 9 were invited by pubescent and sometimes older girls to urinate in lieu of ejaculation. Fellation and anal entry apparently were infrequent.

In most instances puberty marked an immediate transition to married life for girls, automatically terminating their premarital experimentation. Owing to later maturation, boys were a year or two older at marriage than girls and, where war or other special social experience was required, marriage for males might not take place until 18 or 20 years. In meeting the problem of the natural discontinuity in sexual maturation and a prolonged social development, Indian societies usually provided institutionalized opportunities for intercourse, countenanced surreptitious relations, increased surveillance of unmarried girls, and in a few instances imposed chastity on both sexes.

Societies that maintained a young men's house commonly allowed the youths to possess sweethearts or assigned wantons for their pleasure, as among the Yucatecan Maya and Aztecs. Pawnee nephews customarily were provided with a tipi situated next to a maternal uncle and were allowed access to the latter's wife. In the Great Basin a younger brother might share the wife of an older brother in a temporary polyandrous union, while in the Plains an older brother was expected to extend wife hospitality to a younger brother. Widows, both old and young, were frequent sex targets for the unmarried youth. Where parental surveillance occurred, the technique of assignation by a go-between was common. Stealthy access to a girl within the residence also seems to be associated with strict surveillance and deferred marriage for youths (Kwakiutl, Chiricahua Apache). Even girls sequestered at menstruation were visited occasionally by adolescent youths despite the taboos imposed and fear of damage to the penis.

The rather widespread practice of occupying

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the unmarried girl in domestic work and in watching her closely at social dances is suggestive of furtive sexual attacks by youths. In the Plains the unguarded girl who strayed too far from camp or who was out after dark might find herself assaulted by a number of youths.

There is some reason for believing that relative tolerance of premarital relations may be associated with a theory of conception that required repeated and continuous intercourse over a period of days (Tenetehara). On the other hand, strict control over premarital relations for both sexes commonly occurs in association with ceremonial transitions that bring the novices into contact with the creative and mystic powers in the universe (Yahgan, Sherente, Zuni). However, neither of these explanation comprehends all the social, economic, and ideological factors necessary to account for premarital latitude or strictness.

Attitude toward Sex, Love, and the Married State

Although American Indians generally accepted sex as a natural reality in their lives, their orientation toward it was a composite of attitudes deriving from special situations. Nowhere can one detect a blanket condemnation of sex underwritten by a feeling of guilt, but customs antecedent to marriage frequently reinforced the youthful shyness with a feeling of shame.

The sex-shame configuration helps to explain the widespread practice of arranged marriages and a general absence of courtship patterns that would bring the husband and wife into a partial intimacy prior to marriage. The married state was more a practical and social arrangement that must be negotiated between families, the proper activity of the parents and other relatives. Although elopement might be tolerated in individual cases, it never was a worthy alternative and people usually validated the union with traditional exchanges of food and goods between the families. More often love grounded in physical attraction crumbled before the demands of the social order or, equally probably, it may never have existed in the romantic Western form. Mothers, fathers, elder brothers, paternal aunts, or maternal uncles, singly and in conjunction with others, traditionally picked out the proper industrious spouse, or at the very least they agreed to the boy's selection and made the arrangements. Girls usually exercised their selection through rejection, but were never wholly free of the persuasive pressures from kinfolk.

Although the attitude toward sexual experimentation, both autoerotic and heterosexual, generally was permissive and tolerant, unrestrained sexuality was not valued. The wanton was socially devalued. On the other hand, a life in chastity was not admired. Continence and restraint were framed by ceremonial requirements or by practical needs, such as ensuring a continuous flow of milk and the good health of the infant. Dedication to chastity was possible within the religious system of Nuclear America and apparently was highly prized. Some Dakota families in the Plains boasted socially of lifelong virgins and distributed goods to honor them. For the most part, however, the married state was considered a natural life state, and the Aztec and Inca alike are said to have forced the marriage of bachelors.

Incest and Selection of Spouses

Incest prohibitions in American Indian societies covered the usual in-family relations between parents and children and between brothers and sisters. Inca marriage of brother to sister or half-sister was the only exception to the rule and here dynastic and social factors prevailed and restricted the practice to the upper class and royalty. Marriage to first cousins was both widely forbidden and permitted.

The presence of unilinear kin groups is often associated with a classification of first and more distant cousins into a sibling (parallel cousin) and a nonsibling (cross-cousin) status. The patrilinear Cubeo custom had male cross-cousins (father's sister's sons and mother's brother's sons) exchanging sisters as spouses, while the matrilinear Haida preferred marriage with a father's sister's daughter except when inheritance dictated union with a mother's brother's daughter. Others not only included parallel cousins in the sibling incest definition but also forbade marriage with one of the cross-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cousins, as the Sherente, who would not sanction unions with a mother's brother's daughter. Marriage with a stepdaughter was sanctioned widely in western North America, but societies that barred it were equally numerous. If the absence of occurrence can be accepted as evidence of prohibition, marriage to a niece was rarely countenanced. In some societies it was advantageous to marry a sister's daughter since a man remained in the kin settlement and avoided obligations (Tupinamba, Barama River Carib, Jivaro). When polygyny was widespread, inheritance of the widows by the older son commonly occurred, and it is noteworthy that his own mother was always denied him (Macushi, Araucanians).

Evidence that would allow an assessment of what happened to those who committed incest is scanty. In times of dire illness the Ojibwa were known to confess secret acts of this kind in the hope of escaping death. Among the Chiricahua Apache, eloping first cousins might be killed. It would seem, however, that cases were rare and that when they occurred they drew nothing more than severe public censure. Only the advanced horticulturists considered incest such a heinous offense and ritual sin that agonizing death must follow.

Courtship and Marriage

If courtship is taken to mean a stage preliminary to marriage in which lovers establish a common acceptance and agreement following traditional practices, American Indian societies did not operate under a courtship pattern. Marriage involved families more often than individuals, and arrangements usually fell to the parents. A man's behavior was designed more to secure the approval of the parents than of the girl, since gifts were presented to the bride's parents, sometimes including game hunted by the prospective groom, or the groom performed some useful work and demonstrated his industriousness to his in-laws.

The common Indian view placed experience in living above beauty and romantic attraction. For daily living a man needed a woman who could prepare food, make and mend clothes, and who showed by her industry that she was a homemaker and not a gossip or a loose woman. In turn, a "good" boy must be a hard worker and known to be restrained and kind in his relations with women.

The widespread acceptance of arranged marriages argues for a rejection-anxiety among men, since the initiative was usually placed in the hands of the youth's family. Ingalik mothers chose for their sons spouses who were industrious and who had passed through the menstrual rite, while Iroquois matrons frequently married their sons to an older, experienced widow. In most societies, however, the husband tended to be older than the wife by a few years. Friendly relations between families and individuals sometimes resulted in child betrothal, an arrangement apparently more common where matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence favored intervention of women relatives in the choice of spouses for their descendants.

The contemporary Tarascans provide an exception to the pattern of arranged marriage since lovers will conspire to have the bride "stolen" during the walk home from Sunday church despite the risk of pursuit and a beating at the hands of the irate father and his supporters. However, everything must later proceed as if the marriage had been negotiated, and intercourse prior to the ceremony will be indulged in only upon permission from the godfather of the bride. Elopement and capture are also frequent among the Eskimo, but economic need of a spouse more than romantic love is said to prompt their action.

Under the system of arranged marriages, initial intimacy did not lead to immediate consummation. An awkward "courting" period of variable length intervened until the girl accepted her spouse. Often the shy resistance of the bride was formalized. A Mocovi bride was expected to cover her head and sulk, rejecting food and other favors offered by her in-laws and taking no notice of her husband. When alone, the husband would test her compliance with a command to stop crying and to bring him some object. In contrast, Tenetehara men were so shy when they moved into the household of their in-laws that the brides after a few days were forced to take the initiative and join

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the groom in his hammock. Shame and fear of rebuff possibly motivated the behavior of the Tenetehara men. Among the Aztec consummation was deferred for four days while the bride and groom offered food sacrifices and blood drawn from the ears and tongue and fasted.

No tokens of virginity were taken or displayed by American Indian groups. Where for ritual or socioeconomic purposes virginity had value, determination was made beforehand through questioning and observation. In some tribes of the South Colombian highlands a woman deflowered her daughter with her fingers before marriage, while the Conibos of eastern Peru operated on the inebriated and unconscious girl with a bamboo knife and inserted a clay penis fashioned to the size of the husband's organ. No elaborate procedures to adjust a claim for damage in the absence of virginity were developed by American Indians, although a man usually had the right to annul the marriage where chastity was a factor in the bride price.

In the absence of arranged marriages with the accompanying exchanges of goods, the sexual intimacies of an affair ultimately resulted in a union that gained in stability as children were produced. Some highland tribes in southern Colombia permitted a man to feast the parents of eligible girls and to have intercourse with a different girl each day until he found one suitable to his tastes.

Institutionalized intercourse with the bride by a shaman or other officiant was rare, although it has been reported from certain Venezuelan groups (Maracapana, Cumana, Piritu).

The absence of a formal courtship is correlated with a general absence of love songs and a vocabulary of love. Frustrated lovers of both sexes were not inclined to sublimate but resorted to aphrodisiacs or other magical means to force overwhelming passion upon the objects of their desire. Here unconscious projection apparently teamed with the process of like-produces-like to effect emotional release, since the products of local animals noted for their sexual vigor (as the otter on the Northwest Coast and the elk in the Plains) might be sought for the aphrodisiac. Flutes were in use in the Plains to call to a lover but assignations were more often arranged by a go-between or a casual social contact.

The withdrawal of the newlyweds from their immediate families during a honeymoon also is absent. A number of factors undoubtedly are involved, including the customary residence practices, the practical attitude assumed in relation to the married state, and the security requirements of life under the conditions of tribal life.

Adultery and Extramarital Relations

A strict exercise of a sexual monopoly does not seem to have been the usual Indian view. They commonly defined the adulterous relation as illicit intercourse, usually with a married man or woman, but the sexual relations that were permitted either sex under special circumstances hardly allow the application of a narrow definition of adultery to Indian sex practice.

Sexual license within accepted kin relations constituted one extension of nonadulterous behavior. Haida women and men were permitted sexual relations with another who belonged to a spouse's clan, and the most a husband or wife could do was to object softly; jealousy would be out of place here. But beyond these accepted relations a spouse had grounds for divorce. In like manner the Bolivian Siriono extended sexual privileges to the brothers or sisters, real and classificatory, of one's spouse. Adultery was more a matter of neglect than of violating the marriage bond, since the Siriono, as did the Caingang and the southern Chaco tribes, distributed sexual favors freely.

Special obligations to guests, friends, and ceremonial patrons were discharged by an offer of sexual hospitality, usually with a wife's assent (Eskimo, Cumana, Araucay). Or sexual intercourse was permitted if a favor was turned over to the spouse (Crow, Pasto, Eskimo). Some groups, such as the Patangoro and Amani, also permitted wife exchange.

Men away from their spouses on war or hunting expeditions usually were not denied sexual relations unless continence was prescribed to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ensure success. Sherente youths on a war raid made use of loose women and the Iroquois permitted hunters a temporary companion when a wife could not accompany them.

The definition of adultery is complicated further by instances such as the Lenca punishing the wife but not the paramour. In contrast, the Maya held the man largely responsible and allowed the husband, after the facts had been verified by the chiefs, to decide whether the paramour should be allowed to live or be killed by throwing a rock at his head. The unfaithful wife, although not punished physically, usually was turned out as a divorced woman. The Gabrielino of southern California allowed a man to turn his own wife over to the seducer and in turn take the wife of the latter for himself.

It is apparent that in their approach to male and female sexuality American Indian societies generally favored the male. In most instances the initiative in extending sexual favors and in taking action when infidelity occurred rested with the male. The tolerance for occasional infidelity among most hunting and hunter-horticultural groups seems to have been generous, the outraged husband doing no more than beating his wife or sending her home. When sanctioned, violent action more often was directed against the offending wife than against the seducer. In the Northern Plains mutilating the nose of an adulterous wife or beating her severely was customary. Punishment by organized rape, in which the husband would turn his wife over to a group of men, sometimes twenty or more, was sometimes carried out in the Plains and the eastern Woodlands. The Amani of western Colombia not only subjected the adulterous wife to organized rape, but starved her to death if she survived this daily treatment. However, in this case the paramour was also slain, and both bodies were left unburied for carrion birds to dispose of.

Among the advanced horticultural groups of Nuclear America marriage carried a religious sanction and adultery was as much a sin as an offense against the person. In the one confession of their lives, the Aztecs included adultery as a sin, and here, as among the Maya and Inca, the state intervened to punish known adulterers with severity. Commoners among the Inca might be tortured, but when a noblewoman was involved the death penalty was customary.

Retaliatory action in the face of infidelity, temporary separations, and divorce indicates that a feeling of possessiveness and jealousy was present in Indian sexual behavior. The fact that the manifestation of jealousy was hedged by permissive behaviors and implicated in socio-economic rights so complicates the issue that it is not possible to equate jealousy as manifested in the separate societies with any universal configuration. In most societies sexual jealousy tended to be evoked by special situational conditions and was not dependent on a generalized definition of invasion of sexual prerogatives. Jealous anger also tended to be limited to the family, for custom usually muted or diverted the feelings a man might have for a seducer. The Eskimo illustrate this in the public song contests men held when one had induced the wife of another to desert. The winner was determined by his wit and the loser by the public ridicule that followed. The expression of jealousy outside the family was more permissible for women, and when a fight of this kind occurred, men were not inclined to interfere.

Types of Marriage

Like other peoples of the world, most American Indians lived in a state of monogamy. However, polygyny was permitted if not preferred throughout the Americas except where matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence was associated with a horticultural-hunting economy (Iroquois, Cherokee, Hopi, Choroti, Timbíra). In Nuclear America polygyny was confined to the upper classes with virtual harems for the emperor. Paramount chiefs in the Caribbean and adjacent coastal areas also maintained households that included many wives, and the widespread practice of polygyny may explain the equally prevalent homosexuality reported by the Spanish. Both sororal and nonsororal polygyny were practiced, with preference for the former resting on the twin interests of inheritance and harmony. The Tupinamba polygynists usually maintained spouses in different settlements, visiting each in turn.

Social, economic, and political conditions

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

more often than the simple sex ratio seem to have determined the presence or absence of polygyny in lesser or greater degree. "Exchange marriage," which requires a female in exchange for each one taken as a spouse, is probably a substitute for the passage of consideration or bride-service rather than an exception to social and economic factors (Shoshoni, Patangoro, Amani).

Polyandry occurred sporadically in the Americas, frequently taking the form of a temporary union prior to marriage (Shoshoni). The occurrence of fraternal polyandry among the South American Yaruro and Cawahib implies an institutionalized practice, but polyandrous families were infrequent. The Caingang, described as casual in their regulation of sex, had no more than 14 per cent polyandrous marriages. They also provide the only instance of polygyandrous ("group") marriages, totaling 8 per cent of 308 marriages.

The establishment of households with homosexuals occurred wherever the transvestite was accepted (i.e., everywhere outside Nuclear America). The union usually was a "common law" arrangement, although some were established according to traditional marriage rules. In rare cases the transvestite household was polygynous, but no polyandrous or polygynandrous arrangements have been reported. Marriage with the transvestite was attractive to some because of the economic skills he possessed. In most instances both parties were subjected to frequent ridicule and obscenity.

Coitus

Intercourse usually required a degree of privacy, in darkness or in the seclusion of the bush. Where intercourse with a spouse took place in the daytime, privacy was sought in a thicket or cornfield. Extramarital relations normally occurred away from the dwelling except in those instances when a spouse's approval allowed otherwise or when a "night-crawling" venture was undertaken. Only a few peoples insisted on intercourse taking place in the dwelling at all times (Kwakiutl, Hopi).

Genital manipulation predominated in sexual foreplay, although not to the exclusion of breast and mouth stimulation. Oral stimulation of the female genitals, breasts, thighs, and other body parts apparently did not occur and digital masturbation to arouse the female was not common, some groups objecting to the odor of the female genitalia (Plains). On the whole it would appear as if foreplay was not extended, coitus following almost immediately.

For coitus a woman usually would lie on her back with the man taking position above her and between the outstretched legs. When discretion warranted, partners would lie on the side, facing each other. Intromission occasionally was effected from the rear, both in a prone or in a standing position. In a few societies the woman would squat upon her seated partner, a position said to enhance the pleasure of the female. The Siriono preferred to have the male kneel before his supine partner and draw her legs around his thighs, a position occasionally assumed among the Crow to increase erotic satisfaction in the female. To what extent two or more positions might be assumed in a single connection is not known.

American Indians never developed any standard artificial means for stimulating a female partner or for preventing conception. Generally, women assumed a passive role in the sex act, a posture congruent with the social role usually expected of women. However, the degree of correlation between social-role expectancy and vigorous participation in the sex act is not clear. A generalization from a socially deviant role to the sexual is found among the Piegan, where "manly hearted" women, noted for their sexual vigor, were avoided as mates because of their inclination to dominate husbands. In the Southwest, where women played an important though secondary role in uniting the male and female principles for germinating purposes, Hopi women were known to be active sex partners. Women among the Siriono, Choroti, and Apinayé are said to bite and scratch a partner during orgasm, and in each of these tribes women enjoyed a social status barely inferior to that of the men.

The extent to which women may have reached orgasm in the Indian societies is undocumented. There is no evidence that partners sought to synchronize the orgasms. Crow men tried to stir their partners by deep intromission, but then made no effort to time ejaculation. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

view of the premarital sex conditioning to which individuals were subjected in surreptitious encounters, rapid tumescence and ejaculation were probably normal for the male.

The number of successive intromissions attempted apparently was highly variable. Frequency also varied, some peoples reporting intercourse twice a week on the average and some almost daily. Decline in sexual vigor as a person advanced in age is generally admitted, with some cases of people 70 years of age or more effecting intercourse from one to four times a month.

Although passivity is commonly reported for women during the sex act, frigidity is largely undocumented. Passivity or frigidity in a wife was far less disturbing to Tepoztecan males than passion, since the latter raised suspicion of infidelity and heightened insecurity. Situational impotence is occasionally reported, although Tenetehara men may have been subjected to an impotence syndrome with some frequency. Infusions were used to stimulate sexual vigor. The excessive shame and modesty Tenetehara men exhibited is countered by the initiative demonstrated by the women, who, according to myth, first taught men how to copulate.

Although prepubescent sex experience may have proved frustrating to some males and induced an insecurity anxiety occasionally manifest in impotence, these effects probably were erased by early marriage, which allowed unrestricted activity at the peak of physiological vigor. On the other hand, the unwed Araucanian mother might seek to induce impotence in her lover in a bizarre killing of her male infant and roasting of his testicles. Priapism is undocumented, although in the Plains certain individuals always were noted for size of penis and sexual vigor.

Sex and the Life Cycle

American Indian societies considered procreation a necessary requirement for full adult status and role. The burden of fertility fell more heavily on woman than on man, and a husband could always expect sympathetic acceptance of a divorce based on a wife's sterility. Tests for male sterility must have been rare, although the Arapaho allowed a grandfather to have intercourse with a granddaughter to prove the fault was not hers.

Conception, as birth, was never entirely free of supernaturalistic practices despite the universal belief in the procreative contributions of both sexes. Among the Aymara and Tenetehara, vigorous and continuous intercourse was considered essential to conception but the belief does not seem to have been widespread. Efforts to influence or anticipate the sex of the child were common, and usually made use of some tool, toy, or other item used in the daily life of either sex. Although males were generally valued socially more than females, a decided preference for male children is not in evidence. Any child seems to have been welcome.

Pregnancy taboos usually associated special foods and actions with the health and character of the infant and these more often applied to the mother than to the father. There were no restrictions on sexual intercourse during pregnancy and activity continued to near the time of delivery or when intercourse proved difficult.

The birth of the child was usually followed by restrictions on a husband's sexual contacts with his wife. The time for return to normal sexual relations varied, sometimes following recurrence of menstruation but more often determined by the time of weaning. Weaning might occur at the time of teething, but more often a child would be 2 or 3 years old before the breast was fully denied. Common belief connected renewed intercourse before weaning with spoiling of the milk and weakening of the infant. During the postpartum restriction on sexual relations husbands were not held to strict continence. Where complete weaning was deferred for two or three years, a renewal of relations before this time probably occurred, and apparently without special precautions such as coitus interruptus.

Contraception was unknown. Unwanted pregnancies were simply aborted, usually by mechanical pressure upon the abdomen by pummeling, binding, or pressing against a wooden object. Some use of infusions is reported. Most American Indians treated abortion and infanticide as an individual responsibility, a tolerable way for an unwed mother to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

avoid humiliation or for a wife to forestall desertion by her husband. However, there was considerable variation in the social acceptance of the practice. Abortion was thoroughly accepted and frequently practiced in most of South America outside the Andean horticulturists. Guaicuru women might abort until they were 25 to 30 years of age, and aborting the first-born was standard practice in the Chaco and in eastern Brazil, with a view to ensuring later and easier births. The Flathead term for abortion is the same as for murder, but feticide occurred nevertheless. The most consistent and severe condemnation of abortion and infanticide, as for adultery, occurred among the organized societies of Nuclear America.

Childhood in American Indian societies involved the inculcation of appropriate conceptions of one's own self, according to sex, and proper attitudes toward the opposite sex. It was a time for educating the individual to the status relationships that permitted sexual and other intimacies in contrast to those that forbade them. Practical instruction in sex was avoided and, where social control was deemed essential to divert and regulate sexual experimentation, fearsome warnings were employed together with the simple device of isolating and supervising the female.

As secondary sexual characteristics appeared to signalize the change in individual life potential, American Indian societies reacted differently. For some puberty meant no more than a change in dress, new responsibilities and activities, or it required special rites of transition to protect the individual and to continue his growth, while for others it called for public ceremonial to announce the new social status attained by the individual. Complex cultural factors seem to be instrumental in determining the differential treatment of the individual at puberty.

Among North American hunter-collectors and hunter-horticulturists, public recognition of puberty with individual or group ceremonial was confined largely to the area west of the Rockies and north of the Pueblo area up to the Eskimo. Public ceremonial applied more often to the girl than to the boy. It appears that the physiological changes manifested by a girl at puberty were viewed as critical for the individual's total development and immediately relevant to the welfare of the community. Personal character was determined by actions that symbolized desirable qualities, especially industry, in the adult. Thus, adolescent girls in their confinement at the menarche were kept busy, often carrying water and bringing in wood. The ill-contained and ill-disposed power for procreation and growth developing in the individual required that a girl cover her eyes and look at the ground, for if she were to glance abroad a man's hunting and other luck would be damaged and plant growth would not thrive. Those who controlled supernatural powers, especially the shamans and mature men, must dance and sing over the menstruant, for in this way the incipient power could be controlled and used for the benefit of all. "Mission" Indians such as the Luiseno of southern California added a new note to this general complex in constructing a warm sand-pit bed for the girls, who were guarded and fed by older women. The care accorded the girls at this time included rehearsals of practices usually employed at childbirth. Certain moral admonitions also were given by the shaman.

Seclusion of women at initial and subsequent menstruations was also common in South America. Men avoided them for fear of loss of powers, and often they were denied foods supplied by men or used by the community as a staple. In parts of Venezuela and Colombia it was customary for women to be secluded in a special, often circular, hut at first and subsequent menstruations (Popayense, Moguex, Paez). Along the Venezuelan coast south to the Orinoco the Carib-speaking tribes kept the hut darkened and required fasting of the menstruant. Seclusion for two years might occur at the menarche, the time apparently varying with the status of the girl's family. Some groups, like the Goajiro, kept the menstruant in a hammock within a darkened room until her hair, which had been cut, grew to neck length. While secluded she was taught how to weave and sew and to make hammocks. Generally, she was guarded by several relatives, for men with an eye to matrimony were privileged to look in. The Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego isolated the girl at first menstruation under the direction of an older woman, who admonished

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

her with moral counsel. Commonly in the Chaco lowlands, Choroti, Mataco, Ashluslay, and Lengua girls were confined to a special hut and restrained from eating meat foods while older women danced and pummeled the earth throughout the night with special staffs adorned with rattles or other noisemakers. Shamans usually participated, and dances by men and occasionally by young men and boys might be included.

Where social status set the tone for family distinctions, seclusion of the girl at the menarche might be prolonged to ensure her chastity and marriageability. On the Northwest Coast the girl was confined to the dwelling behind a screen for upwards of a year while her father readied property to distribute to the opposite moiety in order that she would enter society with a good name. This feast at nubility finds an interesting parallel among the horse-raiding warrior Mbaya and Toba of South America where, besides the slaughter and distribution of horses, a chief tried also to include a scalp to enhance his daughter's status.

In contrast with the peoples of simpler economies, the advanced horticulturists in Nuclear America, including the American Southwest, gave little formal recognition to menstruation at puberty or later. A Hopi girl usually went to the home of a paternal aunt, where she remained behind a curtain and ground corn. She had to refrain from eating meat and salt and used a forked stick to scratch her head. When the flow had ceased, the aunt washed her head and the girl returned home.

Throughout North America north of Mexico, recognition of male puberty was submerged in the search for a supernatural power (guardian spirit) that would implement and guarantee skill in hunting, warring, prophesying, gambling, etc. (Eskimo and Southwest excepted). The venture was framed as an ordeal and a test of the individual, since fasting, endurance, and exposure to the elements without creature comforts was common. In the Southeast fasting, purifying emetics, scarification, and other ordeals were frequently tied to the transition to adult status, later confirmed by a warrior action. West Alaskan Eskimo and adjacent Indian groups, as well as central Californians, accepted pubescent youths into men's houses, where they were instructed in adult skills, but only the latter had special ceremonials to bring the adolescent into contact with supernaturals, as in the Kuksu and "ghost" cults.

Where the individualized guardian-spirit quest was recognizably weak or lacking in the presence of social recognition of puberty, group ceremonials that included instruction tended to be the rule. Moreover, the ceremonials usually concerned the adolescent boys, although a number of instances where girls were included also occurred (Yahgan, Alacaluf, Pomo, Patwin, Hopi, Zuni).

Ordeals of one kind or another were always present in group ceremonials more or less correlated with sexual maturation. Yahgan and Alacaluf novices had to remain quiet, sitting cross-legged, while learning moral precepts and instruction in the arts. North of the Amazon youths were subjected to whippings, scarifications, and the stings of ants and wasps (Taulipans, Aparani). The Inca, Hopi, and Zuni also included a ceremonial whipping in their initiatory rites. Most of these actions seem to have been designed to purify the individual, promote health and character, and contribute a lucky quality to his life. Completion of the ceremonial cycle was usually symbolized by the donning of adult clothing or special ornament, and by the assumption of new responsibilities, including marriage which might follow soon.

Puberty rites must be viewed within the total socialization process. Sex intruded obliquely, for control of the emergent procreative powers and practical and moral instruction in adult skills and responsibilities were more evident than any focus on sex. Molding of the genitalia by circumcision and clitoridectomy did not constitute a part of the puberty cycle. Circumcision has been reported for the prehistoric Mochica, Sumo, Saliva, Achagua, and possibly Diaguita, but the operation seems to have been performed in infancy. Circumcision was apparently confined to northern South America, although a few circumcised individuals were observed among the Algonquian Machapunga (Southeast) in Colonial times.

The sexual life of the individual in Indian societies synchronized well with the peak of sexual vigor, since marriage followed shortly after puberty and was seldom deferred after 20

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

years for men. The prevalent naturalistic attitude toward sex placed no blanket injunction upon its expression but confined restraint to specific relationships and ceremonial circumstances. Arranged marriages may have had muted romantic love but tied spouses to a larger kin group that facilitated retention of widows and widowers within the family line and provided them with spouses, often through the operation of the levirate and sororate. The linking of sex to kinship and hospitality obligations extended relations outside the conjugal family with public approval and mitigated feelings of guilt and sexual jealousy that might otherwise attend extramarital relations. Sexual expression was denied to none. The male transvestite might be ridiculed for his efforts to simulate menstruation and childbirth, but his deviant expression was accepted as an alternative.

Sexual activity was apparently valued throughout life, although diminishing in frequency with age. Women after the menopause were relieved of the menstrual and ceremonial restriction to which they had been subject. However, social definitions of role never permitted women formal equality with men, who retained control over procreation and growth through their capacity to influence and direct the supernatural in appropriate ritual.

References

Alexander, H. B. (ed.), *Mythology of All Races.* Vol. X, *North American;* Vol. XI, *Latin American.* Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916, 1920.

Dennis, W., *The Hopi Child.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940.

Devereux, G., *A Study of Abortion in Primitive Societies.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1955.

Driver, H. E., "Girls' Puberty Rites in Western North America." In *Anthropological Records.* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, Vol. VI, 21-90, 1941.

Dyk, W., *Son of Old Man Hat.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1938.

Erikson, E. H., "Observation on Sioux Education." *J. Psychol. 7;* 101-156, 1939.

Erikson, E. H., "Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image." In *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, Vol. 35, No. 10, 1943.

Ford, C. S., *Smoke from Their Fires, the Life of a Kwakiutl Chief.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951.

Ford, C. S., and Beach, F. A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

Henry, J., *Jungle People.* New York: J. J. Augustin, Inc., 1941.

Henry, J., "The Social Function of Child Sexuality in Pilagá Indian Culture." In P. Hoch and J. Zubin (eds.), *Psychosexual Development in Health and Disease.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1949.

Holmberg, A., *Nomads of the Long Bow. The Sirono of Eastern Bolivia.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 10, 1950.

Kroeber, A. L., *Handbook of the Indians of California.* Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

Landes, R., *The Ojibwa Woman.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Leighton, D., and Kluckhohn, C., *Children of the People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947.

Lewis, O., *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.

Opler, M., *An Apache Life Way.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Ray, V. F., "Plateau." In *Anthropological Records.* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, Vol. VIII, 99-257, 1941.

Simmons, L., *Sun Chief, the Autobiography of a Hopi Indian.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

Steward, J. H. (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vols. 1-5, 1946.

Steward, J. H., and Faron, L. C., *Native Peoples of South America.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959.

Thompson, Stith, *Tales of the North American Indians.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929.

FRED W. VOGET

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Anatomy and Physiology of Sex

ANATOMY and physiology constitute the most natural defining characteristics of sex. The word "anatomy" comes from the Greek and means literally a cutting apart. Anatomy is divisible into gross anatomy, embryology, histology, and various subdivisions of these areas. Thus, a true anatomical description should include developmental data (embryology) and also microscopic data (histology). As will be shown later, both of these subdivisions are of extreme importance in the basic understanding of sexual differentiation.

Physiology, too, is a word that comes from the Greek (*physis*, nature; *logos*, a study). Physiology took on the specific meaning of "the study of bodily function" in the work of Fernel (1497–1558). The relationship of structure to function is a basic problem in the biological sciences and is pertinent also to the study of the behaving organism.

Perhaps it is appropriate to begin this article with consideration of the development of sexual differences. These differences, which are laid down in the genetics of the offspring, are manifest later in the sexual differentiation of males and females.

Sex Differences

Throughout life, male and female organisms display a demonstrable cellular distinctness. This finding was first reported by Barr and his co-workers (1958) for the nerve cell of the cat, and has been extended to the human being. Barr, in describing his finding, said, "In the female a body about 1 millimicron in diameter appears as a small satellite to the large nucleolus in all types of nerve cells examined. In the male, a nucleolar satellite is seldom seen distinctly. There is evidence that male nerve cells contain a nucleolar satellite so small that it lies at the limits of resolution with standard optical equipment."

The human data have been productive in the same direction, and Kupperman (1958) has gone so far as to assume that "males" with bodily cells showing the female pattern (and vice versa) cannot beget offspring.

The nucleolar satellite, which looks like a drumstick, is regarded as the extra *X* of the female reproductive cells. However, those who possess it may develop to look like males, whereas those without it may look like females. This suggests that the gross appearance of the person depends greatly on factors other than nuclear sex.

Embryology

Patten (1946) points out that if an individual is going to be a male, the cords of potential sex cells become more distinctly delimited from the intervening embryonic connective tissue. These cords may then be regarded properly as testis cords. Concurrently, the developing ovary (female gonad) is much less conspicuous in terms of the connective tissue under its covering of germinal epithelium.

By the sixteenth week, the testis becomes more rounded and more characteristically

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

gonadal. Its connection to the mesonephros (primitive kidney) is reduced to a mesentery-like attachment. The mesenchymal concentration around the mesonephric duct develops into the ductus deferens.

An anastomosing network of cells in the form of cords is involved in the meshwork of duct formations that will ultimately become the adult rete testis (*rete*, a net).

The development of the ovary is quite distinct from that of the male gonads. Finally, some of the germ cells present in the mesenchymal stroma exceed others in size and develop into primary ovarian follicles. By the time a fetus enters the world, the follicles resemble closely the younger follicles of the adult ovary. These young follicles may form a small antrum, according to Patten, probably as a result of maternal gonad-stimulating hormones affecting the fetus (*antron*, a cavity).

It is important to remember that one pair of the embryonic genital ducts is potentially male and the other potentially female. In the male, there is a shrinking away and ultimate disappearance of the female genital ducts. This takes place at about the sixth or seventh week. The female system is such that there are major changes at about the twelfth week. The male characteristics shrink away and largely disappear and the female characteristics elaborate into the internal genitalia.

The male ducts are actually appropriated from the primitive kidney, the mesonephros. Some of the tubules become connected with the gonad that is developing and the duct of the mesonephros is used as a discharge passage for the sex cells.

The forerunners of specific sexual development are the Wolffian ducts and the Müllerian ducts for the male and female, respectively.

If one were to simplify the above, it could be said that in both male and female a similar pair of sex glands appears, as well as two pairs of genital tubes. In the male, under proper genetic and endocrine action, the glands become testes which, in turn, stimulate the male tubes while the female tubes shrink away. A reverse condition occurs in the female, where the ovaries act upon the female tubes with a shrinking of the male tubes.

In the male at this time, the testes, still present in the abdominal cavity, attach to the tubes and begin a descent. The prostate gland forms, as does the scrotal sac. The male organ, the penis, develops. It is at about the third month of life that the external organs become distinguishable as male and female. The genital tubercle, the major external projection in the male, becomes the terminal aspect of the penis; in the female it remains as the clitoris.

Internally, the female ducts, which have receded, in the male remain as a vestigial female organ. To the sides and slightly behind the penis are two raised areas known as the urethral folds. These close over the urethral groove to form a tube, thus lengthening the male urethra (or urinary outlet). This occurs at the end of the third month. It is to be noted that the orifice of the male urogenital system is moved to the distal end of the penis from its original position at the base. The line of closure of the urethral groove remains as a deeply pigmented line on the underside of the penis and is known as the penile raphé. A similar scarlike vestige is the scrotal raphé. The prepuce develops over the glans penis as a potential skin fold.

In the female, the urethral folds remain separate and form the labia minora (inner lips). Two other swellings, the labioscrotal folds, fuse in the male to form the scrotum (the external sac that envelops the testes). In the female they form the outer lips, or labia majora.

Anatomy

The term "gonad" refers to a seed. It is a function of the gonads (sex glands) to produce the sexual seed. However, as glands they are also involved in the hormonal interplay of the body. It is necessary to recognize that the anatomy and physiology of sex involve much more than reproduction alone. This is clear when it is understood that sex anatomy is a central aspect of the total developing personality and that the cultural organization forms around the sex role of the individual.

Male

The male gonads are the testes, and these and the ovaries, the female glands, arise embryologically from the same tissue and are formed at

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the same site. The testes descend through the inguinal canal and enter the scrotal sac, where they remain during the life of the person. This descent takes place before birth at about the sixth or the seventh month. The testes, two in number, are oval bodies, somewhat flattened in shape and measuring one to one and a half inches in length. It is said by Dickinson (1949), after Testut and Jacob, that the testicle-epididymis oval hangs between the thighs at an angle of 45 degrees. The scrotum, or containing sac, is sensitive, as is the penis, to changes in temperature, and it may be high or low under various conditions. Usually the left testis is a little lower than the right and is said to be heavier, but evidence to prove this is lacking.

Apparently when the testis is undescended (a condition known as cryptorchidism), the heat of the abdominal cavity destroys the sperm. Dickinson points out that heat tolerable to the hand can, in a half-hour, arrest sperm manufacture for weeks.

Each testis can be examined grossly to get a three-dimensional view and under the microscope for detail. A large number of coiled tubules that produce the male sex cells is a major component of the testis. These empty into the larger tubules of the epididymis, which are present in a caplike mass lying upon the back and upper part of each testis. These efferent ducts are here connected with the tube that forms the remainder of the epididymis. If uncoiled this tube would stretch some twenty feet. The tail of the epididymis is connected to the testis only by connective tissue, and becomes the vas deferens (ductus deferens).

The tubules of the testis, or the seminiferous tubules, produce the male cells, and between them lie the cells of Leydig, which are involved in the production of the male hormone, testosterone. This endocrine secretion is an androgen, and all male hormones are grouped under this term (*andro*, man). Testosterone is the effective male principle, and as a hormone it is secreted by a ductless gland into the blood stream and produces widespread alterations of a masculine kind.

The ductus deferens (or vas deferens) passes upward over the brim of the pelvis and emerges in the lower part of the abdomen. Here, a little canal connects each duct to a saclike structure, the seminal vesicle. This tube is two inches long in situ, but unravels to six inches or more. It is disputed as to whether sperm storage can occur herein; although it has been said that live sperm can be found in an ejaculate two weeks after the vas has been tied in sterilization. The seminal vesicles lie between the bladder and the rectum and they secrete a material that seems to add to the motility of the sperm.

The terminal portion of each ductus deferens, where it joins the seminal vesicle, is known as an ejaculatory duct. It is a fine tube, lies almost entirely within the prostate, and opens into the prostatic part of the urethra. The ejaculatory duct is closed under ordinary circumstances, but during the peak of sexual excitement it opens, allowing semen to pass through.

The prostate is a firm, globular mass that surrounds the urethra, or urinary outlet. It is located behind the second portion of the rectum at the bladder neck, and can be palpated rectally. It has the size and shape of a horse chestnut. The prostate reaches adult size in the third decade and increases slightly, under normal circumstances, during the fifth and sixth decades. Ordinarily this increase is followed by a recession thereafter to lesser size.

In rutting animals the gland is influenced by seasonal changes. One must be cautious about estimations of prostatic size. The prostate is about one and a half inches at the base and has a normal weight of 20 grams. However, according to Mainland (1945), this is an arbitrary figure. It is made up of various tissues. A tubuloalveolar structure characterizes the prostate. The folliclelike tubules are each equipped with excretory ducts, which open into the prostatic urethra. Smooth-muscle cells and elastic-tissue fibers compose the musculoconnective aspect of the gland. It is the smooth-muscle fibers that empty the tubules during contraction. The nerve fibers of the prostate arise in the hypogastric plexus and in the third and fourth sacral nerves. In the female, a small amount of tissue that is connected to the urethra corresponds to the prostate of the male. Lowsley (1942) points out that as late as 1889 the entire subject of prostatic anatomy was in a state of confusion.

At the time of ejaculation there is a release of fluids from the seminal vesicles and prostate,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and of sperm from each epididymis. The external secretion that is produced, together with the secretions of the other male genital glands, forms the seminal fluid. Each ejaculate that is carried through the penis contains some 120,000,000 sperm cells and a little less than a teaspoonful of fluid.

Cowper's glands, also known as the bulbo-urethral glands, are two lobular membranous bodies located behind and lateral to the membranous portion of the urethra. They are each about the size of a pea, and correspond embryologically to the glands of Bartholin in the female. Under sexual excitation these structures release a slippery substance that lubricates the glans penis. It was claimed among early moralistic writers that this substance resulted from lascivious thinking. Dickinson indicates that Cowper's secretion makes the urethra alkaline, so that the sperm are in a favorable milieu during their passage. Although some writers have attributed a mucoid secretion to Cowper's glands, it is possible that the glands of Littré, which are located along the urethra, may be responsible for mucus secretion during sexual excitement.

Mann (1954) has elaborated on the more recent data regarding the chemical nature of the accessory secretions in the male. Citric acid, prostatic phosphatase, fructose, and phosphorylcholine, among others, have been discovered and identified. It is significant that the prostatic secretion contains a fibrinolysin so potent that 2 ml. of prostatic fluid can liquefy 100 ml. of clotted human blood in 18 hours at 37° C. Obviously, previous doubt with reference to the function of the accessory fluids must be re-evaluated. Seminal plasma contains secretions that are involved in the process of semen coagulation and liquefaction. It was suggested by several investigators that a pharmacodynamic influence may be exerted by the seminal plasma upon some parts of the female reproductive tract. As yet this has been demonstrated only with isolated strips of tissue of the uterus or the attached tubes.

The penis varies in length at different times. Numerical studies presented by Dickinson show the flaccid penis to be 10 cm. (4 inches) in length, 3 cm. (1⅛ inches) in diameter, and 8.5 cm. (3⅜ inches) in circumference. During erection it is 15.5 cm. (6 inches) long, 4 cm. (1⅝ inches) broad, and 11 cm. (4⅜ inches) around. There are considerable individual differences. Dickinson points out that the size of the penis is less constantly related to general body size than that of other organs of the body. It is presumably rare, except in pathology, to find exceptionally small penes.

The penis is composed of the glans (head), the shaft (middle portion), and the root, which consists of the attachment of the penis to the front and sides of the pubic arch. In the flaccid condition it is cylindrical in form, but during erection it takes the shape of a triangular prism. Ordinarily, it hangs loosely downward, but when erect it points upward and toward the abdominal wall.

Three longitudinal cylindrical masses composed of erectile tissue form the penis. They are the corpora cavernosa penis and the corpus cavernosum urethrae (sometimes called the corpus spongiosum). The first two lie on top and the third lies below the other two and is pierced by the urethra. Connective tissue and skin bind these together somewhat in the form of a bundle.

Each corpus cavernosum penis is attached to the descending ramus (arm) of the pubis. The corpus cavernosum urethrae is extended backward to the urethral bulb, and in the front it expands into the tip of the organ, the glans penis, which is conelike and smooth. The fold of skin that surrounds the glans is called the prepuce. The word "glans" is from the Latin word meaning acorn.

Each of the three extensions of the penis (backward) is covered by a small muscle. The bulbocavernosus muscle lies over the urethral bulb, while the ischiocavernosus muscles lie over the other two parts. The role of the first muscle is, by contraction, to cause urine and seminal fluid to be expelled from the urethra. The second muscles prevent the blood from returning from the veins of the penis. In this way the penis can be maintained erect during sexual excitement. The change between the flaccid and rigid state of the penis is of particular interest.

Since the male urethra is a common channel for the transportation of both urine and seminal fluid, it shall be briefly described. It originates

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

at the internal sphincter of the bladder, pierces the prostate near its anterior surface, and follows the ventral surface of the penis to the glans. En route, it goes through the two layers of the triangular ligament. It is eight to nine inches long and is divided into posterior and anterior portions. The posterior portion contains the membranous and prostatic parts of the urethra, the anterior portion contains the bulbous and penile parts. The course of the urethra is downward from the bladder for three-quarters of an inch, and then downward and forward to the bulbous area. It then passes in an upward and forward direction to the penoscrotal junction. Finally, it lies in a downward direction when the penis is flaccid.

(It is important to make note of a little body on the floor of the prostatic urethra, the verumontanum. This lies between the prostatic ducts. It is composed of erectile tissue, blood vessels, muscle, and nerve. This tiny mound, some few decades ago, was regarded as a key to male sexual problems. It was, in fact, believed essential for erection—which it is not.)

The male germ cells develop in the seminiferous tubules, where they are being formed constantly. The process is known as maturation. It begins with a cell, the spermatogonium. This cell eventually becomes the sperm, after going through a developmental process. In a similar manner the ovum of the female develops from an oogonium to a primary oocyte, a secondary oocyte, and then to an ovum (egg cell). It is beyond the scope of this article to go into the details of the intricate process of the development of the germ cells. However, it is to be noted that when sperms or eggs are formed, it is in such a manner that the two genes of each pair present in the parent become separated. Thus, only one gene of a given pair goes from a parent to an offspring. The word gene means "to produce" or "be produced." The genes within the chromosomes (Greek *chroma,* color; *soma,* body) are involved in the heredity of the individual.

The differentiation of the male and female fetus has been discussed. The genital characteristics of the mature male have been described. The mature female becomes the site in which the fertilized ovum develops into the forerunner of the eventual newborn.

Female

The female sex glands are the ovaries. Two in number, they lie deep in the pelvic cavity, one on either side of the uterus, or womb. The ovaries weigh two or three grams and are spherical in form. They are about one inch in length, and are supported from above by a fold of peritoneum (a thin, glistening membrane that lines the abdominal cavity and continues on to the pelvic contents). This fold of peritoneum is called the suspensory ligament.

In the ovaries are developed the Graafian follicles (named after Regner de Graaf, 1641–1673). A follicle is a little bag or a pod. At birth these follicles are often referred to as primordial follicles. In the newborn girl, it is estimated that there are some 400,000, but these diminish with age and, after the menopause, vanish totally. Each primordial follicle consists of an oocyte that is surrounded by a single layer of epithelial cells. In time the oocyte becomes the mature ovum, this process beginning at puberty. Presumably one follicle ripens each month, usually midway between two menstrual periods. Menstruation is the uterine bleeding and expulsion of the unfertilized egg that marks the onset of pubescence. It is to be noted that the expulsion of ova does not necessarily occur at the menarche (first menstrual period). There is thus some evidence for a period of adolescent infertility.

The ovum is carried down into the Fallopian tubes to the uterus. These tubes, named after Gabriello Fallopio (1523–1562), a great Italian anatomist, are connected to the upper sides of the pear-shaped womb. They run sideward and are in the front in the free borders of the broad ligament. Some four inches in length, they arch upward and backward over the ovary, forming a funnel-shaped structure with fingerlike processes, some of which are attached to the ovary.

Immediately after the ovum is released (ovulation), a red spot (blood) marks the follicle. This gives way rapidly to a yellow substance, the corpus luteum. If pregnancy does not occur, the corpus luteum is replaced by a white, fibrous structure, the corpus albicans, or corpus fibrosum.

The ovaries also produce two hormones,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

estrin and progestin (estrogen and progesterone).

The trumpet-shaped Fallopian tubes are presumed to play a role in directing the ovum in its course. However, there are cases on record where the ovum has entered a Fallopian tube on the opposite side of the body (following surgical removal of one Fallopian tube and the opposite ovary).

The inner aspect of the Fallopian tubes is made of tissue that has many hairlike processes. These may act by directing the ovum toward the womb. The openings from the Fallopian tubes into the womb are minute. It is thus clear that total patency of the tubes is necessary for impregnation to occur. Rubin demonstrated in 1919 that oxygen passed into the uterus would then pass through the tubes and into the abdominal area.

The uterus is a pear-shaped organ about three inches in length. The larger or upper portion is the body and the lower part is the cervix (neck). The uterus is flattened in a front-back direction. Normally, it lies tilted forward with the neck pointed toward the rectum. It meets the vagina at an angle of 90 degrees. The uterus lies above and behind the urinary bladder. The walls are very thick and the central cavity of the uterus is triangular in shape and small. Several ligaments hold the organ in place, two broad ligaments and two round ligaments. The walls of the uterus consist of an inner mucosal layer, a middle muscular layer, and an outer serous coat. The muscular layer is the major part of the uterus and is made up of smooth muscle.

The vagina (sheath or scabbard) is a tube that passes from the external opening to the cervix of the uterus. It lies between the bladder, the urethra, and the rectum. It is about three inches long and varies in size and shape with change of position. When a woman is standing its direction is backward and upward in such a way as to form the approximation of a right angle with the uterus. The front and back walls of the vaginal canal are collapsed or in contact with each other when a woman is standing or prone.

The vaginal walls are lined with a mucous membrane, containing transverse folds. In addition to the mucosa, the walls consist of a muscular layer and an outer fibrous coat. The posterior wall of the vagina is actually two to three inches longer than the anterior wall and a long cervical lip is formed in the back. A shorter lip is formed in the front. The result is a circular depression around the cervix, which thus extends into the vagina. This circular recess around the cervix is divided into four parts, the anterior, posterior, and two lateral fornices (arches or vaults). The posterior aspect of the depression is known as the cul-de-sac (bottom of a bag) of Douglas. This is a pouch that lies between the anterior wall of the rectum and the posterior wall of the uterus. Because it forms a relatively thin bridge between the external vaginal area and the intra-abdominal contents it has taken on significance in recent years: By piercing this area and introducing an instrument known as a culdoscope, it is possible to visualize directly the ovaries and the related field.

The obvious functions of the vagina are to accommodate coital intromission of the penis, to permit discharge of the menstrual fluid, and to serve as the birth canal during normal delivery.

The female external genitals are referred to as the vulva or, more rarely, as the pudendum (that of which one should be ashamed). The most superficial of these is the mons pubis, known also as the mons veneris. The mons pubis is in front of the pubic symphysis (grown-together bone) and becomes covered with hair after puberty. The hair pattern assumes the shape of an inverted triangle in the female and the sides of the triangle are delimited by the groin. Considerable variability in the hair distribution occurs.

The labia majora (major lips) are two large folds that meet in the midline of the body below the pubic arch. When a woman is in standing posture, the labia cover most of the other external genitals. They extend backward, gradually become less thick, and disappear in the region of the perineum. The perineum contains all those structures between the vulva and the anus in the female (between the scrotum and the anus in the male). Anatomists make clear that the perineum extends in a vertical plane; however, there is some dispute as to what it contains.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

When the labia majora are separated, the remainder of the external female sex organs become visible. Inside the major lips lie the labia minora (minor lips). They form an angle that includes an area known as the vestibule. The vaginal opening is in this area. At the front apex of the minor lips and above the urinary opening lies the clitoris. This is the homologue of the penis in the male and shows, under stimulation, the same characteristic of erection. It is covered by a fold of skin, the prepuce, and the tip is called the glans.

The vaginal orifice is partially closed, before initial sexual intercourse, by a thin membrane, the hymen. Rarely, the vaginal orifice may remain closed even during pregnancy. The hymen is a tissue that may take several possible forms. Sometimes it completely covers the opening, preventing egress of the menstrual material. Sometimes it consists of a fold of tissue that is perforated by several openings (hymen cribriforms) or divided by an anteroposterior septum (hymen biseptus). Usually it is perforated by a single opening of varying outline.

Skene's glands lie just inside and in the back of the female urethra, a separate tube that extends from the bladder downward and forward behind the symphysis pubis.

The glands of Bartholin, known also as the greater vestibular glands, are located one on each side of the vaginal opening at the base of the labia majora. They secrete a mucous fluid that acts as a lubricant during intercourse.

Physiology

The physiology of sex and reproduction is intimately bound up with endocrinology and neurology.

Removal of the testes before puberty inhibits the normal course of male development, just as removal of the ovaries at this time inhibits female development. The effect in both cases is to intrude upon the growth of secondary sexual characteristics.

Male

In the case of the removal of testes in the male, the effect is a juvenile-appearing, but often very tall and physically feminine, person. Such prepubertal castrates are called eunuchs. It is important to remember that the sex glands are in constant interplay with the pituitary gland, as well as with stimuli from the external environment. The other glands of the endocrine system also play a major role. The male sex hormones have effects other than those of a primarily sexual nature. They increase nitrogen retention, as well as retention of phosphorus, potassium, sodium, sulfur, and other elements that play a role in tissue formation. In addition, these sex hormones, especially testosterone propionate, stimulate muscular development.

The male pituitary secretes two hormones that act on the testis. These are the follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) and the interstitial cell-stimulating hormone (ICSH). FSH seems to act on the seminiferous tubules, while ICSH acts on the interstitial cells of Leydig. The ICSH has a reciprocal relationship with testosterone; thus, one may speculate as to whether there is any aspect of rhythm in the male sexual drive, as well as in sperm production. This has not been established.

Androgens have widespread anatomical and physiological effects. Hair growth, voice characteristics, skin quality, and body form are all under the influence of androgens.

Female

Female sexual physiology is more involved than that of the male. Of particular importance is the distinct periodicity of ovulation and menstruation.

Removal of the ovaries produces alterations in the total organism, the degree of change depending upon the age of the female at the time of removal. If removal is before puberty, the secondary sexual characteristics fail to develop. If removal is after puberty, the characteristics that are distinctly female regress to some extent.

Estrin (also referred to as estrogen) is secreted by the maturing follicle and seems to be the major female sex hormone. There are three gonadotrophic hormones known at the present time. They are the FSH (follicle-stimulating) hormone, the luteinizing hormone, and the luteotrophic hormone. These are secreted by the pituitary. There is also a placental hormone, which has some of the properties of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

foregoing hormones. This is referred to as the APL substance, i.e., anterior pituitarylike hormone. Since the placenta develops during pregnancy, the APL appears only at that time. (The placenta is the afterbirth and is attached to the wall of the uterus during pregnancy.)

FSH is carried from the pituitary to the ovaries by way of the blood stream and is involved in the growth and activity of the Graafian follicles. Large quantities of FSH administered to a female stimulate the ripening and expulsion of many ova at one time.

As a concomitant function FSH also increases the production of estrin. When the level of estrin rises, FSH is inhibited, and vice versa, a reciprocal characteristic of the endocrine system.

The corpus luteum, the body left after the rupture of the follicle, secretes progesterone. The maintenance of the corpus luteum seems significant for the pregnant uterus, and LH, or the luteinizing hormone, appears to act in a manner that fulfills this function.

Luteotropic hormone (called also lactogenic hormone, or prolactin) is necessary for the secretory activity of the breasts and may also have a function in the maintenance of the corpus luteum during later stages of pregnancy.

The human female shows a cycle as do females of other species notably old-world monkeys and primates above this level.

When the uterine arteries are subjected for two to six days to anoxemia, dehydration, and ischemia (local anemia), an inflow of blood under pressure brings about menstrual bleeding (Phelps, 1959). In other words, circulatory deprivation is the immediate cause of the menstrual flow. The local mechanism is the constriction of the spiral arteries in the womb. Markee believed that the cause of the stasis that weakens the vessel wall may be the shrinking, buckling, and coiling of the arteries. A special substance, as yet unknown, may initiate the vasoconstriction of the arteries. The arterial coiling, however, does not cause the breakdown of tissue that produces the menstrual flow. It is a concurrent phenomenon.

Hormones from the ovaries appear to control the changes in the wall (endometrium) of the womb. The preovulatory phase seems to be a response to estrogen. Estrogenic hormones stimulate the pituitary gland to secrete luteinizing hormone, which brings about ovulation. The appearance of the corpus luteum is accompanied by an output of progesterone (progestin). There is also an increase in estrogen (estrin). At this time, the postovulatory phase, there is a secretory or progestational stage of the cycle. Gonadotropins from the pituitary are inhibited, and finally there is a fall in estrogen and progesterone secretion. According to Corner, this fall is the cause of menstruation.

At the time of ovulation, estrogen is very high in the blood. As the corpus luteum secretes progesterone, the estrogen level decreases. These two hormones together seem to cause thickening of the mucosa of the womb. If the ovum is not fertilized, the corpus luteum degenerates and the hormonal level in the blood drops. This, as noted above, seems to be the critical period for the breakdown in the uterine wall.

Reynolds (1952) proposes the following hypothesis with reference to the menstrual mechanism:

1. When there is no fertilized ovum, the growth-promoting action of the ovarian hormones is withdrawn.

2. There is then a thinning of the endometrium. This occurs if coiled arterioles are present. The tissue breakdown, and the stasis before it, give rise in the endometrium to a substance that acts as a powerful constrictor of vessels.

3. If there are no coiled arterioles, there is still an accumulation of fluid in the tissue. When the growth stimulus of the ovarian hormone is removed, the tissue shows a diminished vascularity. Tissue fluid is retained and lymphatic drainage is not equal to the burden it must handle. This may account for the menstrual breakdown.

The beginning of menstruation is at puberty (anywhere from 11 to 17 years of age). Menarche is the term that signifies the onset of bleeding. The cycle is repeated about every 28 to 30 days, with some variability.

The onset and maintenance of bleeding is often referred to as the destructive phase. It is a period that lasts from three to seven days with an average of four or five. For the entire phase, the amount of blood is about a cupful (125

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ml.). The discharge consists of debris sloughed off from the uterine wall, as well as of blood. Both fibrinogen and thrombin, involved in blood clotting, are not present in menstrual blood. As a result, this blood does not ordinarily clot.

Following the flow, the uterine wall is very thin. This is a period of growth and it is stimulated by the follicular hormone, estrin. This phase lasts about 13 days and is followed by ovulation. The latter occurs at about the fourteenth day and the corpus luteum develops at this time. The control of the corpus luteum seems to be under LH.

How the cycle is regulated is still not totally clear. It is known that, at the end of the flow, estrin concentration is low in the blood. Thus, FSH secretion is increased. This causes maturation of a Graafian follicle and the production of estrin which, in turn, inhibits FSH. Ovulation occurs and the corpus luteum then forms. Progestin concentration is, at this time, low. LH, therefore, is secreted liberally by the pituitary. The corpus luteum then produces progestin. When the progestin level is high, LH is inhibited, the corpus luteum breaks down, estrin and progestin vanish, and the cycle is reinstated.

Of course, much more is involved, and the area is open for considerable research. One may speculate about the role the menstrual cycle plays in behavior, and vice versa. What is the role of the nervous system? How does the cycle differentiate male from female? The questions are intricate and thought-provoking.

References

Barr, Murray L., Bertram, Lee Fraser, and Lindsay, Hugh A., "The Morphology of the Nerve Cell Nucleus, According to Sex." *Anat. Rec. 107;* 283-297, 1958.

Dickinson, Robert Latou, *Human Sex Anatomy.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1949.

Kupperman, Herbert S., "Chromatin Sex Determination: III. Endocrinologic Implications and Clinical Value of Chromatin Sex Determination." *Trans. New York Acad. Sci.* (Series II.) *20;* 505-576, 1958.

Lowsley, Oswald Swinney, "The Prostate Gland." In Oswald Swinney Lowsley (ed.), *The Sexual Glands of the Male.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1942.

Mainland, Donald, *Anatomy.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1945.

Mann, T., *The Biochemistry of Semen.* London: Methuen & Co., 1954.

Marshall, Clyde, *An Introduction to Human Anatomy.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1941.

Masters, W. H., and Johnson, V. E., "The Human Female: Anatomy of Sexual Response. *Minn. Med. 43;* 31-36, 1960.

Patten, Bradley M., *Human Embryology.* Philadelphia: The Blakiston Co., 1946.

Phelps, Doris, "Menstruation." In J. T. Velardo (ed.), *Essentials of Human Reproduction.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Potter, Edith L., *Fundamentals of Human Reproduction.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948.

Reynolds, S. R. M., *Physiological Bases of Gynecology and Obstetrics.* Springfield: Charles C Thomas, 1952.

Scheinfeld, Amram, *Women and Men.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1944.

Uhlenhuth, Edward, *Problems in the Anatomy of the Pelvis.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

HENRY GUZE

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Ancient Civilizations, Sex Life in

Greece

GENERALIZATIONS about a culture are difficult to make and apt to be misleading. There are always exceptions, and what is true at one period or in one region is not necessarily true of another. The sexual ideas of the Greeks were, by and large, in harmony with their ideas about life in general. The good life was an art, to be achieved by striking a balance between body and mind. As Aldous Huxley once remarked, there were many gods in the Greek Pantheon, and none was to be cheated and none overpaid. Thus, Greek civilization included appreciation of bodily beauty and of intellectual excellence.

Out of this general philosophy of life the main patterns of Greek sexual behavior emerged. These were marked by reason, balance, the avoidance of excess, and the absence for the most part of mystical and ascetic ideas. Abstention and mortification were, of course, known to the Greeks, but they were occasional practices associated with magical beliefs and the rites of mourning. The Greeks had no special word for chastity, and the Church Fathers writing in Greek were obliged to use the word *agneia,* a general term employed to describe "the rites of mourning."

The fusion of body and mind so highly esteemed by the Greeks found expression in the term *kalokagathia,* meaning a harmonious and symmetrical development of body and soul. Two tendencies in Greek life helped to further a sane and healthy approach to sexuality. One was the emphasis on beauty. This led to the idealization of the naked body and to its glorification in the plastic arts. The second factor was the robust sexuality they ascribed to the gods. What the gods themselves enjoyed was not likely to be despised or shunned by men. Such a background was not propitious to carrying on a war against the body in the interests of the soul. Natural impulses were accepted as good, and the Greeks set out to refine and harmonize them. The foundation of their attitude was provided by a religious veneration of the powers of generation.

In a short survey it is possible to select only a few important features in the Greek view of life as it affected the sexual code. In the first place it must be noted that women were accorded a high position in Greek civilization. This was the natural outcome of a bisexual view of the individual, which regarded every person as in a sense "double-sexed." Life itself was viewed from this androgynous perspective, and this found religious expression in the worship of Hermaphroditus at Cyprus. This god was conceived as bearded, with male sexual organs, but clothed in the dress of a woman.

Women in Greek society were divided roughly into wife and mother on the one hand and courtesan on the other. Both were appropriately honored in their proper spheres. Maternity was highly esteemed in marriage, and the woman ruled over the kingdom of the home and children. Her behavior was expected to be sober and seemly, and, as Hans Licht (1925) pointed out, it is not without signifi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cance that there are no words in Greek for "flirt," "gallantry," or "coquetry." The life of the Greek wife and mother may have been dull and narrow when judged by modern standards, but it was greatly honored, and we have no reason to think that Greek women rebelled against it.

Greek marriage was monogamous, and took place after a short betrothal. Virginity was expected of the wife before marriage, as was fidelity afterwards. Divorce laws were simple, and a husband could obtain a divorce for a number of reasons, including adultery, incompatibility of temperament, and childlessness. Sometimes an irate husband killed his wife's lover, sometimes he accepted the situation. The Greek wife was no patient Griselda, however, and sometimes obtained complete ascendency over her husband.

In spite of the fact that a few radical thinkers advocated the same sexual code for men and women, the weight of opinion supported the double standard. The polyerotic tendencies of the male were recognized and accepted, as were his bisexual needs.

Greek marriage took various forms. In some cases the woman was purchased by the husband from her father or guardian, her consent in such cases being unnecessary. In order to make the bride more attractive the father provided a dowry as an added incentive. Marriage was considered a public institution, and the view that it was a private concern involving free individual choice was alien to Greek thought. There seems to have been no legislation against polygamy, but the practice appears to have been regarded as "unhellenic." The early Greeks were sexually polygynous but maritally monogamic, and they would seem to have been averse to marriage; celibacy rather than polygamy was the real problem. Although the Greeks are occasionally spoken of as having had more than one legal wife, these female associates were usually described as "concubines." The wife does not seem to have objected to the existence of concubines as long as they were not accorded equal rank with herself.

Although beauty and love were both idealized and ardently pursued, Greek marriage had little to do either with sexual relations or with love. The wife was regarded as a friend, a housekeeper, a mother of lawful children—but not as a sexual companion. Chastity and fidelity in wives were regarded as family obligations rather than as qualities in an ideal. Seclusion was the remedy for polyandrous impulses, but as Robert Briffault (1927) pointed out, "the concept of such a virtue as chastity regarded as a moral merit, and applicable to both sexes was unthought of by the Greeks." Greek marriage, being a mere matter of fact, could easily be dissolved by divorce. In early times only the husband could sue for divorce, but later this freedom was accorded to the woman as well.

The rules governing men did not preclude extramarital sexual relations as long as these did not involve the wife of another man. In actual practice Greek men sought companionship and sexual stimulation with the hetaerae. These must not be confused with ordinary prostitutes, for they were quite distinct from the girls in the brothels and even from those girls of higher class and more cultivation who sold their favors. The word *hetaera* means "life-partner" or "friend." The hetaerae were socially acceptable and influential, and their high level of education made them suitable companions for some of the most brilliant philosophers, poets, and statesmen. They lived in fine houses, and their activities featured prominently in Greek literature. In great cities such as Corinth they could be found in large numbers. According to Licht, there were one thousand Hetaerae attached to the Great Temple of Venus in that city. Among the courtesans to attain lasting fame were Phryne and Lais.

A sensuality, for the most part subtle and refined, lay at the core of Greek life. The pleasures of the senses were not under a ban, and some philosophers, Aristippus for instance, considered pleasure as the highest good. The right to sensual enjoyment was claimed as an essential part of the earthly happiness of man. This sensuality was associated with intellectual activity, not divorced from it, and the two, in a state of fruitful interaction, created a culture that will be admired until the end of time. Although the concubine died out at the end of the Heroic Age, and heavy fines were imposed for the seduction of a married woman or a girl of good character, Greek public opinion did

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

not blame a man who sought relaxation in the arms of a courtesan, or in the small talk of a beautiful boy.

As the Greeks recognized and accepted the bisexual nature of man, quite logically they catered to this element in the male by the institution of paiderastia. The word is derived from *pais*, "a young man," and *eran*, "to love." It would be a grave mistake to imagine that this had any affinity with what we call pedophilia, the sexual love of children. Sexual relations with children were punished in Ancient Greece. In Greek culture the "boy" was in reality a young man, and the relationship moved predominantly on an ideal level. The relationship was a spiritual and sensual affection of an older man for a younger one, usually unaccompanied by overt sexual acts. After a boy had reached puberty such a relationship was regarded as an essential part of his emotional and educational experience. The Greek ideal of beauty was male, and every man sought to establish a relationship with a youth, to whom he was both counselor and guide. The man was called the "inspirer" and the youth the "listener." To fail to achieve some such relationship was regarded as a disgrace. It was a love relationship, but the performance of sexual acts was, at least in theory, forbidden.

Drama, poetry, and religion were permeated by erotic feeling, and homoerotic emotion was the most important aspect. According to Licht and Hopfner (1948), this did not center around a few isolated acts in the margins of Greek life. Rather, it was all-pervasive and gives the key to Greek culture. We must distinguish between paiderastia, the love of adolescent males, which was highly idealized and was the outcome of a rich fusion of esthetic, mental, and sensuous factors, and the phenomena of male prostitution. In the former case the relationship was, to use Freudian terminology, "aim-inhibited." The male was the focus of intellectual life and esthetic appreciation. Most authorities are somewhat evasive on the physical content of these complex and ambiguous relationships, but the emotion of the lover, the intense physical appreciation, drinking together, nakedness, kisses, and embraces could hardly have failed, in many cases at least, to have been accompanied by more overtly sexual acts. The cautious Licht speaks of the "sensual" love of the Greeks for "boys," and refers to them as "sexual companions." In the case of male prostitution, however, the sexual element was overt, direct, and commercialized. As distinct from the more serious vocabulary of idealized homoerotic love, a comic and satirical vocabulary has been collected by M. H. E. Meier (1930) that leaves no doubt that side by side with the more idealized forms of love there existed a very extensive homoerotic *ars amandi*. Paiderastia was a nonvenal relationship, and if a boy gave himself for money he was despised for so doing. Male prostitution was, however, accepted by the Greeks, and in some temples both boys and girls were available. Some of the poets complained about the avarice of these young men. There were also houses of accommodation and brothels.

In the legislation of Solon (c. 635-560 B.C.) the love of boys was accepted, minors were protected, regulations were enacted against boys who engaged in prostitution, and slaves were forbidden to have sexual relations with free-born boys. The great majority of male prostitutes were not, however, Athenians, and so the law did not apply to them. Solon was himself homosexual.

With regard to homosexual practices among women, little material survives. The focus of attention in Greek life remained obstinately on the male. Women engaging in homoerotic activities were usually called "tribads," from *tribas*, meaning "to rub." The word "tribas" was used to describe women who engaged either in masturbation or in sex relations with other women. This practice came to be associated especially with the island of Lesbos, and the poet, Sappho (born c. 612 B.C.) became the patron saint of the cult. No doubt such activities were widespread, and references to them are found in the *Dialogues* of Lucian, the writings of Plutarch, and, of course, in the extant fragments of Sappho's poetry. In the life of this High Priestess of this form of love and in her circle of girls we have the nearest approach to the male institution of paiderastia. There seems no reason to suppose that these tendencies were in any way regarded by the public as vicious. It is interesting to note that Sappho calls upon Aphrodite to befriend her. That the Greeks

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

accepted and were familiar with female homosexuality is attested by the frequent portrayal of the artificial phallus, or "olisbos." These, as was well known, were employed extensively in homosexual relations as well as in autoerotic activities.

Nakedness played a considerable part in Greek life. The Greeks understood both the erotic use of clothing and ornament and the uses of nakedness. In the archaic period, apparently under the influence of oriental ideas, nakedness was less usual than it became later, but it never became a common habit adopted promiscuously. On certain occasions the Greeks were accustomed to public exhibitions of nakedness. Such occasions included the Spartan wrestling matches between boys and girls, activities carried on in the gymnasia, beauty contests, and performances of the dancers from Thessaly and Crete, who danced naked at the great feasts given by the rich. The naked human body became the norm of all plastic art, and as time went on the Greeks came to feel that, on certain occasions, covering of the entire body was to be deprecated. Such covering was out of harmony with their general philosophy of life. Thus, athletes began to appear quite naked, and any cover for the sexual organs was discarded. Far from regarding the phallus as a low or shameful organ to be concealed, it was revered as a holy organ of generation, and representations of it were carried triumphantly in processions on certain occasions. Representations of the female sex organs were also accorded reverence and displayed on similar occasions. It is significant that these parts were called *aidon,* or *aidoion,* meaning "that which inspires holy awe." Cerinthus was truly representative of Greek thought when he made his famous statement to the effect that man should not be ashamed to name what God had not been ashamed to create. The Greeks, it should be noted, accepted the body as a whole and, as Rattray Taylor (1953) says, "they distributed their sexuality and were as interested in bosom and buttocks as in genitals."

Thus, in Ancient Greece we find a rich, varied, and refined erotic life and an absence of sexual repression in the Freudian sense of the word. Direction and control were consciously exercised on a rational basis. Masturbation, for instance, was accepted and looked upon not as a vice but as a safety valve. It was despised only when it occurred among adult men who, it was considered, should be able to engage in sexual relations with a partner. Many observers of Greek culture, including Licht, have noted the absence of sexual "perversions" in the true sense of the word. Although such relatively harmless deviations as exhibitionism, scopophilia, and bestiality, or zoophilia, are mentioned they seem to have existed on the margins of Greek erotic life. Of much more importance is the fact that no references exist in Greek literature to the abnormal phenomena of sadomasochism. It would seem that Classical Greek institutions were well designed for a full and healthy erotic life.

Rome

The differences between the Greek and the Roman worlds were profound, and these differences found expression in the sexual conventions of the Roman people. Roman marriage, for instance, differed greatly from Greek marriage. In early times there appear to have been three forms of marriage. According to the first form, if a man and a woman had lived together for a year they were considered to be legally married, and their children could inherit property. This form, based upon one year's uninterrupted cohabitation, was called *usus.* It became the commonest form of marriage in later times and was used to emancipate the wife from the authority of the husband. It was plebeian in character and involved something in the nature of an equal partnership.

Another form of marriage was called the *confarreatio.* This was the old aristocratic form and the most solemn and ceremonious. In early times it was incapable of being dissolved. Ten witnesses were required and the ritual was elaborate, Jupiter being invoked and sacrificial acts performed. An important feature in this form of marriage lay in the fact that the guardianship of the woman passed from the father to the husband. It was the form of marriage required by patrician status, and Briffault calls the contract "a deed of transfer." From the father the husband acquired the power of life and death over the wife, but in actual fact the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

position of the married woman even under this patriarchal form of marriage seems to have been better than that of many other patriarchal societies. Kiefer (1934) tells us that until 445 B.C., full legal marriage was the monoply of the aristocracy, available for patricians in marrying one another. Only later was the ban on mixed marriages lifted.

A third form of marriage was called *coemptio*. This was probably a cheap edition of *confarreatio* devised for the common people. Its effects came to be similar as time went on. Five Roman citizens were required as witnesses, and it differed from *usus* in being recognized as legal from the start. In common with *usus*, however, it did not at first involve a transfer of ownership. It would seem that at certain periods in Roman history all three forms of marriage could be accompanied by what was called the *manus, i.e.*, the woman passing into the power of the husband (*in manum*), but in the case of the authoritarian *confarreatio* this appears to have been invariable. With increasing emancipation women tended to avoid the *manus*. When "ownership" remained in theory with the father and the woman married and went to live with her husband, she became to all intents and purposes free. In later periods in Roman history the Roman woman enjoyed a considerable amount of dignity, freedom, and privilege, and she was not excluded from social life as was the Greek woman.

With the decay of the older aristocratic patterns of life the rituals of marriage became simpler. Few of the older rites survived except the Bridal Procession and the Nuptial Dinner. Legal proof of marriage was provided by the deed of transfer of the bride's dowry. In spite of changes, however, Roman marriage seems to have retained its basic characteristics. It was regarded not as a predominantly sexual institution, but rather as a social and economic arrangement. Roman marriage was monogamic, and fidelity was required from the wife. The patrician code punished the wife's adultery severely, because such conduct invalidated the legitimate inheritance of property. The Roman wife was trusted and given a considerable amount of personal freedom. Her exemplars and the guardians of her code were the Vestal Virgins. The influence of Vesta on the Roman matrons was, however, not always decisive. Livy tells us that in the year 285 B.C. a temple to Venus was erected out of the proceeds of fines imposed on Roman matrons for adultery. The virtues of Lucrece were evidently not ubiquitous in Roman life. It must be remembered that only a few Romans availed themselves of that form of marriage that was both monogamous and for life.

Among the Roman aristocracy virginity of the bride was esteemed. This esteem, however, was based on practical considerations. The loss of virginity before marriage was regarded as a bad augury for marital fidelity, thus diminishing girl's chance of marriage. There was no admiration for virginity as such. The sexual code for both men and women was eminently practical and secular, and no ascetic, mystical, or religious notions seem to have been involved.

Before the consummation of the marriage it was the custom to instruct the bride in her marital duties. The marriage bed was prepared, and an important feature of the nuptial ritual was the ceremonial loosening of the bride's girdle by the bridegroom. Sometimes the bride sat on the phallus of the fertility god Mutunus Tutunus. It may have been the custom for the bride to have been deflorated by the husband's friends. In any case, the sexual act between the married pair was supervised by a number of deities whose names suggest their specialized functions. Virginiensis helped the husband to undo the girdle of the bride. Subigus and Prema were concerned with bedding the bride and ensuring her submissiveness to the sexual demands of her husband, and Pertunda came to help the husband in the sexual consummation.

It is said that for 500 years after the foundation of Rome there was no instance of divorce, and no legal process by which it could be obtained. The first recorded case was brought by a husband on the grounds of his wife's barrenness. In later Roman law a divorce action could be brought by the husband on the grounds of his wife's adultery and also for other misdemeanors, as, for instance, drunkenness or perverse or disgusting conduct. Under the old system of *confarreatio*, which was indissoluble, the wife might be punished by death for cer-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tain offenses. Later penalties inflicted on the adulteress included banishment or death.

There was in Rome a double standard of sexual behavior, and the man was accorded much greater sexual freedom than the woman. Both the unmarried man and the husband were free to lead their own sexual lives. They could consort freely with slaves or prostitutes as long as they abstained from seducing the wives of other men. Concubinage was not regarded as shameful, but it was impossible to have a concubine and a wife at the same time. On the whole, men seem to have been averse to marriage, and this disinclination appears to have worried the Roman authorities.

It was Horace who spoke of the *laudator temporis acti,* the critic of the present and the idealizer of the past. We find this tendency at work in some Roman writers who, for polemic reasons, tended to glorify the austere purity of the past and to bewail the decadence of the times in which they lived. Much of this appears, however, to have been without solid historical foundation. The customs of all societies undergo change. The increase of wealth, the emancipation of women, and the spread of leisure led, no doubt, to increasingly sophisticated sexual patterns, but the simple past imagined by some writers probably never existed.

Prostitution was both widespread and socially accepted in Roman society. Even in early times there was the instance of a prostitute who later married a wealthy Etruscan. She was openly described on a eulogistic inscription as *nobilissima meretrix* ("a most noble prostitute"). Although virginity may have been an economic and social asset to a patrician girl, Roman girls of the poorer class were at liberty to cohabit with anyone, freely or for money, and a girl was not despised for so doing. Even in cases where public approval was withheld, the need for prostitution was recognized. Among representatives of this latter attitude were Seneca and Cicero. Horace recommended it, and expressed the opinion that "young men when their veins are full of gross lust should drop into a brothel rather than grind some husband's private mill." On the whole, brothels were encouraged but, as Havelock Ellis (1936) said, "the Roman entered them with covered head and face concealed in his cloak." The better class of Roman courtesan never achieved the refinement or the cultural and social rank and influence attained by the Greek hetaerae, and she was never allowed to imitate the habits and costumes of Roman matrons. Probably the rankest region of the Roman sexual underworld was that portrayed by Gaius Petronius, adviser on pleasure to Nero, in the fragment of his great novel *Satyricon.* It gives a wonderful picture of the twilight of the Roman Empire, with its brothels and taverns, its baths and banquets, its pimps, prostitutes, and catamites.

On the whole, a distinction was drawn between free sexual relationships and the venality of professional prostitution; and the woman who took money for her sexual favors tended to be despised. The professional prostitute was forced to enroll her name on the lists of the Aediles. Brothels abounded, and free-lance prostitutes plied their trade in dim corners of the city. The Roman prostitute might be a slave, a free woman, or a free-living aristocrat. The latter occasionally inscribed her name on the lists in order to enjoy the freedom and anonymity of the prostitute's life.

Severe circles no doubt disapproved of these casual and irregular relationships, but the Romans by and large regarded everything pertaining to sex as purely natural. All the sexually free women, from the mistresses of the poets to the unknown girls who lingered in the shadows of the city, were handmaids of the Mysteries of Venus and Cupid. Among the poets' mistresses, the Lesbia of Catullus has been immortalized. Many sexually free girls, such as actresses, flute-players, and dancers, were not ranked as professional prostitutes.

Homosexuality was also accepted by the matter-of-fact Romans as a natural and inevitable part of man's sexual life. Homosexual practices are associated with the names of many emperors and other Roman notabilities. Julius Caesar was ironically called "The husband of all women, and the wife of all men," and Augustus, Tiberius, Domitian, Hadrian, Trajan, and many others were at least bisexual in their tastes. The love of Hadrian for Antinoüs is perhaps the most famous homosexual idyll in Roman history. A vivid picture of homo-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

erotic life among students and wandering bohemians is given in the *Satyricon,* to which reference has already been made.

According to Havelock Ellis, Heliogabalus, "the most homosexual of all the company," seems to have been a true invert of the feminine type; he dressed as a woman and was devoted to the men he loved. It should be noted that homosexuality in Rome, although accepted and widespread, bore no resemblance either in its character or its influence to the highly idealized and all-pervasive paiderastia of Ancient Greece.

There was, of course, a close connection in Roman culture between sex and religion. The powers of generation were regarded as sacred, and the emblem of the phallus was revered, carried in processions, drawn on walls, and reproduced endlessly in the plastic arts. The name of one ancient god, Mutunus Tutunus, may have been derived from the word *mentula,* the male organ. This god, as we have already seen, played an important part in marriage rites, the bride offering her virginity to it. Juno was the guardian of woman's sexual functions.

As time went on, sexual life became more refined in its expression, and more extensive in its ramifications. The cults of Venus and Priapus developed. The former was the guardian not only of marriage, but also of harlots and, later, of male prostitutes as well. Priapus (called "the god of gardens") was a giant phallus connected with a human face. It was associated with fertility and general fecundity and was thus inimical to homosexual rites. The festivals of this god were both crude and licentious. It must be remembered that the phallus in Roman thought was considered to be endowed with magical potency; paradoxically enough, this was the emblem worshipped by the pure Vestals.

In conclusion, it may be said that Roman sexuality expressed itself in more direct and brutal ways than were customary in Greek life. Both cultures connected sex with religion, and both regarded sexual phenomena as a natural part of life. The crudeness of Roman sexuality manifested itself in the coarseness of the old erotic glossaries and in the public and private orgiastic activities that accompanied the decline of Roman civilization. In Rome, homosexuality was culturally unimportant, and Roman sexuality, unlike that of the Greeks, tended to become more and more sadistic. It may be noted that the lower grade prostitutes tended to lodge near the Circus Maximus in order to cater to men whose sexual desires had been inflamed by the spectacle of combat in the arena.

On its highest level, however, Roman sexuality achieved great refinement and subtlety. The sophisticated virtuosity of Roman sexual life found its final and finest monument in the poetry of Catullus and in the *Ars Amoris* of Ovid.

The Hebrews

Hebrew culture was a thoroughgoing theocracy, the laws governing human behavior being regarded as given by God Himself. The family was patriarchal in structure, the father having originally the power of life and death over the children. The wife had little freedom and the husband much. He could take concubines, associate with prostitutes, or divorce his wife. This patriarchal family was polygamous, and the number of wives varied, largely according to the wealth of the particular patriarch, Jewish kings tending to have extensive harems. Opinions differed concerning the ideal number of wives, some authorities recommending four, other Talmudic doctors allowing as many as the man could afford to support. It was only in later times that polygamy decayed and monogamic marriage became the rule.

Westermarck (1922) considers that the right of the husband to divorce his wife must be considered as central in Jewish thought, and although the rabbis introduced various restrictions as time went on, this right was never abolished. At first it applied to the man only, the woman being unable to divorce her husband for any cause. Later the woman could sue for divorce, and the court could compel her husband to give her a bill of divorce, the legal fiction being that he did this of his own free will. Whereas originally the husband could divorce his wife at pleasure and without cause, the woman had to prove notorious depravity, and not merely simple adultery. Later, divorce

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

might be withheld from the husband on compassionate grounds as, for instance, in cases where the wife was insane.

Among the sexual outlets outside marriage, prostitution played a very important part. This prostitution may be roughly divided into two categories, sacred and secular. Hebrew prostitution must be considered in the wider context of oriental prostitution in general. In cases where it was most closely connected with religion, the prostitute was the Temple priestess herself. Among the Canaanites, both male and female prostitutes served in the temples. At other times the prostitute was a "secular" and not a "sacred" person. She would practice prostitution for a short time and devote the profits to the sanctuary. Epstein (1948) says that this kind of prostitution was sometimes borrowed by the Hebrews and introduced into the Temple of the Lord.

The Book of Samuel tells us that the priestly sons of Eli lay "with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation." This, however, was exceptional and was denounced by their father, the High Priest. We find sacred prostitution referred to again in the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, in the account of Solomon's son, Rehoboam, who, influenced by his foreign mother, introduced the practice into the Temple at Jerusalem. Another outbreak occurred under Manasseh.

Both male and female prostitution of this type were brought to an end by Deuteronomic legislation under Josiah, who lived c. 640 B.C. Other types of prostitution were associated with street harlots who gave their fees to the Temple treasury. This was also condemned by the new code. Orgiastic rites, including prostitution, although not associated with Jewish worship, flourished at High Places (local sanctuaries built on hills) and under trees, in connection with the religious rites of the immediate neighbors of the Hebrews. No doubt many of the latter were drawn, at least occasionally, to these rites because of their licentious nature. It is very important to remember that many of the sexual prohibitions of the Hebrews were imposed, not primarily to outlaw the sexual acts as such, but rather because of their intimate association with the worship of strange gods.

Prostitution completely unconnected with religion was a feature of the life of the Hebrews, as it was of other ancient peoples. The whole subject, however, is somewhat complex. In ancient times it would appear that a woman called a *zonah* was a kind of concubine, standing midway between a wife and a prostitute. The degree of approval or disapproval meted out to the prostitute depended to some extent on whether she was a Hebrew girl or a strange woman, the legal code being extremely severe to the former. The Hebrew moralists expressed their disapproval of prostitution in general, and their attitude finds expression in the Book of Proverbs. Levitical law prohibited parents from giving their children into harlotry.

Two important clues to the understanding of the Hebrew sexual code are to be found in the fear of idolatry and the command to procreate. To some extent at least this colored their attitude toward virginity, adultery, masturbation, prostitution, and homosexuality. All these practices militated against religious purity and obedience. He who does not engage in procreation is like one who sheds blood, runs a Jewish proverb.

Although the early attitude to sex was, by and large, affirmative and robust, there were factors present that encouraged a sex-negating and ascetic attitude. In the mythology of the Fall the focal points are the phallic serpent and the temptation to sexual love. Side by side with this we must put the injunction to increase and multiply, and so the use of the sexual functions for this purpose became part of religious obedience. Asceticism became more powerful after the return from the Captivity. This expressed itself in a number of different ways; for example, in the reversal of the Rabbinical antipathy to celibacy, the glorification of barrenness, and the beliefs that pleasure as such is wicked and that sexual pleasure is the most wicked of all. According to Josephus, among the sect called the Essenes pleasure was denounced, continence praised, and wedlock avoided. This attitude led to the segregation of the sexes and the strict supervision of children.

According to Epstein, sexual contact be-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tween an unmarried man and woman, unpremeditated and unaccompanied by money, was not considered as harlotry and was not prohibited in the Bible, which forbade only the seduction of a virgin and rape, these being offenses under law. It was later that such contacts were condemned and described as harlotry. Additional restrictions embodied public disapproval of extramarital activities of this kind.

The Hebrews attached a high value to virginity in the bride, and the deception of the bridegroom in this matter was a serious offense. Much importance was attached to what were called "the tokens of viriginity." These Mosaic tokens probably took the form of a blood-stained cloth. In Deuteronomy it is stated that if a man discovers that his bride is not a virgin, and if the tokens of virginity cannot be found and displayed to the Elders, she may be stoned to death.

The menstruating woman was regarded as unclean and required a ritual bath to be cleansed from her impurity. A woman was also regarded as unclean after childbirth. According to Deuteronomic legislation, a sexually mutilated male was excluded from the congregation of the Lord. Deuteronomy, Chapter 23, lays down the rule that "He that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member cut off" shall not enter into the congregation. A bastard was also excluded.

At an early period ideas of humiliation and shame came to be attached to nakedness. In the Creation story, as Epstein points out, we are told that both Adam and Eve were naked and were not ashamed. This state ended when they tasted of the Tree of Knowledge, after which they made themselves aprons. All through the early history of the Hebrews their attitude stands in sharp contrast to that of the Greeks. The wife caught in an act of infidelity was publicly stripped by her husband as the final act of humiliation, and in the late period the Hellenizing Jew who participated in the naked exercises of the gymnasium was regarded as an apostate. To uncover the nakedness of somebody was usually associated with sexual approach, and this is the usual phrase employed in Leviticus in connection with persons who, because of consanguinity, must not be sexually approached. It was forbidden to recite holy formularies or to pray while naked or in the presence of a naked person. When prayer had to be recited during an immersion it was recommended that the water should be stirred up by the feet so that the body should not be seen below the surface. Nothing was more obnoxious to God than public nakedness, and the exposure of the woman's body was even more heinous than a similar display on the part of the male. Uncovering the nakedness usually meant displaying the genitals and was almost akin to sexual intercourse, and therefore, where a parent or relative was concerned, to incest. Ham, it will be remembered, was cursed for seeing the genitals of his father when the latter was drunk.

In harmony with their procreational view of sex, Hebrew teaching strongly deprecated masturbation. Although not specifically condemned in the Canonical Scriptures, it was condemned in Rabbinical teaching. It was a waste of nature and so an offense against God. It was regarded as a "sin," and a "capital crime." All kinds of advice were given in order to avert the unwitting or deliberate waste of semen. For example, it was necessary to avoid touching the genitals and to shun sexually stimulating situations and erotic daydreams. One rabbi, quoted by Epstein, contended that adultery included "lewdness by means of the hand as well." It must be remembered that the "sin" of Onan was not masturbation but coitus interruptus, and its use to describe masturbation is a solecism. Onan disobeyed the laws of God by refusing to raise up seed to his brother by his widow.

In Old Testament time "unnatural sins" were thought to defile the land, which belonged to the Lord. Among these sins was homosexual intercourse. Male homosexual practices were expressly forbidden in Leviticus: "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind: it is an abomination" (Lev. 18); "There shall be no Sodomite of the Sons of Israel" (Deut. 23). It should be noted that "sodomy" is the correct term for male homosexuality in the Old Testament; bestiality, which is often used as an equivalent term, is quite distinct. Among the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

portant in sexual relations, and the laws of Manu decree that if a maiden has relations with a man of higher caste she shall go unpunished, but that if her lover belongs to a lower caste she shall be shut up in her house until she comes to her senses. The general pattern laid down in the epics is that the girl should live in chastity and obedience to her parents and receive her husband at their hands.

Many different types of marriage are mentioned, including marriage by capture, marriage by stealing, marriage by purchase, and marriage in which the bride is freely given to the bridegroom by the father. The Brahman may take his spouse from the three higher castes only. If a man has three wives who are not Brahmans and then marries a Brahman woman, she automatically becomes the head wife. The philosophy of marriage depends, as Meyer says, on the general philosophy of life. The Brahman maxim is "give," and this leads to marriage without bride-price, whereas the warrior's maxim is "take," which favors marriage by capture. In some cases the girl has no freedom of choice or only a restricted one. In others she seeks until she finds the man picked out by her heart. Age also is important in marriage. The younger members of the family must wait until the older members marry.

Polygamy in Aryan India, Meyer says, "is as old as the hills, and does not give the slightest offense in the Brahmanic system, although since Vedic times one wife is the usual and obvious arrangement." Polyandry, on the other hand, is utterly repugnant to Indian feelings, only two cases being found in epic literature. However, there seem to be traces of a very early polyandry and "free-love," where the women followed their own inclinations and jealousy was unknown. This belongs, however, to a legendary period.

Great emphasis is laid in Indian culture on the pleasures of sex, and the frustration of such pleasure both for animals and for man was felt to be particularly inhuman. These pleasures were projected into the next world in the conception of a Utopia, where the favored man could have sexual intercourse with thousands of women of extreme beauty and in the flower of their youth. Sexual enjoyment removes the ills of the soul, and the myths of Siva and his wife picture them prolonging the sexual act almost to infinity. In all sexual activity woman is an ardent participant. Without the pleasures of love the woman pines, and much attention is devoted to aphrodisiacs and erotic techniques.

The didactic parts of the epics, according to Meyer, present sensuality as something unclean and enjoin an orthodoxy of peno-vaginal intercourse, condemning deviations such as oral-genital contacts. Homosexuality and bestiality are also regarded as great offenses. Masturbation and all forms of "self-pollution" and even involuntary emissions of semen are much frowned upon.

The evaluation of extramarital coitus depended very largely on the status of the woman. Connection with a harlot or a slave woman did not constitute adultery unless they were the concubines of another man.

In Indian culture the prostitute was often distinguished, wealthy, and influential. In some parts of India every first-born female was dedicated to the tribal god and served for some time as a temple prostitute. "The Hindu has always sung the praises of the public woman as the very type and embodiment of perfect womanhood," according to Meyer. She usually wore a distinctive dress of red. Although as a class she was not highly esteemed, she was the necessary companion of the warrior during military campaigns, and she was often the ornament not merely of the camp but of civil life too. She was often well-versed in speech and skilled in dancing and song, as well as in the arts of love. It was probably because of the prevalence and influence of these women that the didactic parts of the epics fulminate against them.

Side by side with the praise of woman in Indian literature are passages deeply misogynic in tone. Woman is so voluptuous, we are told, that she will seize upon any available male to satisfy her desires. Failing that, women will fall upon one another. Reference is made in this connection to the use of the artificial phallus.

The Hindus in general held homosexuality in abhorrence. However, houses of male prostitution with effeminate male prostitutes dressed as women have been described by travelers. Richard Burton spoke of the brothels

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

for eunuchs and boys in Karachi. In Afghanistan such practices were more acceptable, and Burton described effeminate boys with kohled eyes, rouged cheeks, long tresses, and hennaed nails accompanying the caravans and riding luxuriously in camel panniers.

Female homosexuality seems to have been more common. The Hindustani language has five different words for a tribad. Such relationships took many forms, including the aforementioned use of the olisbos. Havelock Ellis, quoting a personal communication, says that the Hindustani poets treated Lesbianism fully and crudely in a number of poems. In one of these the woman sings the praise of the artificial phallus and its superiority over the male lover.

The interest shown in the arts of love in India is borne out by the fact that there are no less than seven treatises on the subject in classical literature, the best known of these in the occidental world being the *Kama Sutra* and the *Anunga Runga*. The former is a very comprehensive treatise that deals with marriage, courtship, embracing, kissing, and coital techniques. Oral and manual stimulation are also discussed, as are coital acts involving more than two people. Homosexuality in both men and women is dealt with, and a good deal is said about the activities of eunuchs, some of whom are described as dressing as females and engaging in sexual activities with their male clients during shampooing operations.

In these treatises love is regarded not only as a refined and subtle art, but one that must be cultivated by both sexes. Woman's part in sexual activities is regarded as both active and important, and her lover is regarded as having failed unless she too achieves complete satisfaction.

Finally, it must be noted that the teaching and general permissiveness of the love manuals come into collision with some of the more ascetic precepts of epic and law, and a certain amount of sophistry must be employed in order to reconcile the claims of Eros with the injunctions of the more austere moralists and teachers.

References

Briffault, Robert, *The Mothers.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

Burton, Richard F., "Terminal Essay." In Vol. X of *The Arabian Nights.* London: privately printed for the Burton Club, no date indicated.

Ellis, Havelock. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Epstein, Louis M., *Sex Laws and Customs of Judaism.* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., Inc., 1948.

Goldberg, B. Z., *The Sacred Fire.* New York: Liveright, 1930.

Hopfner, T., *Das Sexuelleben der Griechen und Romer.* Prague, 1948.

Kiefer, Otto, *Sexual Life in Ancient Rome.* London: Routledge, 1934.

Licht, Hans, *Liebe und Ehe in Griechenland.* Berlin: Paul Aretz, 1925.

Meier, M. H. E., *L'amour Grec.* Paris: Stendhal et Cie., 1930.

Meyer, Johann Jakob, *Sexual Life in Ancient India.* London: Routledge, 1930.

Nefzawi, *The Perfumed Garden.* London and Benares: The Kama Shastra Society, 1886.

Ovid, *De Arte Amandi. Amorum. Remedia Amoris.*

Petronius, *The Satyricon.* London: Spearman & Calder, 1953.

Sappho, *Texte et traduction.* Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1909.

Schmidt, K., *Das Kamasutram.* Berlin: Barsdorf, 1907.

Schmidt, K., *Liebe und Ehe in Indien.* Berlin: Barsdorf, 1904.

Symons, John Addington, *Studies in Sexual Inversion.* London: privately printed, no date indicated.

Taylor, G. Rattray, *Sex in History.* London: Thames & Hudson, 1953.

Vatsyayana, *The Kama Sutra.* Paris: Librairie Astra, no date indicated.

Westermarck, Edward, *History of Human Marriage.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922.

ROBERT WOOD

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Animal Sexuality

SEXUAL behavior is one of the most basic and important types of social behavior, being directly associated with the process of reproduction. The most essential part of the process is, of course, the union of egg and sperm, in which the sperm moves toward and makes connection with the egg. Many animals that live in the sea simply liberate their reproductive products into the water and show no real sexual behavior. For land-living animals, however, and also for actively moving aquatic ones, the sex cells must be brought into close proximity by the behavior of the parents. Sexual behavior occurs in the one-celled animals, as in the conjugation of paramecia. It also occurs in all the higher groups of multicellular animals, although not necessarily in every species. There are only three major phyla in which sexual behavior does not occur: the sponges, coelenterates, and echinoderms. All of them are predominantly marine animals that are either completely immobile as adults or are sluggish in their movements (see Table 1).

The Functions of Sexual Behavior

The primary function of sexual behavior is to make fertilization possible, and this is the essential part of sexual reproduction. Although budding and other forms of asexual reproduction occur in many lower animals, sexual reproduction is the general rule, probably because it permits much more rapid genetic changes. Animals that have sexual reproduction evolve much more rapidly than those that do not, and, perhaps because of this, have developed a remarkable variety of sexual behavior. In many higher animals such behavior is not only varied and elaborate but has taken on a secondary function not directly related to reproduction, that of social coherence and coordination.

Sexual Behavior of Invertebrates

Among one-celled animals, the conjugation of paramecia is perhaps the best example of sexual behavior. There is no differentiation of the sexes, and these actively swimming ciliates usually reproduce by simple division. Under certain conditions, however, two paramecia will come together, join their oral surfaces, and swim around while they exchange nuclei in a manner similar to the union of the sex cells in the higher animals. Once this is done, the pair divide into four small animals which swim around independently and reproduce asexually as before. Other kinds of protozoans, particularly sporozoans such as the malaria parasite, produce eggs and sperm, but there is no sexual behavior of the parent cells.

Thus in the one-celled animals we can see the beginnings of sexual behavior: the origin of special behavior designed to bring about the union of two nuclei, and the development of two kinds of cells to carry these nuclei, one small and mobile, plus the other large and full of nourishment for the combined pair. A large number of invertebrate animals show no more sexual behavior than that of the two kinds of sex cells. For animals living in water under crowded conditions, the sex cells can easily travel the distance necessary to bring about fertilization. As stated above, three whole phyla show no sex behavior, and the same thing is true of many mollusks, such as clams and oysters. As well as living in the water, all these

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 1. THE OCCURRENCE OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

PHYLUM	NO SEXUAL BEHAVIOR	DIFFERENTIATED SEXUAL BEHAVIOR COMMON	FUNCTIONAL HERMAPHRODITISM COMMON	ASEXUAL AS WELL AS SEXUAL REPRODUCTION COMMON
Protozoa (one-celled animals)				x
Porifera (sponges)	x			
Coelenterata (corals and jellyfishes)	x			x
Echinodermata (starfish, sea urchins)	x			
Platyhelminthes (flatworms)			x	x
Nemathelminthes (roundworms)		x		
Annelida (segmented worms)			x	
Arthropoda (crustaceans, insects, spiders)		x		
Mollusca (snails, bivalves, squids)		x	x	
Chordata (especially vertebrates)		x		

animals are highly inactive. The more active invertebrates are likely to show sexual behavior.

For land-living animals sexual behavior is a necessity, since the sex cells cannot survive drying. Fresh water is also a poor environment for the sex cells, because of currents and the lack of a balanced solution of salt. Land-living animals and almost all active fresh-water animals therefore show some sexual behavior.

Hermaphroditism

The evolution of sexual behavior may take one of two directions. The first is toward hermaphroditism, with the development of both male and female organs in the same animal. Most of the flatworms are hermaphroditic, with well-developed male and female organs in every individual. In the free-living turbellarian flatworms, two individuals come together and mutually exchange sperms through penis-like organs. In the case of tapeworms, either cross-fertilization or self-fertilization of the eggs can occur. Many of the annelid worms are hermaphroditic. In earthworms, two individuals come together, lying side by side, both exchanging eggs and sperm, which are left inside a common cocoon. Among mollusks many snails are hermaphroditic. In these slow-moving animals sexual behavior is not usually elaborate, the pair simply coming alongside into a position that permits the insertion of the penis. Since there is a common genital opening for the penis and vagina, only one of the pair can act as the male at a time. The Roman, or edible, snail has in addition to the penis a sharp dart used to stimulate the other animal before coitus. Some mollusks, such as the European oyster, are protandrous hermaphrodites, *i.e.*, the same individual can be at first a male and later on a female, but there is no sexual behavior in these bivalves. In some other animals hermaphroditism occurs as an anomaly of development, without any function being possible. This is the case in vertebrates, except for one species of fish, *Serranelus subligarius*, which is a functional hermaphrodite. A pair may reverse the sex roles while mating, but there is always one that acts as a male and one as a female.

Differentiation of Behavior

The more general evolutionary tendency in the higher animals is toward differentiation of sex behavior, males becoming more active and females more passive. The lesser activity of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

female is often associated with the production of eggs, which tend to be heavy and bulky.

The details of sexual behavior are enormously varied and often appear bizarre to human eyes. Among the squids and octopuses, the males have a special arm that is used to transfer sperm to the female. The sperms are enclosed in little cases, the male inserting these spermatophores into the mantle of the female with his arm. In the chambered Nautilus, the female retains her hold on this arm, which then breaks off. Spiders also have a special appendage for the transfer of sperm. In this case, the end of the pedipalp is used as a syringe to suck up the sperm and transfer it to the female. Before this can be done, the male has to discharge the sperm into a special web that he weaves for the purpose. The female does not have to be present for the discharging process to occur. The males of many species of spiders have elaborate courtship dances, which apparently excite the female. In some of them the female occasionally eats the male, either because she is approached before being receptive, or because the male lingers too long after mating. This cannibalism apparently has no sexual significance, being the accidental result of a carnivorous existence. In crayfish and lobsters, mating behavior is much more like that of vertebrates. The male seizes the female with his claws, holding her on her back so that sperm can be carried into her body by means of a pair of abdominal appendages on the male, which serve the purpose of a penis.

Insects show an enormous variety of sexual behavior. Male grasshoppers and crickets produce their typical sounds which attract the female, after which copulation takes place. In moths it is the females that attract the male by odor, and the males are able to detect this at long distances with their feathery antennae. The mating dances of May flies are familiar to anyone who lives near a fresh-water pond or lake. In insects, mating usually takes place but once in the life history, sperms being retained in the female for long periods.

Reduction of Sex Behavior

A few invertebrates have evolved toward the elimination or reduction of sexual behavior. In one species of roundworms, the male is a parasite that lives in the vagina of the female. Males are parasitic also in the marine annelid worm *Bonellia*, living within the body of the female. In some insects such as aphids the eggs normally develop without fertilization and males are produced only at certain seasons of the year, permitting sexual behavior every few generations. In ants, bees, and wasps the eggs can either be laid fertilized and become females, or unfertilized and become males. In the parasitic wasp *Nemeritis* there are no males and no sexual behavior. However, the mainstream of evolution is toward the development of separate sexes with two distinct types of behavior, and the reduction of sexual behavior is the exception rather than the rule.

Sexual Behavior of Vertebrates

Although vertebrates often live in the water, all of them are relatively large and actively moving animals that have of necessity evolved some type of sexual behavior. The examples given below will give some idea of the variety of sexual behavior that is possible among them.

Fish

In the mouth-breeding fish of the family Cichlidae, the eggs are picked up in the mouth of one of the parents and carried around until they hatch. Sexual behavior itself is much like that in other fish. In the African mouthbreeder, *Tilapia macrocephala*, the male and female first go through a pattern of courtship for several days. They approach, nod their heads, and spread out their gill covers, which exposes sexual markings. One member of the pair may stop and quiver for an instant. They also slap each other with their tails and occasionally may pursue and nip each other. Finally, the female begins to build the nest, scooping up gravel in her mouth. The pair swims over the nest; the female quivers and deposits the eggs, and the male deposits the sperm an instant later. After a minute the male picks up the eggs in his mouth. Here they hatch and develop until they are sufficiently mature to survive by themselves. Once having left the mouth, parental care ceases, and the young are eaten if caught. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

other mouthbreeders the sex roles are reversed, the male building the nest and the female carrying the eggs.

Amphibians

Among amphibians, frogs show some of the most complex sexual behavior. The male chorus frog, *Pseudacris nigritus*, produces a loud call during the mating season in the spring of the year. Females approach the noisy male, who seizes one of them from the rear by hooking his forelimbs under her armpits. The pair stays in amplexus while the female moves to deeper water, where she lays her eggs. The contractions of her body stimulate the male to ejaculate the sperm, so that the eggs are fertilized as they are laid.

In salamanders with internal fertilization the pattern of sex behavior is quite different. Males of the genus *Ambystoma* precede the females to the breeding pond. When a female appears, a male twists and writhes around her as he rubs his nose against her tail and works forward on the body. This eventually stimulates the female to pick up with her cloacal lips the sperm case, or spermatophore, deposited by the male. In the axolotl the female picks up the sperm case with her hind feet and inserts it.

Reptiles

Among reptiles, the turtles have always excited popular curiosity as to how mating can take place between mates so completely covered by armor plate. Actually, sexual behavior is quite simple in most species. In the desert tortoise (*Gopherus*) the male approaches the female, nodding his head, and the female replies in kind. He then nips her forelegs and head until she draws them into her shell. Finally, he mounts the female from the rear, grunting, stamping his feet, and clicking his forefeet on her shell. He then inserts the penis into her cloaca and mating is complete.

Among snakes, the male in the mating season approaches the female. The two raise their heads and coil their bodies around each other, rubbing their heads and necks and waving their heads. Finally the posterior portions of the bodies intertwine, bringing the cloacas together so that coitus is achieved. Sex behavior is thus preceded by a period of tactile stimulation. In lizards, the courtship is likely to be visual instead of tactile. The males are usually brilliantly colored and display these markings prior to actual mating. In *Sceloporus* a typical part of the display behavior is a "push up," in which the male rapidly raises and lowers his head. Finally the male grasps the female by the skin of the neck with his teeth, clasping her with his legs and twisting his tail beneath hers to bring the two cloacas together, and inserts one hemipenis.

Sexual behavior in alligators is quite similar to that in lizards except that in the preliminary stages the males roar in the swamps. A female is attracted by the call, after which the pair swim around, with the male rubbing his throat across the snout of the female and roaring again.

Sexual behavior in reptiles has evolved in two different directions: one in which preliminary stimulation is largely a matter of visual display, and the other in which stimulation is largely tactile. This perhaps points to the kinds of greater specialization of sexual behavior that are typical respectively of birds and mammals.

Birds

Among many birds sexual behavior is part of a relationship between a pair that lasts throughout the breeding season. Herring gulls nest in large colonies on small islands. Pair formation begins when a female approaches a male, walking around him and finally making tossing movements with her head. This stimulates the male to regurgitate food, which the female devours. The pair eventually selects a nest area, which they guard as a territory. Sexual behavior takes place once or twice a day. Both birds toss their heads for several minutes as if begging for food. Finally the male stretches his neck, jumps into the air, and mounts the female. Coition is achieved by bringing the two cloacas together.

Display behavior in courtship can be much more elaborate. In the sage grouse the male develops a special nuptial plumage. During the breeding season the males gather together on special breeding grounds. Early in the morning the males go through the display behavior over and over for hours. The male spreads his tail

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

like a fan, throws his head back, and with a sort of pumping motion inflates the air sacs of the throat, which appear as two bright red spots in the midst of a cloak of white feathers streaming down from the neck. He then releases the air with a sort of plopping noise. Eventually the females arrive. When a female draws near a dominant male she crouches, the male mounts, and coition takes place within a few seconds. Some display behavior is usually a part of the courtship of song birds but is not so obvious in these small and rapidly flying birds. The display behavior may function to organize behavior between males as well as to stimulate the females.

A good deal of research has been done with stuffed specimens to determine what it is that stimulates the male. In turkeys the entire pattern of display and mounting can be stimulated merely by the stuffed head of a female. In Brewer's blackbird the female mates with her head and tail raised. Males mate with a dummy posed in a similar atttiude if either the head or tail is removed, but not both.

In general, the sexual behavior of birds emphasizes preliminary courtship, with much visual display of plumage and considerable movement. The actual contact in coition is very brief. This may be the result of their having feathers, which effectively prevent extensive tactile stimulation. Such is not the case with mammals.

Mammals

It is hard to observe sexual behavior under natural conditions in mammals, and the most detailed studies have been done with laboratory animals. However, some observations have been made, and the following examples are chiefly those of animals observed mating in the wild.

During the autumn breeding season a male moose joins a cow and her calf, staying with her from ten days to two weeks. The male makes a wallow by rolling and pawing on the ground, and chases other males away from it. He urinates in it, paws the ground, and rolls in the wallow. Eventually he approaches the female, sniffs her hind quarters, and then throws his head back, extending the neck and curling the upper lip. This posture is a characteristic part of the sexual behavior of male hoofed animals, being common in domestic cattle, sheep, and goats. The moose then shoulders the female toward the wallow, mounts her, and stays mounted for approximately three minutes. The wallow apparently plays a part in mating behavior, which always takes place nearby.

Elephant seals breed on islands off the coast of California. Each adult male is surrounded by females. After giving birth to her young the female is receptive to any male, the external sign being an enlarged vulva. The male approaches the female without display or courtship, coming up to her from the rear and pinning her down by throwing his body on top of hers. He then maneuvers her body so that her vulva is close to the penis and, lying partly over and partly to one side, makes a number of pelvic thrusts. The female arches her back to bring the vulva into position, and copulation may last three to seven minutes. Once the penis is inserted pelvic thrusts cease.

In the above two mammals sexual behavior is confined to a brief season. Seasonal breeding is characteristic of most mammals in temperate zones but there are others, presumably of tropical origin, in which breeding takes place through the year. In the domestic guinea pig estrus cycles take place every 16 days or so unless pregnancy interferes. A male approaches any female, investigating her with his nose, particularly around the vaginal opening. If not receptive, she will squat or move away. If she is receptive the male becomes excited, walking around her with a rolling gait and making rumbling noises. He eventually mounts and makes several pelvic thrusts. He may mount more than once before ejaculation takes place, after which he relaxes and becomes difficult to excite for some time. The ejaculated material forms a hard plug within the vagina, which probably interferes with further sexual activity. During any one cycle the female is in heat for only a few hours.

The sexual behavior of primates also shows regular cycles that take place throughout the year, unless the female becomes pregnant. There is a prolonged period of receptivity. Any cycle in which fertilization does not take place is followed by menstruation, a phenomenon that does not take place in any other group of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mammals. Many primate females exhibit a swelling of the sexual skin. In the female chimpanzee an area of bright pink skin six or eight inches in diameter projects around the vagina. In sexual behavior she "presents," crouching so that her enormously enlarged vulva is directed toward the male. He mounts, and after many pelvic thrusts ejaculation is achieved. The bright colors of male baboons are probably also connected with sexual stimulation. Primates are unusual among mammals in that visual stimulation, as well as tactile stimulation, appears to be important. In a majority of other mammals the male is stimulated chiefly by odor and touch. There are relatively few mammals in which there is a prolonged preliminary courtship, although the male is frequently attracted to the female before she is receptive.

The Relationship of Fertilization to Sexual Behavior

All animals have some mechanism that ensures that sexual behavior actually leads to the fertilization of the eggs. One of these is the storing of long-lived sperm in the body of the female. In honeybees sexual behavior takes place only once in the life of the female, who may live for two or three years. The queen bee stores the sperm within her body and releases it to fertilize the eggs, which develop into the workers and future queen. Males are produced only when needed, by unfertilized eggs. A similar phenomenon exists in bats, which mate in the autumn, store the sperm throughout the season of hibernation, and produce the eggs to be fertilized in the spring. However, it is far more common for both eggs and sperm to be fragile and short-lived. In most mammals the sperms die after a few hours in the female. The sperms of fresh-water fishes live for only a few minutes.

A second device is to ensure fertilization through the behavior of the female. In a large number of mammals there is a definite period of sexual receptivity that precedes or is closely related to the time of ovulation. For example, the female guinea pig comes into heat about eight hours before ovulation takes place, ensuring that sexual behavior and hence a supply of fresh sperm will be available at the time the eggs are produced.

A less common device is the control of ovulation by the sexual behavior of the male. In rabbits the eggs are produced by the female twelve hours after copulation has taken place. The domestic cat shows a similar phenomenon. In the latter, the penis of the male is covered with small barbs, and the pain of coitus stimulates the pituitary gland, which in turn releases the hormones that cause ovulation. The phenomenon can be experimentally duplicated by painful stimulation with a glass rod.

Still another method of ensuring fertilization is frequent sexual behavior during the season or time when the eggs are produced. In birds the eggs must be fertilized before the shell is added, and since the eggs are normally laid at the rate of one a day, sperms must be available over extended periods. The birds have solved the problem by repeated mating rather than by the retention of long-lived sperm, and long associations between males and females during the mating season are characteristic of these animals. Somewhat the same situation exists in primates, in which the females typically have long periods of receptivity but produce only one egg at each period. In normal groups of howling monkeys and baboons, the receptive females go from male to male, leaving each one as he becomes satiated. This ensures that a supply of fresh sperm will be available at the time of ovulation. At the same time, prolonged sexual behavior affects more than the process of fertilization, playing an important part in the social organization of the species.

Sexual Behavior and Social Organization

The role of sexual behavior in the social life of a species can vary from none at all, as in many of the lower invertebrates, to a large one, as in many of the higher mammals. Its importance is related to the heredity of the species and to the hereditary mechanisms that produce the differentiation of sexual form and behavior. We are accustomed to think of social organization in the higher animals as being related to three biological types, males, females, and young, with appropriate differ-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ences in sexual and other forms of social behavior. In the social insects this differentiation is carried still further. In ants, bees, and wasps, fertilized eggs can either become the sterile female workers who form the majority of the colony, or the fertile queens. Only the males and the queens ordinarily show sexual behavior. Thus, there are three types of adults instead of two as in the vertebrates.

Insects

The patterns of sex behavior in insects are quite distinct between the sexes, without overlap. Occasionally a developing egg may, by accident to the normal division of chromosomes, produce a gynandromorph. This is an individual in which part of the body is male and part female. When the head is one sex and the rest of the body another, the behavior corresponds to the head rather than to the part of the body that contains the sex organs.

In termites there may be several different hereditary types or castes of individuals, ranging from soldiers and workers to the reproductive castes, which show sexual behavior. In general, the importance of sexual behavior to social organization is very slight in the social insects.

Vertebrates

Quite a different situation obtains in the vertebrates, where the two sexes are more alike. Male- and female-producing eggs differ in only one chromosome. The reproductive organs of both sexes develop from the same primitive embryonic organs, and the corresponding parts are exaggerated or diminished to produce the final differences. Likewise, both sexes possess the potentiality for producing the pattern of behavior characteristic of either the male or the female. The usual differences in emphasis of behavior are produced in part by differences in hormones and in part by differences in the anatomy of the sex organs, and are never as sharply differentiated as they are in insects. In many species of mammals the females show the behavior of mounting and pelvic thrusts, in reaction either to other females in estrus or to males in the early part of courtship and sexual behavior.

Many of the vertebrates show seasonal sexual behavior, and in most cases the behavior of the male extends over a longer period than that of the female. As shown above, the females of many mammals have only a short period of estrus, or heat.

Birds

A short period of estrus or receptivity is characteristic of animals that do not have a prolonged association between males and females. The contrary is true when mates are associated for long periods. In most of the perching birds the males and females form definite pairs that occupy the same nest during the breeding season. The male usually takes some part in the rearing of the young. Sexual behavior includes a long period of courtship prior to actual mating, and this in part has the function of coordinating the endocrine systems and hence the sexual and parental behavior of the two birds. Sexual behavior is an important part of the pairing bond, which may last several seasons.

Sexual behavior plays a somewhat different role in the gallinaceous birds, to which our domestic chickens are related. In these birds one male typically mates with several females, and the females have the entire care of the young. In the grouse family, sexual behavior is organized around mating grounds, sexual contacts are brief, and the females raise the young apart from the males.

Mammals

A similar variety of sexual behavior exists in mammals, some of which have brief contacts and others quite prolonged ones. In the herd animals such as cattle and sheep, a female will normally show one short estrus period during the mating season. Sexual behavior is accomplished without elaborate courtship. The male simply approaches the female, investigates her with his nose, and attempts to mount. If she is receptive, copulation and ejaculation take place within a few seconds. This may be repeated frequently during the estrus period, depending on how many females are present. A similar type of behavior takes place in the elephant seal. These animals come into estrus for a short time immediately after the young are born. A single male mates briefly with each female as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

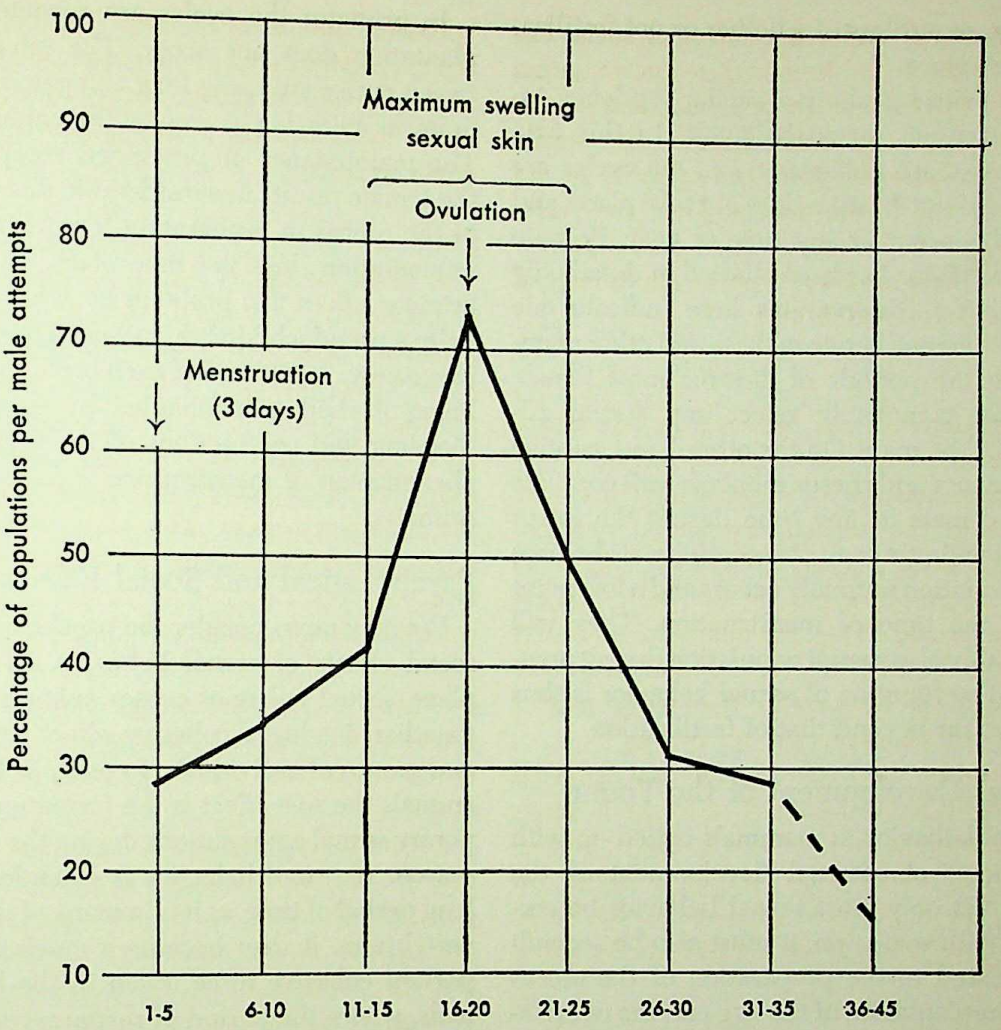


FIG. 1. Sexual receptivity in the female chimpanzee. Copulation occurs at all points in the cycle, which is normally 35 days in length. (After Elder and Yerkes, *Anat. Rec. 67;* 119-143, 1936, by permission Wister Institute Press.)

she is receptive. There is no other sexual behavior throughout the year, nor do the males and females show any close relationship to each other.

This may be contrasted with the sexual behavior of the wolf, which is similar to that of its descendant, the domestic dog. Mating begins in January and February, and may continue until March. The first sign of estrus in the female is a slight amount of bleeding from the vagina. Along with this, and possibly produced by it, the female deposits a substance with her urine that is highly exciting to males. Males will react to the scent of either the urine or the female herself. Under normal conditions, the mated pair of wolves have lived together throughout the year and during this part of the sexual cycle there is a great deal of courtship behavior. Both animals may rear on their hind legs, throwing the forelegs around each other's necks with the head to one side and the tongue extended. They also exhibit a playful attitude, crouching on the front legs but keeping the hips high, and then darting rapidly away. This results in long periods of running and chasing. During this part of the cycle the female will not permit the male to mount. Full receptivity appears at about the time the bleeding ceases and may last for two or three weeks. The entire cycle may last as long as six weeks, during which the male and female are constantly with each other. Sexual behavior takes place many times during the receptive period. Ovulation occurs approximately 72 hours before the end of the receptive period in the dog and probably also in the wolf. In the latter there is normally only one cycle

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

per year, regardless of whether or not fertilization takes place.

Most primates show a similar tendency toward extended sexual behavior. In this case the females are polyestrus, *i.e.*, the cycles are repeated if fertilization does not take place, and the cycles occur at any time of year. Primate sexual behavior has been studied in detail only in captivity. Observations here indicate one major difference between these and other mammals. In the periods of diestrus most female mammals completely reject any sexual advances of the male. On the other hand, captive chimpanzees and rhesus monkeys will copulate with the male at any time during the estrus cycle, showing a peak of receptivity at the time when ovulation normally occurs and a low point around the time of menstruation. They will presumably also permit copulation during pregnancy. The function of sexual behavior is thus extended far beyond that of fertilization.

Internal Development of the Young

Sexual behavior in mammals is tied up with the process of internal development of the young. Not only must sexual behavior be correlated with ovulation, it must also be secondarily related to the preparation of the uterus for the implantation of the egg and the nourishment of the developing embryo. The primitive estrus cycle in mammals is probably a short one, similar to that which takes place in most rodents. Hormones stimulate both the growth of the lining of the uterus and sexual behavior. At the appropriate time other hormones stimulate ovulation. The uterus is maintained for a brief time, but if the embryo is not implanted its lining regresses and the whole cycle starts over again. In an animal like the dog the period of estrus activity, and consequently of hormonal activity, is extended over several weeks instead of a few days. Implantation does not take place until three weeks after fertilization, and the uterus must be maintained during all of this time. If the eggs do not implant, the female usually goes through a period of pseudopregnancy, with the hormones behaving just as they would in a true pregnancy until about halfway through the pregnancy period. Up to this point the female appears pregnant by all external signs.

In primates the cycles are repeated if implantation does not occur. The intervals between cycles are quite long compared to those in lower animals (35 days in the chimpanzee). The maintenance of prolonged receptivity in the female results in considerable development of the uterus in preparation for pregnancy. If implantation does not take place, the female primate solves this problem by what is essentially a pseudochildbirth, rather than a pseudopregnancy. At the end of each cycle the uterine lining is shed, accompanied by considerable bleeding and contractions of the uterus. This phenomenon of menstruation is found only in primates.

Psychological and Social Effects

We may now consider the psychological and social effects of sexual behavior. In the first place, sexual behavior causes animals to come together, having a cohesive effect upon pairs and groups of individuals. In many of the lower animals the sole effect is the formation of temporary sexual aggregations during the breeding season. If sexual behavior is extended over a long period of time, as it is in many of the higher vertebrates, it may become a much more important cohesive force. Even in the herd animals, where the period of sexual receptivity in the female may only last a day or so, the association between males and females may last several weeks, probably because the behavior of the males is much less limited in time.

In addition, sexual behavior would be expected to have strong secondary psychological effects. In the majority of animals, sexual behavior appears to be rewarding. There are only a few possible exceptions, such as female cats. This means that repeated sexual behavior in an animal capable of advanced types of learning will lead to a very strong secondary motivation toward sexual behavior, and that this will be associated with the individual or individuals with whom it takes place. In short, the biologically attractive effect of sexual behavior will be enhanced and made more specific by psychological processes. There is considerable evidence that this actually takes place in many birds and mammals, that sexual behavior is an important part of the cohesion of social groups, and that some modification of it may even affect

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the cohesiveness of male groups. Male mountain sheep outside the breeding season sometimes exhibit minor aspects of the pattern of sexual behavior between themselves.

Thus, sexual behavior has evolved in two main directions in the higher animals. One is toward the insurance of fertilization. This tends to restrict or minimize sexual activity, the extreme cases occurring in the social insects, where mating takes place only once in the life of the female and fertilization is thereafter controlled by her physiology. The other direction is toward the use of sexual behavior as a cohesive social force. Both these tendencies exist among vertebrates, sometimes within the same species. There may be a very short period of sexual behavior in the female, ensuring fertilization, and a much longer period of sexual activity in the male, producing social attraction. Even in primates, in which the sexual activity of both sexes is prolonged, there is a higher degree of activity in the male.

The evolution of the social function of sexual behavior has gone further in primates than in any other group of mammals, bringing with it certain dangers as well as positive effects. The extension of sexual behavior over a long period compared to the brief time in which the ovum is fresh and in good condition increases the risk of abnormal and defective development. Furthermore, the long-continued high degree of sexual motivation is conducive to maladaptive behavior of various sorts.

Abnormal Sexual Behavior in Animals

We shall here consider certain types of behavior that do not produce the most effective degree of adaptation, particularly maladaptive behavior that arises from functional causes rather than from organic injuries and deficiencies.

The experimental work on abnormal behavior in animals indicates that three conditions are conducive to the development of maladaptive behavior. One is a *high degree* of *excitement* or *motivation.* A second is the *inability* of the animal *to escape* from the source of excitement, because of confinement or other reasons. A third is the *inability to adapt* to the situation, that is, to respond effectively to stimulation. In the case of sexual behavior, motivation can be extremely high, arising as it does from a combination of internal physiological causes, external stimulation, and learned motivation. There are many situations that prevent escape, and in any case the animal cannot escape his own internal stimulation. Finally, there are many situations that prevent sexual behavior. The important thing to remember is that all three conditions must be present in order to produce maladaptive behavior. Furthermore, the response of animals to such situations can be affected by hereditary differences, the primary one of which is the difference in the male and female physiology of sexual behavior.

Response to an Inappropriate Object (Displacement)

Normally, sexual behavior takes place between two individuals of the same species and of opposite sex, but the behavior of animals may depart from this in many different ways. The most extreme deviation is toward inanimate objects. Most of the reported cases have been produced experimentally by the use of models that to some extent resemble the other sex. Most male birds can be induced to respond to stuffed skins, even under wild conditions, provided the posture is appropriate. The most extreme case is that of the male turkey, which will respond to nothing more than the stuffed head of a female.

Self-stimulation appears frequently in male mammals, but occurs most often in primates, which use their hands for the purpose. A curious example is the antler-rubbing of certain members of the deer family. The red deer and moose rub their antlers on trees during the rutting season, and this action is accompanied by erection and extrusion of the penis. Male elk in zoos sometimes dig their antlers into the ground with the same effect. Whether this is true self-stimulation or part of the general pattern of courtship behavior is still in question.

Sexual reactions to members of the same sex are quite common, particularly in captivity where animals of one sex are confined together. In the herd animals males frequently mount each other, especially the young ones, but there

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

is rarely any complete sexual behavior. Two male sheep placed on one side of a fence with a female in estrus on the other responded by exhibiting courtship behavior toward each other. Females of many species, including dogs and rats as well as the herd animals, will mount each other and even make thrusting movements when in estrus. A female in heat may receive this kind of behavior without protest, but a male that is mounted usually reacts aggressively. Beach has recorded a few cases where male rats have accepted a passive sexual role. In general, this type of behavior is extremely common wherever sexually active animals of the same sex are confined together.

Another type of inappropriate response is sexual behavior of an immature animal toward an adult. Male lambs will sometimes respond to a female adult in certain circumstances, such as giving birth to a lamb, and puppies may respond to their mothers in estrus. However, the adults usually reject the advances of the young males, which in any case do not lead to complete sexual behavior. The reverse situation, in which adults respond to young animals, is very uncommon, probably because in most species the young do not have the necessary stimulating properties.

A final type of inappropriate object is the female or male of another species. This sort of behavior is closely associated with early social experience. Animals that are removed from their own species at birth or hatching and raised by another variety tend to transfer social reactions to the adopted species. This is one of the striking effects of imprinting in birds, and it occurs to a somewhat lesser extent in mammals. A young puppy was taken from the mother at the age of four weeks and reared to the age of several months without direct contact with other dogs, but having contact with people and a male cat. Like most other pet dogs, it made sexual responses to people, but these were immediately discouraged by punishment. As a puppy it played with the cat and made attempts to mount it. Later, when the dog was an adult, a male kitten was brought into the home and the dog responded to it by licking and nosing it. Instead of mounting, the dog would stand over the kitten. When the kitten became mature the dog began licking its posterior. The cat now responded by assuming the position normally taken by a female in coitus. Both animals appeared to obtain some sexual satisfaction. However, the same dog also responded normally to a female dog in estrus.

Many species that normally do not interbreed will mate if placed in close contact in captivity. Lions will mate with tigers in zoos, producing living offspring. Sheep and goats will mate, but the embryos die before birth. This sort of complete sexual behavior between species is of course dependent upon similar anatomy and patterns of sexual behavior.

In summary, sexual responses to inappropriate objects or individuals largely result from two circumstances. One is the lack of opportunity for mating with a member of the opposite sex of the same species. Abnormal sexual behavior is almost inevitable if an animal is subjected to this condition for long periods. The second circumstance is early experience, which can be particularly conducive to mating with members of a different species. Many birds raised by hand appear to be unable to readjust to their own species, but mammals apparently respond to either their own or the adopted species. The vast majority of cases of abnormal sexual behavior occur under conditions of high stimulation and captivity, which fits the theoretical predictions given above.

Substitution of Inappropriate Behavior in Response to Sexual Stimulation

This has not been widely observed among animals but it does occur. For example, in litters of terrier dogs the males are usually larger than the females and become dominant over them. However, an occasional female becomes dominant over a male. The usual pattern of behavior associated with dominance is for the dominant animal to growl at the subordinate, approaching from the side and placing its forefeet on the back of the latter. The subordinate animal will usually stand still or, if unusually frightened, will roll on its back, extending its legs and exposing its teeth, usually growling and yelping at the same time. When a dominant female is approached by a subordinate male who attempts to mount from the rear, she re-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sponds to his touch as to an attempt at domination, turning around and driving him off. In short, she responds to sexual stimulation with aggressive behavior and this prevents any further sexual behavior. The same female, however, may be dominated by a strange male and mating will proceed normally.

The same sort of thing occurs in flocks of chickens. The more dominant members of a flock of hens will crouch less often to receive a male than the more subordinate ones. If young cockerels grow up with adult females, the females attack them when they make sexual advances, thus preventing any sort of sex behavior.

In both these cases there is no indication that the animals receive any sort of sexual satisfaction from the aggressive behavior. Rather, these are cases in which certain aspects of the patterns of sexual and agonistic behavior are closely similar, and learned responses interfere with normal behavior.

Substitution of Sexual Behavior for Other Types of Social Adaptation

Among captive chimpanzees it is quite common for subordinate males and females to assume a sexual posture in response to threats by a dominant male. This usually has the effect of stopping the male from dealing out punishment. Where a competitive situation exists, the female will sometimes offer herself to a male so that she can divert his attention and obtain a piece of food. In some cases it looks as if the female is using sexual behavior as a tool for obtaining other advantages. Conversely, a male may cajole and caress a female in order to take food away from her without actually getting into a fight. However, such uses of sex behavior seem to occur chiefly in primates, where sex behavior is unusually highly developed as a part of social organization.

Conclusion

Sexual behavior is associated with the process of bisexual reproduction in animals. One of the most important functions of the latter is to make possible rapid evolutionary change. In keeping with this, sexual behavior has evolved throughout the animal kingdom into an enormous variety of methods by which sperms and eggs may be brought together. Sexual behavior may involve many different sorts of motor organs and a large variety of sensory experience. In the vertebrates sexual stimulation may be chiefly visual, as it is in many fishes and birds, or it may emphasize contact and odor as it does in most mammals. The varieties of sexual experiences that are possible for human beings are far exceeded by those found in the animal kingdom as a whole.

Sexual behavior has two important functions: ensuring fertilization and social cohesion. The latter is a secondary one that seems to have evolved independently in many species of birds and mammals but reaches its height in the primates. In other social animals, particularly the social insects, the function of social cohesion through sex is minimized.

In those species showing prolonged sexual behavior with an important social function, the problem of malfunctioning sexual behavior is important. It is also in the highly social animals that sexual behavior can be most readily altered by early experience.

In general, the sexual behavior of the invertebrates and lower vertebrates seems to be organized largely by heredity. The restrictions of sexual behavior that prevent sterile sexual activity are based on hereditary control and physiology. In the highly social animals more and more of these restrictions are imposed by social environment and social training. In the higher social vertebrates experience plays a large part in the development of sexual behavior: through the sexual play of immature animals, and the rewarding effect of successful sexual behavior of adults. Most animals are able to mate successfully at maturity without further training, but among chimpanzees held in captivity immature animals apparently have to learn sexual behavior from experienced animals of the other sex. Thus there is a tendency, even in this very fundamental form of behavior, to evolve toward greater modification through experience. This is in addition to the other major tendency in the evolution of sexual behavior, toward the development of social functions other than reproduction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

References

Aronson, L. R., "Reproductive and Parental Behavior." In M. E. Brown (ed.), *The Physiology of Fishes: Vol. 2. Behavior.* New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1957.

Beach, Frank A., "A Review of Physiological and Psychological Studies of Sexual Behavior in Mammals." *Physiol. Rev. 27;* 240-307, 1947.

Beach, Frank A., *Hormones and Behavior.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1948.

Berrill, N. J., *Sex and the Nature of Things.* New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1955. A popular account.

Elder, J. H., and Yerkes, R. M., "The Sexual Cycle of the Chimpanzee." *Anat. Rec. 67;* 119-143, 1936.

Etkin, W., "Social Behavior and the Evolution of Man's Mental Faculties." *Am. Nat. 88;* 129-142, 1954.

Evans, L. T., *Courtship and Territorial Behavior of Lower Vertebrates.* Mimeographed.

Ford, C. S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Inc., 1951.

Gertsch, W. J., *American Spiders.* New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1949.

Milne, Lorus J., and Milne, Margery J., *The Mating Instinct.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1954. A popular account.

Scott, J. P., *Animal Behavior.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Tinbergen, N., *Social Behavior in Animals.* London: Methuen & Co., 1953.

Young, W. C. (ed.), *Genetic, Psychological and Hormonal Factors in the Establishment and Maintenance of Patterns of Sexual Behavior in Mammals.* Lawrence, Kan.: mimeographed by the author, 1954.

J. P. SCOTT

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Aphrodisiacs and Anaphrodisiacs

Aphrodisiacs

IN THE strangely folklored realm of sexual behavior the subject of aphrodisiacs is unquestionably the most folkloristic. Practically everyone has heard of them, but almost no one knows anything definite about them. Furthermore, it is inordinately difficult, even for the professionally interested, to procure any scientific information concerning them. Today, in our civilization, few people take them seriously, and with the exception of the usual and rarely funny "jokes" about oysters, hardly anyone gives aphrodisiacs a second thought. Erotic stimulants, however, have throughout history played a significant role in the majority of the world's cultures.

An indication of the bizarre lengths to which man has gone in order to devise means of artificially stimulating sexual desire may be gained from the following list: baths, salves, smells, parts of animals, blood (especially menstrual blood), powders, pills, creams, oils, narcotics (opium, hashish, marijuana, etc.), ether, electrotherapy, tattooing, erotic pictures, pornographic literature, "dirty" records (not only records with obscene lyrics, but also recordings that reproduce the sounds, vocal and mechanical, such as the rattling noise of bedsprings and even sometimes scatological details), music, mechanical contraptions (fornicating machines, self-satisfiers, pressure pumps for the male organ), "*dames de voyages*" (rubber women), "phallic foods" (foods fashioned in the form of the male and female organs), "*cabinets particuliers*," erotic cookbooks, household articles in sexual forms (lamps, drinking cups, etc.), instruments for flagellation and other forms of torture, various forms of contraceptives (shaped like hands, little men, etc.), amulets, charms, and so forth.

First, it should be pointed out that there has been an extraordinary amount of nonsense written about aphrodisiacs. The subject is infinitely complicated and subtle, and very few writers have taken into consideration all the many psychological and physiological factors involved. The literature that deals with the subject is out of date, impressionistic, and unscientific. Strange to report, almost no work on this topic deals with the biochemical, or physiological, aspect, which is, as will be seen, of utmost importance in establishing the validity of the whole concept of erotic stimulants.

Although there has been little written about aphrodisiacs from a scientific point of view, many famous writers have referred to them. Undated medical papyri, probably from the Middle Kingdom (2200–1700 B.C.) of Egypt, give recipes for preparing "erotic potions." The Greeks wrote extensively on the subject, the oldest known passage being, probably, the one in the *Medea* of Euripides (431 B.C.). There are likewise countless allusions to aphrodisiac foods by the greatest names in Latin, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and English literature. One of the chief, and largely unsuspected, characteristics of Elizabethan drama is the interest shown in aphrodisiacs. Shakespeare: "Let the sky rain potatoes, hail kissing comfits [bon-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

bons, sweetbreads]; and snow eringoes [a plant of the genus *Eryngium*, specifically, *Eryngium maritimum*, the European sea holly whose roots were, hopefully, candied as a sweetmeat]; let a tempest of provocation come"; Drayton: "The skirrat [sic] [usually "skirret"—another of the *Apiaceae*, a plant resembling celery, formerly cultivated in Europe for the sweet taste of its roots], which, some say, stirs the blood"; Beaumont and Fletcher: "Will your ladyship have a potato-pie? 'tis a stirring good dish for an old lady after a long lent. . . ." The newly imported potato was considered, oddly enough, to be an especially effective erotic stimulant.

Before discussing the principal kinds of aphrodisiacs, it might be advisable to consider the various ways in which sexual desire can be induced. These include: (1) *local*, primarily, stimulation of the sex organs; secondarily, stimulation of other erogenous zones of the body; (2) *physical*, as in massage and baths in which the skin and muscles are stimulated; (3) *automatic*, the physiological reaction that takes place as a result of artificial stimulation of the gastrourinal tract: an increased supply of blood which causes a swelling of the organs (hyperemia); and (4) *psychophysiological*, as, for example, the libidinal cravings that are supposed to be awakened by erotic "literature" or pictures. In addition, there is still another much more important method (from a scientific point of view) and that is the treatment of hormone deficiency by means of injections.

It should be noted that the term "aphrodisiac," as used in this article, refers to some food, liquid, or drug taken into the body; as such it excludes voyeurism, fetishism, masochism, sadism, and other external forms of sexual stimulation.

The Dominant Role Played by Food in the History of Aphrodisiacs

Of all types of aphrodisiacs, food is the best known. It is obvious that if any food is to have erotic effects, it must do so almost exclusively in a biochemical fashion. In other words, the specific food must contain chemical elements that react physiologically upon the human body.

At this point it is appropriate to point out that there is a much more profound interrelationship between food and eating and sexual desire and expression than is generally realized—even among specialists. Indeed, a number of observers in different fields, including naturalists, neurologists, anthropologists, and physicians as well as psychiatrists, have expressed the opinion that this relationship between the two functions is a physiological and neurological correspondence that might well be interpreted as a psychosymbolic identity.

Thus, the German naturalist, Bölsche (1906):

> In this sense eating was the earliest prerequisite of love. With the firstlings of life, there was no opposition between eating and love, eating was a purely logical condition of love.
>
> But then came sexual love, and with it the fusing of life with life, cell with cell, egg-cell with sperm-cell, nucleus with nucleus, chromosome with chromosome, hereditary capital with hereditary capital. From this fusion there arose a heightened growth, a richer, more-sided possession. Thus sexual love with its union was to a certain extent, really a sort of higher eating.

According to the brain specialist, Berry (1928):

> Between these two great dominating factors of life, hunger and sex, there is a very close neurological analogy. In both there are hollow viscera capable of varying degrees of distension, though in the one case it is the full viscus which stimulates the neurons, and in the other the empty viscus. These varying degrees of distension constantly arouse enteroceptive impulses which pass through the autonomic nervous system to the central nervous system. In both instances these primary impulses become commingled in the cerebral cortex with the appropriate secondary enteroceptive ones, and it follows that in both cases the desire for food or sex may be aroused by either the primary or the secondary impulse.

In the words of the British anthropologist, Crawley (1927):

> Biologically, the sexual impulse is a development from the nutritive, and the primary close connection of the two functions is continued in thought, subconscious and physiological, and appears sometime above the threshold of consciousness. We find further that many human conceptions are not only based on the connection but express it clearly. One of the most obvious links between the two is the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

kiss, and much popular thought and language preserves similar conceptions.

Or, as Fielding (1929) expresses it:

As the nerves approach the surface of the body, of which they are the medium for sensation, they split up into a network of subdivisions. It is a significant physiological fact that one kind of nerve structures, called *Krause's end-bulbs,* which are unusually large and sensitive, are found principally in the clitoris, penis and lips.

Furthermore, the German nutritionist, Balzli (1931):

The sensual internal surface areas of the sex organs, correspond to the taste-buds of the mouth.

In connection with this last statement, mention should be made of still another physiological correspondence between the function of the oral and sex organs; namely, between the precoital distillation that takes place in the genitalia (Cowper's glands in the male, and Bartholin's glands in the female) and the increased salivation that is brought about by active sexual desire.

And finally, Coriat (1921):

The perpetual driving force of human emotions and conduct comes from the great region of the unconscious. This creative force presents itself in two aspects, the problem of self-preservation or the nutritional libido, and the problem of the perpetuation of the race, or the sexual libido. It seems, however, according to Freud, that instead of there being two libido streams, there is *only one.* For the pleasure derived from satisfying hunger is at the bottom sexual, possibly because of the close interlocking or practical identity of the two cravings.

In addition to the deep-seated neurological and physiological connection between eating and sexual expression, there also exists a number of basic physical analogies between various forms of foods and both the male and female genitalia. In other words, not only does eating equal intercourse, but also food equals penis, vulva. Although little known even to specialists, the making and eating of phallic foods (the representation of certain foods, usually bread, cakes, and other pastries, in the form of sexual organs) is a custom that has been practiced for centuries in many civilizations throughout the world as a significant religious rite. Typical examples of this food-as-sex symbolism are the early Greek (Sicilian) *mylloi,* the famous sesame and honey cakes mentioned by Athenaeus, which were fashioned after the vulva and carried around in the Thesmophoria rituals; the "priapic and venereal breads," the *coliphia* and *siligone,* described by Lacroix, that were sold in Roman bakeries by servantmaid-prostitutes; the ktenic dishes of medieval France, "*cibi quos cunnos saccaratos appellant,*" as recorded by Höfler (1912); and the modern *phalloi* of bread, which were blessed by priests and carried in the "Thorn Festivals" of certain rural areas in Italy (Elderkin, 1924).

There are, however, no foods that have elements possessing significant and definite effects upon the complicated genital structure of the male and female body. For example, let us examine the chemical analysis of two of the most famous of all—the oyster and the truffle. The oyster is made up, principally, of water (76–89 per cent), carbohydrates (3.7–9.6 per cent), mineral salts (ash 0.9–3.0 per cent), glycogen (0.4–9.5 per cent), proteins (8–11 per cent), and fat (1.2–2.5 per cent). Also usually present are such inorganic constituents as potassium, calcium, and sodium, but only in negligible quantities. Thus, the oyster is composed entirely of elements that do not and cannot affect genital functions. As for the truffle, it is even less "sexy," as it consists of, according to the *Larousse gastronomique,* "water 76.83%, salts 1.57%, albumen 7.62%, fat 0.49% and carbohydrates 13.49%."

At this point an obvious question arises: If foods are generally incapable of inducing sexual impulses, how is it that man has, since the dawn of creation, in every corner of the globe, attributed aphrodisiac powers to many kinds of foods? To best understand this paradoxical situation, we must go back many centuries. In those ancient days one of the most famous concepts was the "doctrine of signatures." This not only "explained" the causes of many sicknesses, but also endowed plants and vegetables with attributes that they did not possess.

The "doctrine of signatures" is the thesis that there exists some resemblance between the external character of a disease and the curative agent. Thus, scarlet fever should be treated with a red cloth. This visual identification, as it

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

were, was carried over into the realm of sex; if a root or leaf or fruit of a plant, vegetable, or tree looked like either the male or female sexual organs, it was assumed that it should possess sexual powers. An interesting example of such reasoning is the word "vanilla." This originally meant "vagina," being derived from the Spanish *vaina* (pod or sheath) plus *alla*, the diminutive ending, from the Latin *vagina* (pod, sheath, vagina). It was given this name because some ancient Roman shrewdly recognized the similarity of the vanilla root to the vaginal canal.

Another example of confused thinking on the part of the ancients is the power attributed to the mandrake, a very famous "aphrodisiac" in the erotic tradition of Europe. This plant is first mentioned in Genesis 30:14–16 in the incident where Leah utilizes the root to "lie with" Jacob. The political writer Machiavelli was so impressed by the mandrake that he wrote a comedy, *Mandragola*, in its honor, and many other great authors have hymned its praises. But, as is always the case, all the enthusiasm about the "wonder-working" efficacy of the plant was in vain, for it has no aphrodisiac effects whatever. Ironically enough, it is actually an anodyne and an antispasmodic. However, it does have the singular quality of resembling both the male and female sex organs.

Not only has this identification been visual; it has been olfactory as well. In the words of one important source, Norman Haire (1940): "Vegetable juices, the smell of which was more or less reminiscent of seminal fluid or of vaginal secretions . . . were credited with aphrodisiac properties and used as such by the people. It was the same with animals; particularly intense vitality, an abnormally long or violent period of heat, or a peculiar odor, caused certain animals to be appreciated for the stimulating qualities of their genital organs."

If the oyster contains no chemical elements that could affect the genitourinary system, there still arises the question of how it ever attained such a reputation as an erotic stimulant. Again the answer seems to lie in the visual identification between the oyster and the *pudendum muliebris;* in other words, in the resemblance that is noted not only in its shape but also in the mucous nature of its texture.

The "Psychology" of the Psychophysiological Effects of Aphrodisiacs

In spite of the fact that it is virtually impossi- for food per se to produce erotic effects on the human, does this mean that the entire concept of food-as-aphrodisiacs has no validity? Although the purely physiological after-effects of food are practically nonexistent, foods definitely can and do have erotic reactions in a *psychophysiological* manner. Here, indeed, is perhaps the most fundamental and certainly the subtlest point of the whole subject. Strangely, and significantly enough, because of the complexity of physical love, this aspect of the interrelationship between food and sex is almost completely ignored in the literature.

To best understand how certain dishes can arouse sexual desire, it is necessary to consider the very important role played by their taste, and this includes their texture and their pleasant smell. For example, a "fruit Zabaglione": This is made of slices of pears and strawberries soaked in Cointreau and rum and drenched in a fragrant sauce of beaten egg yolks, confectioner's sugar, cloves, and cinnamon. More than half the persons who have eaten this dessert as served by the author have commented that it was a very "sexy" dish. This "sexy" quality becomes apparent at the first taste, indeed, perhaps at the first sight of it, long before any aphrodisiac could act physiologically. The dessert is smooth, rich, and creamy in texture—qualities we subconsciously equate with sexuality. In addition, its redolence (cloves, cinnamon, liqueur) is "exotic," another quality we tend, however vicariously, to identify with sexual concepts.

In this connection it is interesting to note how few writers on the subject have commented upon the erotic aspects of the pleasing smell of foods—particularly heavily spiced dishes. For centuries perfumes have rightly been regarded as one of the fundamental sexual lures, so it is obvious that "perfumed" food can also at least suggest the amorous. It should be noted here that the psychophysiological aspects of any "aphrodisiac" food are relative and vary from culture to culture and also from individual to individual. Thus, a certain taste or odor that has aphrodisiac connotations in one cul-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ture or to one individual might appear as an anaphrodisiac in another culture or to another individual.

It goes without saying that highly nutritive foods that are rich in vitamin content, especially vitamin E, the "antisterility agent," are also important as sexual stimulants; for a well-fed body naturally includes "well-nourished" sexual organs capable of vigorous and continuous expression. When a person is suffering from hunger, his or her sexual desires are diminished in what appears to be a direct ratio to the need for food intake. In other words, hungry or undernourished persons cannot expect to have the rich, full sex life of people whose appetite is completely satisfied by what they eat and who have no "oral" longings.

A most important but little commented-upon aspect of the aphrodisiac quality of foods is the feeling of sensuous, and sensual, satisfaction after the meal is over. When one has eaten a carefully prepared, subtly seasoned meal, together with wine, in an *ambiance* enhanced by soft music and glowing candles, one experiences a delightful glow—not only of the senses, but also of the body—a feeling that can hardly be present after one has consumed a typical American meal of meat loaf, boiled potatoes, and watery beans in a boarding house or diner. Eating a meal of fine food is an exciting and rewarding experience for the different senses of seeing, smelling, and tasting. And these visual-sensory, olfactory-sensory, savor-sensory reactions do tend to predetermine an erotic response pattern. In such a condition of euphoria, it is only natural for the body and mind to be well prepared for the ultimate physical and emotional expression—love-making. As Dr. Hans Balzli writes, "After a perfect meal we are more susceptible to the ecstasy of love than at any other time. . . ."

If any proof is needed of the erotic efficiency of the "esthetic" aspects of food, we only have to turn to a very significant institution devised by the French, surely some of the most sensitive connoisseurs of the relationship between *la cuisine* and *l'amour*: the famous *cabinets particuliers*, also known as *chambres separées*. These were luxuriously furnished private dining quarters, which graced many of the most famous Paris restaurants around the turn of the century. In them the pleasures of the kitchen and boudoir probably reached their subtlest and most perfect expression, as both the food and the settings were fastidiously harmonized to produce the maximum degustation of the various sensations involved.

No discussion of aphrodisiacs would be complete without including alcohol, which is of course the most famous of all erotic stimulants. The influence of alcohol upon the human organism is both physiological and psychological. A considerable quantity of alcohol acts as a narcotic or paralyzing agent upon all parts of the brain, apparently in a downward direction, first affecting cortical functions, then the lower areas, and finally the medulla oblongata. Physiologically, it dilates the blood vessels, not only of the skin—which causes a feeling of warmth or glow—but also eventually of the sex organs. Accordingly, this cerebral-physiological-genital alcoholization, as it were, tends to remove "moral" blocks and brings on a light-hearted, often reckless and sexually responsive, state of mind.

The Paucity of Modern Scientific Aphrodisiacs

Of all the many "aphrodisiacs," there are only two that modern science even recognizes as having any stimulating effect, from a physiological point of view, upon the genitalia. These are cantharides, the famous "Spanish Fly" of an unconscionable number of "jokes," and yohimbine. The Chinese plant ginseng (*Panax ginseng*) and musk, a viscid substance drawn from a sac under the skin of the abdomen of the male musk deer, are also supposed to possess magic powers, but neither is officially recognized in pharmacopoeias as a sexual stimulant.

For centuries the cantharis (*Cantharis vesicatoria* or *Lytta vesicatoria*), which is a beautiful sheen-covered beetle found in the southern part of Europe, has been used as an aphrodisiac. The beetles are anesthetized, dried, then heated until they disintegrate into a fine powder. This powder contains a chemical principle known as cantharidin, with an analysis of carbon 10, hydrogen 12, oxygen 4. Taking cantharides internally results in acute irritation of the gastrointestinal system and inflammation of the gastrourinary tract, specifically the mucous

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

membrane of the urethra, with accompanying dilatation of the blood vesels, all of which effects a kind of stimulation to the genital organs. The results of this urethal "excitement" can be sexual in nature, even leading to priapism (unnatural, often continued erection of the male organ usually without sexual desire) or to premature menstruation. However, it must be stated that the folklore reputation of "Spanish Fly" is much more widespread than its scientific validity warrants. As a matter of fact, despite their extensive use in the past, cantharides are vanishing from present-day medicine as an effective sexual stimulant because of the inherent dangers in their use (*see* Craven and Polak, 1954; Nichols and Teare, 1954).

Possibly the best-known modern "aphrodisiac" is yohimbine, a crystalline substance, alkaloid in nature, (carbon 21, hydrogen 26, nitrogen 2, oxygen 3. It is derived from the bark of the yohimbé tree (*Pausinystalia yohimbe*), native to central Africa, where it has long been used by the aborigines to increase sexual powers. Whereas cantharides have been variously employed as vesicants (to raise blisters), as diuretics (to increase urine), and to treat such diseases as pleurisy, neuritis, and meningitis, yohimbine's uses have been principally stimulative in nature, being given to combat sexual neurasthenia (neurotic condition of apathy or weakness) by inducing an increase in the excitability of the lower centers of the spinal cord or through the hyperemia (superabundance of blood) that it produces in the genital organs. Actually, however, both cantharides and yohimbine are now regarded as old fashioned and have been replaced by treatment through hormones, principally testosterone for the male and estrogen for the female.

Erotica Exotica

In addition to the traditional use of internal aphrodisiacs, man has devised other methods to "increase venery," as, for example, the *ampallang* that has been noted in Borneo, the Celebes, and the Philippines. Travelers in those regions have reported that an operation is performed on grown males in which a horizontal perforation is made in the end of the organ. This is done with a bamboo punch; then a dove feather smeared with oil is inserted into the opening and kept in place until the incision heals, after which an *ampallang* is used. The *ampallang* itself is a matchlike piece of copper, silver, gold, or ivory, some two inches long, with little heads, like nailheads, at each end. It is inserted into the perforation in the penis before coitus in order to stimulate the vaginal canal and thus increase erotic sensations. Dyak women are said to indicate the length of *ampallang* they would prefer either by opening their mouths to the desired size, or by leaving on the table a cigarette that they have smoked down to the desired size.

The *guesquel* of the Indians of Patagonia is composed of the stiff hairs of a mule's mane attached to a thread, forming a kind of comb. This comb is attached round the end of the penis, roughly like a wreath, with the ends of the hairs sticking up. Although the *guesquel* causes the woman some pain, indeed slight bleeding, on first use, the female Patagonians gradually become used to it. The effects of this instrument are so extreme, according to one traveler, that the women "foam at the mouth and have such a paroxysmal orgasm that they lie around stupefied and exhausted after intercourse."

Another "aphrodisiac" reported from South East Asia are "tickling stones." An incision is made in the epidermis of the penis and little stones inserted underneath. The operation usually takes place in a stream, in order to allow the flowing water to act as a healing agent for the lacerated organ. According to ethnological accounts, the wealthy refuse to use any globules that are not made of gold or silver.

Even more originality is shown in the variation of this erotic theme by the inhabitants of a section of Burma. Although the operating procedure was the same, the music-loving Burmese preferred to use tiny bells. As many as a dozen of these little bells were inserted under the skin, thus making the organ rough and swollen and providing more pleasure for the women. An Italian traveler in this area in the fifteenth century described the gay musical tinkling of these bells which he heard as Burmese men sauntered along the streets.

Another erotic stimulator is the "Assistant," a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

kind of penis pressure-pump that has been sold in certain European countries. According to its prospectus: "This apparatus [a glass tube to which is attached a bulb or small pump] is an invention of supreme importance. Through direct stimulation of the metabolism of the sex organs a continuous invigoration of the sex nerves is effected, without creating any irritating or injurious after-effects. Its manipulation is simple and comfortable. The chief success of the apparatus lies in the fact that it affects both the deep-seated sex organs and the prostate, muscles, nerves and seminal ducts at the same time. Through strong stimulation resulting from increased flow of blood and subsequent nourishment of the sex organs, weakness disappears in a surprisingly short time."

Also to be noted are the products of enterprising French rubber companies—*dames de voyage,* also called *ventre(s) de la femme,* rubber women "traveling companions" who bring *douce consolation de l'amour.* Such elastic females can be blown up, so read the advertisements, to practically any size and shape desired. In addition, they are guaranteed to be authentic copies of the female body, exact in every minute detail.

Nor should the famous "dildo" or "self-satisfier," whose names in several languages are significant, be omitted. The English term "dildo" apparently comes either from the Italian *diletto,* which means "delight," or from the "low" expression, "diddle." In Italy it is known as *passatiempo,* literally, "pass (the) time." In French it is called *godemiche* from the Latin, "enjoy myself," *bientateur,* literally, "do-gooder," and *consolateur.* The Germans give it the typically Teutonic appellation of *Phallus-phantom,* "phantom penis." This instrument is one of the oldest of all recorded excitants, being noted in ancient Egypt, Babylon, in Greece, and subsequently in Rome. It has also been mentioned in the Bible, Ezekiel 28:17: "Take thy ornaments of the gold and silver I have given thee and make masculine images thereof and practice harlotry with them."

Many materials have been used in the manufacture of these objects: in England, glass; in Bali, wax; in ancient Greece, bronze; in West Africa, hard clay; and in Italy, rubber. In China they are made of resin, whose color resembles that of human flesh. In Canton and Tientsin women used to hawk them on the streets with illustrated instructions. The manufacture of these artificial stimulants reached its height in France with the construction of an instrument that was filled with milk and, after an appropriate number of movements, exploded into bits.

Perhaps the best known among Japanese artificial stimulants is the *watama* or *ben-wa,* of the East. This consists of two small metal balls, one of which is empty, the other of which, called "the little man," contains still a third smaller and heavier ball of quicksilver. The Japanese woman inserts the empty ball deep into the vaginal canal, as close to the cervix as possible, then places the heavier one in position. With every movement of the pelvis the little spheres vibrate, producing a continuous tickling sensation. According to one commentator, "Japanese women like to swing themselves in hammocks or rocking chairs, so as to keep the balls in motion, and enjoy to the utmost the resulting intense sexual excitement."

Anaphrodisiacs

Just as the subject of aphrodisiacs is almost exclusively folkloristic, so the so-called anaphrodisiacs are equally intangible. Even the Institute for Sex Research in Bloomington, Indiana, which certainly has one of the largest and best catalogued sex libraries in the world, does not have a rubric for anaphrodisiacs.

The older literature is completely impressionistic. The ancient Greeks are said to have used cold water and sponge baths. Plato and Aristotle thought that going barefoot would reduce the libido. The Romans practiced infibulation to curb desire, and fibulae were also known in India. A number of preparations have been employed for this same purpose, such as digitalis, menthol, salicylic acid, quinine, and potassium bromide. Sodium bicarbonate is said to have been widely used in prisons.

In an attempt to obtain information on this subject, the author wrote to a number of penal and military institutions and also to the most prominent pharmaceutical houses. The infor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mation received in answer was negative. The most famous anaphrodisiac is, of course, saltpeter, and it too belongs in the realm of folk mythology, although, oddly enough, it does not appear in the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York, 1949–1950). Saltpeter, or potassium nitrate (KNO_3), is pharmacologically known as a diuretic, which would appear to be the only logical reason this otherwise completely neutral chemical has acquired a reputation as an anaphrodisiac.

Summary

In spite of the fact that we of the Western world, and indeed elsewhere, treat aphrodisiacs casually, almost jocosely, a study of the erotic proclivities of the human race reveals that this subject has interested mankind, from the time of the earliest civilizations, to a far greater degree than is imagined, by either the layman or professional.

Of all "aphrodisiacs," food is by far the best-known throughout the world, and the majority of the world's great cultures and smaller ethnic groups have developed an extensive "aphrodisiac" folklore, based at least 99 per cent *not* on scientific data but rather on wishful thinking.

Accordingly, it is evident that there are no traditional "aphrodisiacs" that can bring about erotic biochemical and/or physiological results. Thus it may only be concluded that the eons-old theory of aphrodisiacs-anaphrodisiacs as taken into the body is fundamentally nothing but a folk-myth, or, like Mercutio's dreams, "... the children of an idle brain, Begot of nothing but vain fantasy, Which is as thin of substance as the air."

References

Of the works listed below, only *Liebesmittel* and the author's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* treat the subject from a scientific point of view.

Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists.* (Translated by Charles Burton Gulick.) 6 vols. London: William Heinemann, Ltd.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927, Vol. 6, pp. 492-493.

Balzli, Hans, *Gastrophie: Ein Brevier für Gaumen und Geist.* Stuttgart: Hädecke, 1931, p. 34.

Bernstoff, H. von, Kuno, H. A., Lothar, Rudolf, and Scheuer, O. F., *Der Geschmack.* Wien: Verlag für Kulturforschwung, 1932.

Berry, Richard J. A., *Brain and Mind.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928, p. 481.

Bölsche, Wilhelm, *Das Liebesleben in der Natur.* 3 vols. Jena: Eugen Diedrichs, 1906-07, Vol. 1, p. 357.

Coriat, Isidore H., "Sex and Hunger." *Psychoanalyt. Rev. 8;* 375, 1921.

Craven, J. D., and Polak, A., "Cantharides Poisoning." *Brit. M. J.* 1386-1388, Dec. 11, 1954.

Crawley, Alfred Ernest, *The Mystic Rose.* 2 vols. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 182.

Elderkin, G. W., *Kantharos, Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cults.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924, p. 172.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* 4 vols. New York: Random House, 1936, Vol. 3, chap. 3.

Fielding, William J., "The Art of Love." In V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen, *Sex in Civilization.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929, p. 648.

Haire, Norman, *Encyclopedia of Sexual Knowledge.* New York: Eugenics Publishing Co., 1940, pp. 355-386.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, and Lennert, Richard, *Liebesmittel.* Berlin: Man Verlag, 1930, pp. 65-107.

Höfler, M., Gebildbrote aus galloromanischer Zeit, *Arch. f. Anthro. 15;* 243-252, 1912.

Hopfner, Theodor, *Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer.* Prague: J. G. Calve, 1938, pp. 272-294.

Lacroix, Paul (Pierre Dufour), *History of Prostitution.* 3 vols. Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1926, Vol. 1, p. 235.

Lehmann, Friedrich R., *Kulturgeschichte und Rezepte der Liebesmittel.* Heidenheim: E. Hoffman, 1955.

Licht, Hans, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece.* New York: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1934, pp. 513-515.

MacDougald, Duncan, Jr., "Aphrodisiac." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

MacDougald, Duncan, Jr., "Involuntary Regressive Hetero-sexual Phallic Feeding." *Internat. J. Sexology 5;* 165-167, 1952.

Scott, George R., *Encyclopedia of Sex.* London: T. W. Laurie, Ltd., 1939, pp. 22-23.

Stern, Bernhard, *Medizin, Aberglaube und Geschlechtsleben in der Türkei.* 2 vols. Berlin: Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, 1903, Vol. 2, pp. 251-258.

Principally for the sake of completeness the following names of "aphrodisiac" cookbooks are appended.

de Baudricourt, Sire, *Le manuel culinaire aphrodisiaque.* Paris: Édition Photographique, 1903.

de Behac, Achille, *Novissimo manuale di cucina francese.* Napoli: Societa Edizione Partenopea, 1907. (This is an adapted version of Baudricourt's book.)

Bey, Pilaff (pseudonym), *Venus in the Kitchen* (ed. Norman Douglas). London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1952.

Curnonsky (Maurice Edmond Saillant), *La table et l'amour.* Paris: La Clef d'Or, 1950.

Heartman, Charles F., *Cuisine de l'amour.* New Or-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

leans: Gourmet's Company, 1942. (This is another version of Baudricourt's book.)

Rompini, Omero, *La cucina dell' amore*. Catania: F. Guaitolini, 1926. (This is another edition of Baudricourt's book.)

Vatelle, Alcibiades and Yolande, *Grammaire de gastronomie sentimentale*. Toulon: Éditions Provencia, 1951.

Walton, A. H., *Love Recipes Old and New*. London: Torchstream Books, 1956.

Walton, A. H., *Aphodisiacs*. Westport, Conn.: Associated Booksellers, 1958. American edtion of above title.

DUNCAN MACDOUGALD, JR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Art and Dance, Sex in Primitive

Definitions

FOR the purpose of this article "primitive" art includes all art produced outside what we call civilized societies. Primitive art is representational, conventional, and intended to be understood by the audience for which the artist creates. He decorates houses and equipment and he composes ceremonies concerned with birth, puberty rites, marriage, ancestors, hunting, harvestings, the seasons, and war. The primitive artist is really a craftsman. He is well integrated with the community in which he works. Whereas in our civilization the artist is a specialist and an outsider, a rebel against the conventions of his society, in the primitive community art is a necessity, not merely a form of entertainment.

Herbert Read (1957) observes that the term "esthetic" covers two very different psychological processes, one tending to an emphasis on *vitality*, the other to an emphasis on the balance and harmony of *beauty*. He concludes that vitality rather than beauty is the dominant esthetic quality in tribal art.

Following Freud, we would use the term *libido* instead of vitality and would suggest that the clearest distinction between the art and dance of "primitive" society and that of "civilized" society can be obtained when these forms of creativity are seen in relation to sexual energy (libido), its repression and sublimation.

Definitions, elaboration, and examples will follow these basic statements:

1. Art in civilized society is a result of a *repressive sublimation of the libido*. It produces an esthetic effect only at a high cost in pain, discontent, and isolation. It is accepted by the majority of the members of the society as a form of entertainment and as a commercial product. Therefore:

Repressive sublimation of libido="civilized" art + Thanatos (death instinct).

2. Art in primitive societies is a result of *nonrepressive sublimation of the libido*. It produces an esthetic effect that is both gratifying and vital and is a useful social phenomenon, leading to participation of the artist-craftsman with the fellow members of his community in the use of his work—generally in dancing, rituals, and feasts. It is not an object for trade. Therefore:

Nonrepressive sublimation of libido="primitive" art + Eros (life instinct).

Art

One of the simplest illustrations of sex in primitive art are the figurines used in the puberty rites in Tanganyika. They are made of clay, and are rarely more than three to four feet high. According to Cory (1956), "When a lesson [in sex practice] was to be given a figurine was put in front of the novices, a song in some way connected with it was sung and finally an explanation of the purpose of the figurine and, if necessary, of the song was given by the instructor or the maker of the figurine. The figurines were prepared either by men or women who were appointed as overseers or instructors of the novices."

Cory describes a dance that took place

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

among the Nguu on the day on which the boys of the village were circumcised: A figurine in the shape of a phallus combined with various parts of the female sex organ was placed in the center and everybody danced around it. The sculpture conveyed to the natives the impression of an aggressive animal, a symbol of sexual urge.

Another figure called Kandi was kept in the boys' initiation huts. It represented a woman, and if one of the boys had an erection he was told to lie on top of the figurine, while the other boys sang: "To sleep with the Kandi is very pleasant."

In the same tribe the initiation rites for girls included a dance around an image of a phallus with sticks radiating from the top like sun-rays—symbols of virility and generative power.

Another figure depicts two banana stems, one bent down with a heavy bunch of bananas, the other standing straight. The instruction song describes how the penis droops down like a cluster of bananas—but nobody need fear, because a clever woman knows how to bring about another erection.

Elwin (1947) describes carvings on doors, marriage litters, and musical instruments among the tribes of Central India as vigorous and realistic. One of the Juang dancing songs begins: "The clitoris is the vagina's ornament." Elwin also relates how carvings are made on the wooden pieces used as headrests in the dormitories where several boys and girls sleep together. These carvings depict the breasts or the vagina. According to Elwin "phallic symbols are very common. In nearly every 'ghotul' [dormitory] there is somewhere a representation of the vagina, often about two feet from the ground on a central pillar. The boys say that these carvings are very useful as an approach to girls. It may be that the vagina on the central pillar is a relic of a custom now forgotten of initiating smaller boys by pressing them against it."

A colossal example of sex in primitive art are the megalithic representations of the male and female organs in Dimapur, on the India-Burma border. Here in the fifteenth century a tribe called Kacharis erected a group of fertility symbols—about 30 realistic phalli carved in stone, some 20 feet high, and about 20 colossal forked stones representing the vagina. These monuments were erected during fertility rites. Even today the Naga tribes in the same region use phalli and forked posts, although theirs are carved from wood.

Types of Artistic Expression

Sex and sexual functions in primitive art are expressed by naturalism, distortion, symbolism, or abstraction. Naturalism is least common and of less psychological interest. In "civilized" art emotions and experiences are intellectualized and verbalized, whereas in primitive art they express themselves directly in form, in esthetic creativity. There is no need for verbal explanation, and the artist-craftsman and his audience communicate directly, "heart to heart," through form, color, movement, and dance, not through logic and ideologies. Leenhardt (1950) writes in this connection:

> We are so accustomed to submitting our thought to the exigencies of the laws of the mind that aesthetics have been relegated to a separate department, where they remain the affair of initiates. Oceanians, on the contrary, ignoring sharply divided thought, employ aesthetics to express any general idea, or representation which they do not know how to express in words. They grasp the form of things before analysing them, and with that, they have sufficient knowledge. They can communicate, with the sensation provoked by these forms, before being able to communicate in words. Their thought has a certain harmony and is already in tune with the aesthetic idea long before it can order itself on logical lines.

The Uli figure from New Ireland is an example of distortion and superimposition. It is a carved figure with large phalli and female breasts expressing an excessive power of fecundity. In Hawaii and New Zealand creative energy is represented by the tiki, which is reproduced in phallic or fetal form.

Symbolism can be direct, as when the form of a vulva or a pair of breasts represents a woman, or indirect, as in figures from the Sepic River region in New Guinea with exaggerated, long noses, indicating virility.

Geometrical patterns are often abstract representations of the sex organs, as when the vulva is indicated by the angular lozenge shape. A great many abstract decorations are actually stylized sex symbols and are fully understood as such by the tribe that uses them. Boas

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

(1927) believed that abstract designs in primitive art were products of emotion. The repetitions and design led the eye and the unconscious into a kind of dance. This liking for design is relative to what Herbert Read describes as haptic sensation, the kinesthetic experience of form in sculpture. Rubbing and oiling of carvings and phallic images is common in many ceremonies.

To consider another form of primitive art, paleolithic cave paintings have been given a new meaning by Bettelheim (1954):

> Many authors have commented on the fact that the paintings are so commonly located in nearly inaccessible places. In reading their reports I was most impressed by the tortuous paths leading to the places of the pictures. . . . The long, narrow slippery corridors, often crossed by waterfalls, and the chimneys that must be negotiated to reach the pictures. . . . All this suggests to me the possibility that an effort was made to reproduce the setting in which procreation takes place. If so, the crawling through narrow, wet channels might have represented, on entering, gaining access to the secret place of procreation; on leaving, the process of birth might have been symbolically re-enacted. The paintings, therefore, were executed at places that may have been viewed as representing the womb where animals came into existence. It is possible, then, that early man created a new symbol and painted animals in a place which to him represented a womb, so that the real animal might be induced to do likewise. . . . Levy . . . sees a definite and close connection between the pictures, the rituals of early man, and birth, death and rebirth. . . . Among modern preliterate people, Levy stressed the importance of ritual enactment of traveling a long, winding path, and the importance of those experiences that can be had only in caves. . . . Levy leaves little doubt that these caves represent the mother by whom the initiates are born again.

Dance

Havelock Ellis writes: "The most usual method of attaining tumescence, a method found among the most various kind of animals is some form of dance. It is everywhere the instinctive object of the male to assure by his activity in display, his energy or skill or beauty, both his own passion and the passion of the female. Throughout nature sexual conjugation only takes place after much expenditure of energy."

Elwin describes how the Gond youths in Central India begin the evening in their ghotul (dormitory) with vigorous dances and games that are frankly provocative of the sexual emotion. It must be noted that it is not only the chelik (boys) who by the energy of their display excite the motiari (girls); in one of the dances the girls bend forward, each holding a stick in her hand to represent a penis, and dance with jerky movements of the buttocks that closely simulate the motions of the sex act. As they dance they sing:

> Little little prawn hairs
> Very long horn,
> Where has he gone?

The little prawn hairs are the pubic hairs and the long horn is the penis.

Nowhere is the quality of vitality and dynamism stronger than in the primitive dance. Its purpose, like that of primitive art, is to further increase life and fertility. Gods and heroes, spirits and ancestors, fetishes and mana (spirit forces) are all represented in primitive art, but the dance is "the mother of the arts." Sachs (1952) writes: "On no occasion in the life of primitive peoples could the dance be dispensed with." The purpose of all dance is to produce ecstasy, to release the individual from the too rigid shackles of the ego, to obtain pleasure, and to promote growth.

Glover (1956) states the Freudian view of art thus:

> The influence on psychic development of earlier forms of sensory experience i.e. of unmodified sound stimuli of smell, taste and touch; the variations in muscular tension; and above all the recording of different quantities and qualities of rhythmic stimulation, through whichever sensory channel these may operate, have already been harnessed in the interests of psychic expression long before speaking, drawing and writing are available as mental instruments. Naturally therefore the arts of music, miming, dancing and the like retain a connection with primitive instinctual expression which is more direct than later artistic forms. . . . Anthropological studies of primitive art demonstrate convincingly the animistic and magical incentives to creative activity. . . . All works of art must represent sublimations of primitive instincts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

According to the Freudian view, the sexual instincts are regarded as infantile "polymorphous perverse" and as related to erotogenic zones—oral, anal, cutaneous, muscular, and (infantile) genital—first loosely organized and later under genital supremacy. From this Freudian view primitive dance may be seen as a reactivation of all erotogenic zones, a return of pregenital polymorphous sexuality, so that the whole body becomes resexualized on a conscious level.

This Freudian concept of "polymorphous perverse" and "pregenital" behavior of the child may be seriously questioned, since there is no evidence that what Freud called oral and anal "sexuality" is actually anything but cutaneous sensation, or sensuality, which is only mildly, and by no means integrally, related to genital tumescence and orgasm. Moreover, the entire concept of "polymorphous perversion" is a highly questionable construct that largely seems to stem from Judeo-Christian prejudices which highly tout procreative sex behavior and roundly condemn all non-procreative orgasms as "abnormal" or "perverse." Freud, in other words, was almost certainly a victim of unscientific, Judeo-Christian biases when he labeled all kinds of extragenital activity as perverse; and it may well be that many primitive peoples, who do not share the Jewish and Christian prejudices regarding the procreative function of human sexuality (and some of whom do not even fully realize that procreation originates in penile-vaginal coitus), quite *un*perversely encourage sensuous as well as sexual activities, and thereby bring into their sexual participations a much wider, and in many ways emotionally healthier, range of behavior than do many more civilized peoples. Instead of saying, therefore, that the primitive dance may be seen as a return to pregenital polymorphous perverse sexuality, we could just as well say that civilized, and especially Judeo-Christian, sex life may be seen as a neurotic retreat from the potentially wide range of normal sexuality.

According to Sachs, "human fertility dances are drawn from two different phases of sexual intercourse: the mating and the wooing, and the act itself. Often the boundary is extended so that moments of sexual intercourse are brought into the dance and combined artistically with it." Puberty dances aim at the increase of sexual power, which will assure healthy descendants. Sachs writes: "The means of achieving this power are only secondarily instruction and circumcision; they are primarily the dance—to generate power, to prepare and transfer it to the maiden." Dances at the initiation of girls often are "a training in the rhythmic movement of the belly and the posterior."

Quoting Koch-Grunberg, Sachs describes a fertility dance of the Cobéna of Brazil: "The dancers have large phalli made of bast with testicles of red cones—which they hold close to their bodies with both hands. Stamping with the right foot and singing, they dance—with the upper part of their bodies bent forwards. Suddenly they jump wildly along with violent coitus motions and loud groans. . . . Thus they carry the fertility into every corner of the houses. . . . They jump among the women—they knock the phalli one against another."

Herskovits (1938) describes an initiation ceremony in Dahomey in West Africa, the rite of Legba. Legba is the son of the sky goddess and associated with fate. His representative is a girl in a straw hat and a purple raffia skirt.

> The large drum sounded, the Legba danced toward the drums. When she reached the drummer, she put her hand under the raffia skirt [which it was explained represented pubic hair] and brought out a wooden phallus the colour of Negro skin. This was apparently attached in such a way that it would remain in the horizontal position of the erect male organ and, as she danced, now beyond the drums toward a large tree where many women were sitting, she made motions of masturbation, first running her curved right hand backwards over the phallus, then her left in which may have been a handkerchief. When she reached the tree where the women were seated—Legba approached one of them, placed the wooden phallus against her side and proceeded with a highly realistic miming of sexual intercourse.

The Marind-anim tribe in Dutch New Guinea has initiation dances in which the men wear headdresses of colored feathers, denoting virility. According to Leenhardt, in former times "women are killed when the show is over to insure the fertility of gardens. Neighboring tribes insist upon the union of a young

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

couple who are transfixed with spears while in the act of embracing, their sacrifice bringing with it the fertility they symbolise."

Devereaux has obtained an account of dance and homosexuality among the Mohave Indians:

> The boys who become alyha [male transvestites taking the role of the woman in sexual intercourse] were initiated fairly early. . . . If the boy acted in the expected fashion during the ceremony he was considered an initiated homosexual. . . . The singer drew a circle in the center. . . . The boy was led by two women . . . into the centre of the circle. If the boy showed willingness to remain standing in the circle, exposed to the public eye, it was almost certain that he would go through with the ceremony. The singer, hidden behind the crowd, began singing the songs. As soon as the sound reached the boy he began to dance as women do. Gradually the singer approached the dancer. The dance-steps do not change, except insofar as the boy plays a pantomime in accordance with the text of the songs. Were the boy unwilling to become a homosexual officially, he would refuse to dance. As it is, the song goes right to his heart and he will dance with much intensity. He cannot help it. After the fourth song he is proclaimed a homosexual. The same women who led him into the circle take him down to the Colorado River. After a bath he receives his skirt. He is then led back to the dance ground, dressed as a woman.

Art and Nature

Referring to fertility as the basic cult and to the creation of pregnant female figures of the Venus of Willendorf type, Bettelheim says that for both primitive and paleolithic men reproductive rites were the most important ceremonies. Initiation ceremonies are clearly related to increase rites and concerned with the organs of the opposite sex. Bettelheim refers to Groddeck and emphasizes that penis-envy in girls and castration-anxiety in boys are secondary to the "vagina-envy" of boys and their desire to have breasts, become pregnant, and have children. Margaret Mead (1935) suggests that in initiation ceremonies men try to take over the functions of women.

The death and rebirth ceremonies, combined with circumcision and scarification, are still performed in primitive societies, as in Liberia and Australia. In the Poro societies in Liberia carved masks are used and replicas are given to the initiated boys which, according to Elisofon, "they conceal about their bodies and care for through life, seeking their aid in need."

The Poro deity, a crocodile spirit, swallows the boys, who are then supposed to live in the belly during the initiation period. They are circumcised, and the foreskins are sent to the girl's society where they are cooked and eaten. The clitoridi and labia minora removed from the girls are given to the boys for the same purpose. Bettelheim writes: "As is often the case in oral incorporation, it is difficult to decide which desire is stronger, the hostile desire to take away from the other sex, or the envious desire to possess the incorporated parts."

Another form of primitive art is *scarification*, and in the Poro society these ritual marks are related to death and rebirth phantasies. The scars are supposed to be made by the crocodile spirit, which may also be a representation of the vagina dentata. The fear and mystery about menstruation and childbirth and the vagina-envy are conquered in the symbolic death and rebirth, and the scarification marks on face and body are therefore worn like a certificate of victory over the fear and envy of women.

Margaret Mead (1935) describes the "mysterious half-realized figures in red and yellow on big pieces of bark" used to decorate the men's houses among the Arapesh of New Guinea, and she describes the initiation: ". . . the ritual segregation of man and woman, during which time the novice . . . is incised, eats a sacrificial meal of the blood of the older men and is shown . . . remarkable objects that he has never seen before, such as masks and other carvings and representations." Mead concludes that the cult assumes that boys can become men only by ritualizing birth and taking over, symbolically and collectively, the functions that women perform individually and naturally.

Mead also reports another interesting relation between art and birth. The Mundugumor, a Sepic River tribe, considers men and women who are born with the umbilical cord twisted around their throats as destined to become artists:

> Males so born . . . continue the fine, tight tradition of Mundugumor art, the high-relief carving on the tall wooden shields, the low-relief stylized ani-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mal representation on the spears, the intricate painted designs on the great triangles of bark that are raised at the yam-feasts. They it is who can carve the wooden figures that fit into the ends of the sacred flutes, embodiment of the crocodile spirits of the river. Men and women born to arts and crafts need not practice them unless they wish, but no one who lacks the mark of his calling can hope to become more than the clumsiest apprentice.

Sublimation in Primitive and Civilized Societies

The few samples from the world-wide treasure house of primitive art that have been described above, should demonstrate clearly enough the close relation between sex and primitive art and dance. It is now possible to return to the formulas presented at the beginning of this article and show how the acknowledgement and acceptance of sex in a primitive society makes nonrepressive sublimation possible.

According to Freud, the price for civilization is repression (unconscious and conscious) and sublimation (repressive modification) of the instincts. This creates an increasing amount of unhappiness, culminating in a death instinct (Thanatos). A new term introduced by Marcuse (1955), *surplus-repression*, refers to the additional repressive controls "over and above those indispensable for civilized human association. . . . For example the modifications and deflections of instinctual energy necessitated by the perpertuation of the monogamic-patriarchal family, or by a hierarchichal division of labour, or by public control of the individual's private existence, are instances of surplus-repression pertaining to institutions of a particular reality principle."

In our civilization, with an economic competitiveness as "performance principle," libidinous gratification is held to a part-time basis. Even this gratification is taken care of by the entertainment industry. The surplus-repression becomes internalized, libido becomes concentrated in one part of the body (genital supremacy) while the rest is designed for toil. Marcuse writes: "Destructiveness seems to be more directly satisfied in civilization than libido. . . . The sexual relations themselves become much more closely assimilated with social relations, sexual liberty is harmonized with profitable conformity." Artistic work, while opposed to civilization is at the same time bound to it by increasing instinctual repression. The rebellion becomes harder and more desperate, the mental casualities increase while "joy in the making" libidinal creativity becomes a tragic necessity; The shadow of Thanatos is cast over the art forms of our civilization. It becomes "beauty dancing to the tune of death" (Hans Sachs).

We can thus talk about *repressive sublimation* as a form of sublimation that "operates on a *preconditioned instinctual structure*, which includes the functional and temporal restraints of sexuality, its channeling into monogamic reproduction and the desexualization of most of the body" (Marcuse).

"Primitive" art and its companion, the dance, present, as we have seen, another mode of sublimation. Dancing eroticizes the whole body and promotes group cohesion as well. In primitive society sex is accepted as beautiful, clean, and essential; gratification is more important than possessive monogamic unions (marital relations being governed not by instinctual needs but by social pressures). The senses are involved in erotic stimulation (Sinnlichkeit), which overflows and excites other bodies in the dancing. The repression in primitive societies is mainly concerned with finding ritual ways of reconciling the male-female-child components of each individual member into a fearless, joyful unity in the individual and the group.

Against repressive sublimation Marcuse presents the conception of a civilization evolving from, and sustained by, free libidinal relations. He assumes a "genitofugal libido" trend in the development of culture—in other words, "an inherent trend in the libido itself toward cultural expression, without external repressive modification. And this cultural trend in the libido seems to be . . . away from genital supremacy toward its erotization of the entire organism."

Repressive sublimation implies desexualization, whereas in nonrepressive sublimation the instincts are "gratified in activities and relations that are not sexual in the sense of 'organized' genital sexuality and yet are libidinal and erot-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ic. Where repressive sublimation prevails and determines the culture, non-repressive sublimation must manifest itself in contradiction to the entire sphere of social usefulness. Viewed from this sphere, it is the negation of all accepted productivity and performance."

Marcuse concludes that

> . . . libido can take the road of self sublimation only as a social phenomenon . . . under conditions which relate associated individuals to each other in the cultivation of the environment for their developing needs and faculties. Reactivation of polymorphous and narcissistic sexuality ceases to be a threat and can itself lead to culture building if socially useful work is at the same time the transparent satisfaction of an individual need. In primitive society this organization of work may be immediate and natural.

Thus we find that the primitive artist-craftsman in his own community achieves vitality and integration of his work through nonrepressive sublimation of libido. Eros is the god of primitive art and dance. The attraction these art forms have for us lies in the fact that they represent something that is forbidden and repressed in our civilization. The joy, freedom, and vitality of Eros challenges the struggle, guilt, and competition under Thanatos' rule.

References

Adam, L., *Primitive Art.* London, 1954.

Bettelheim, B., *Symbolic Wounds.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.

Boas, F., *Primitive Art.* New York: Dover, 1955.

Cory, H., *African Figurines.* New York: Grove, 1956.

Devereux, G., "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians." *Human Biol. 9;* 498-527, 1937.

Elisofon, E., *The Sculpture of Africa.* New York: Praeger, 1958.

Elwin, V., *The Muria and Their Ghotul.* London: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Freud, S., *Basic Writings.* New York: Modern Library, 1938.

Glover, E., *Freud or Jung.* New York: Meridian, 1956.

Hays, H. R., *From Ape to Angel.* New York: Knopf, 1958.

Herskovits, M., *Dahomey.* New York, 1938.

Leenhardt, M., *Arts of the Oceanic Peoples.* London, 1950.

Marcuse, H., *Eros and Civilization.* Boston: Beacon, 1956.

Mead, M., *Sex and Temperament.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1935.

Mead, M., *Male and Female.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1949.

Mead, M., and Calas, N., *Primitive Heritage.* New York: Random House, 1953.

Read, H., *Icon and Idea.* Cambridge: Harvard, 1955.

Sachs, C., *World History of the Dance.* New York: Norton, 1957.

TORE HAKANSSON

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Art and Sex

THE word *art* may be used broadly or narrowly; and in the present article it will be used largely in its narrower sense: pictorial art. What are some of the most important connections between human sexuality and artistic representation as depicted in drawing, painting, and sculpture? What may be said about sex and the artist? These are the main questions this article will attempt to answer.

Sex and Art History

The use of sexual motifs in drawing, painting, and sculpture goes back to the earliest days of human history. Primitive art was, and in many sections of the world still is, replete with sexual and reproductive motifs. Primitive peoples, in their pictures and statues, often tended to exaggerate the loins, rumps, breasts, and sex parts of their figures—probably because, as Dell (1930) points out, these parts of the body were of pronounced and often magical importance to them. Much can be said about the place of sex in primitive art; but since this topic is covered by another article in this *Encyclopedia*, it is merely mentioned here.

In civilized times, the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, and Chinese produced many notable artistic works; but the full flowering of sexual representations in art is usually acknowledged to have started in Ancient Greece. The earliest Greek art known to us was not highly sexualized; but after 500 B.C. Greek artists began to portray the human body for the sake of giving pleasure in its own right rather than for other and less sensual motives; and pictorial and sculptural art became art in the fullest sense when this esthetic revolution occurred (Wall, 1932). The Greeks became obsessed with the dream of ideal beauty, and, as Garland (1957) points out, "with the development of Greek art the sculptor creates a type of beauty which has never been excelled: for centuries the measurements and features of the antique Kore and classic Venus are accepted as perfection and ensuing civilizations have created nothing more exquisite than these lovely goddesses, unselfconscious in their nakedness." This is not a universally accepted dictum, but would appear to contain some truth.

The Greeks were also noted for their direct erotic representations in art, and graphic reproductions of the sexual act were numerous and met with little opposition or censorship. Every coital activity the ancients could imagine was portrayed and modeled on their walls, ceilings, vases, and other *objets d'art* (Bloch, 1934; Guyon, 1934; Northcote, 1916). It must not be thought, however, that the famous orgiastic representations (such as those found in the Pompeii excavations) were ubiquitous in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. There is reason to believe that they were often done on special assignment of certain members of the nobility and that they were no more typical of ancient art as a whole than modern pornography is typical of today's art. The idealization of physical beauty (in terms of shapes, lines, and volumes) rather than the depiction of naked sensuality was the pronounced theme of Greek and, to a much lesser degree, of Roman art.

During the Middle Ages, largely owing to the suppressive influence of the Catholic Church, sensuous and erotic art suffered a severe setback; and from the Byzantine world to England

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and the North countries fully clothed and highly asexualized representations became the rule. Then, although still kept under wraps to some degree by ecclesiastical restrictions and conventions, the nudes of the Renaissance began to take the center of the pictorial stage; and masters such as Correggio, Botticelli, Titian, and Tintoretto began to display their highly sensuous paintings, with nudes and semi-draped figures. Rembrandt, Rubens, and many other artists continued this tradition into the seventeenth century; and even during the period of the Restoration nudity in art was perfectly acceptable to courtiers, although their own clothing showed a stricter sense of modesty (Markun, 1930).

At the same time that the sensual movement in art was in progress, a coexterminous "earthy" rather than erotic core of pictorial and sculptural art was coming into existence. Artists such as Brueghel and Bosch, though not specializing in nudes, frankly depicted the sex proclivities of some of their subjects; and what has been called "erotic realism" as distinguished from "hard core pornography" (Kronhausen and Kronhausen, 1959) had some of its lustiest beginnings. It may also be noted that some medieval works of art included a grotesque element that was at least quasi-erotic. Thus, the grotesque and "satanic" figures of some of the gothic church sculpture contained an element of "fascination of the evil" which may be considered an interesting subheading under the general classification of "sexual" art.

During the eighteenth century, the erotic content of Western art became even more pronounced in many respects. Masters such as Watteau and Boucher continued to portray sensuous nudes; and in England arose a school of artists who specialized in the erotic, and often in the pornographic. Leading the list of artists who often painted erotic subject matter was the great painter and engraver, William Hogarth; and following him were such minor masters as James Gillray (who specialized in works on flagellation), Thomas Rowlandson, and George Cruikshank (illustrator of a famous edition of the pornographic novel, *Fanny Hill*).

The movement toward the erotization of art continued in the nineteenth century. Degas, Renoir, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Goya were among the outstanding Continental artists whose portrayals of the female form were both reverent and exciting; Gainsborough and Reynolds in England also did some interesting nudes; and a mystic-satanic sexual element was added to painting by Felician Rops and by the pre-Raphaelites, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. Mystic voluptuousness, together with overtones and undertones of sexual perversity, were also depicted by Aubrey Beardsley, one of the most famous sexual illustrators of all time.

Late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Impressionism, Cubism, Dadaism, Surrealism, and other movements in modern art, culminating in the considerable vogue for abstract, nonrepresentational, and nonobjective art, which has many followers today, to some extent reduced the direct depiction of eroticism that had been reborn in Renaissance art. But not entirely. Shapes, colors, and textures, to the eye of the sophisticated viewer of contemporary art, can be unusually erotically stimulating. Wilfred Scawen Blunt attended the 1910 Post-Impressionist exhibition in Paris and saw in the paintings there only "that gross puerility which scrawls indecencies on the wall of a privy" (Markun, 1930, p. 337). And Pitirim Sorokin, one of the guardians of sexual traditionalism of our day, insists that surrealistic pictures and sculptures of today are overloaded with voluptuous scenes and figures and with depictions of procreation and fertility. If sexuality is not rendered visually in modern art, he contends, it is often explicit in the name given by the artist to his design or contraption. "The general trend in our pictures, photographs, sculpture, and other visual arts," he concludes "has been toward a more naked, more sensuous representation of the human body" (Sorokin, 1956, pp. 26–27).

Contemporary art, moreover, is far from being completely nonrepresentational. Artists are still producing male and female representations of the human body that are at times sensual, sexual, or even intensely romantic. And one of the outstanding twentieth-century painters, Jules Pascin, went even further than the nineteenth-century master of nude portraiture, Renoir, in his rendering of pulsating flesh and gave a most realistic, earthy view of female

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sexuality. As Pascin's biographer, Brodzky (1946), has noted: "Pascin worshipped women, as did Renoir, unashamed."

It is often assumed that there is some kind of a significant and integral relationship of sex to art and between sex and the artist; but exactly what these relationships are has been the subject for considerable unresolved debate. We shall now consider some of the most important theories relating sex to art and try to assess their validity.

Beauty and Art

It is sometimes held that all artistic productions, particularly paintings and sculpture, arise from human concepts of beauty; and that these, in turn, stem from ideas of what is sexually beautiful or exciting. If this is so, then art originates in sexuality and is a major product of the libido. Thus, Freud (1930, 1938), whose views on sexual sublimation and art we shall later discuss in detail, believed that the perception of beauty is at bottom a sensual process and that it becomes esthetic in quality when the sensual aim is inhibited.

The notion that art stems from appreciation of beauty, which in turn originates in sexual desire, has been partly endorsed by several authorities but has also been partly denounced (de Beauvoir, 1953; Bloch, 1908). As Garland (1957) notes in her study of female beauty, art is usually in advance of nature and again and again artists conceive of new types of women which later generations then endorse. Art, Flugel (1945) insists, in a sense achieves a deeper insight into reality than does the mere perception of physical beauty, inasmuch as it abstracts from the uninteresting and irrelevant details of reality more effectually than perception does. Art therefore presents us a sort of quintessence of the aspect of reality that is relevant to the artist's theme and purpose; and if the artist merely followed his biologically inculcated feelings about what is beautiful (or sexually desirable), art in this sense could hardly exist.

André Gide (1949) is even more vociferous on this point: "As the convinced Mohammedan cries 'God is god,' I should like to shout: 'Art is art.' Reality is always there, not to dominate it, but on the other hand, to serve it." Beigel (1952) also holds that though ideas of physical beauty influence art, these ideas themselves, especially ideas of what is beautiful in the female body, are greatly influenced by the concept of esthetic beauty in art.

In regard to beauty and art, then, it would seem wiser to take a middle rather than any extreme road. Sex desires would appear to have *some* influence on evaluations of human beauty; and these evaluations to *some* extent are important artistic considerations. But by the same token, artistic judgments, which depend on many biological and cultural factors of nonsexual origin and which tend to change considerably from one era to another, also importantly affect sexual desire and notions of beauty.

It is most unlikely, then, that the concept of what is beautiful is related entirely to sex. It is partly based on the way in which we perceive things (which itself is both sexually and nonsexually motivated) and the form and proportions of the things themselves. The concept of beauty is intimately related to existing perceptions of time, spatial relations, proportion, texture, and other aspects of external reality as well as to our personal and culturally influenced interpretations of these modes of existence. Sex plays a distinct part in our notions of what is beautiful; but this part hardly equals the whole of those notions.

Sex desire undoubtedly plays an important role in human ideals of personal beauty, particularly of female beauty. Schopenhauer (1898) hotly contended that sex is practically the only influential factor in inducing a male to admire the female form. "It is only," he said, "the man whose intellect is clouded by his sexual impulses that could give the name of the *fair sex* to that under-sized, narrow-shouldered, broad-hipped, and short-legged race; for the whole beauty of the sex is bound up with this impulse. Instead of calling them beautiful, there would be more warrant for describing women as the unesthetic sex." H. L. Mencken (1919) echoed this view; and Havelock Ellis (1936) also presented evidence that women are universally admired by men because they satisfy the male's sensual and sexual impulses.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Nonetheless, a cursory glance at the changing styles in female beauty in the last several decades in the United States would indicate that biological impulses often take a secondary or subsidiary place to social-esthetic standards in the evaluation of feminine beauty. Even in the case of sex attraction, we may still note that our sex "instincts" importantly prejudice our notions of beauty, but at the same time our esthetic ideas significantly influence these very "instincts."

Nudity and Art

It is sometimes held that artists frequently portray nude figures, particularly those of the female, because they are consciously or unconsciously interested, by reason of their basic sexual proclivities, in such figures. Thus, Guyon (1934, p. 310) states that "the truth is that nudity in art delights us because we find, to our surprise, that the flesh is here presented to us without obstacle or hindrance, recalling to our mind pleasant memories and possibilities." Therefore, he contends, the nude is *not* really chaste, as many artists and critics have held that it is; and when it is supposedly used for esthetic effect, its employment actually has sexual undertones.

Other writers on art differ with this sexualized interpretation of nudity. De Beauvoir (1953) feels that the nude is chaste; and Northcote (1916) holds that "the nude in any given production is not necessarily erotic." Nudity, Wall (1932) insists, is in itself sexual or asexual, decent or indecent, depending on one's attitude toward it—and that attitude tends to be very different at one time and place from what it is at another.

Kinsey and his associates (1953) found some evidence that artistic portrayals of nude figures often do stem from sexual motives. In a study that is still continuing they reported that if professional artists are given a series of nudes drawn by other artists they can predict quite accurately whether the draughtsmen are heterosexually or homosexually inclined. The Kinsey research team has also found that although 54 per cent of their male subjects have been aroused by seeing photographs, drawings, or paintings of nudes only 12 per cent of females have been similarly aroused. As would be expected under these circumstances, it has also been found that although female artists frequently produce highly romantic drawings and paintings, they rarely excel in pornographic works of art. By the same token, Dingwall (1957) notes that, as might very well be expected, sex-obsessed countries such as the United States produce better erotic art of the pin-up variety than do other countries. A. Ellis (1960a) also reports that just because nudity in the United States is officially and socially enjoined, it tends to be the more enjoyed. Contemporary mass media are increasingly full of "artistic" nudes that obviously appeal to masculine lasciviousness.

A good case can certainly be made, therefore, for the theory that both artists and their public are sexually motivated when they find "esthetic" satisfaction in the depiction of the nude female form. Artists are, after all, human beings with human desires; and the nude form obviously has connotations, at least to those of the Western world, of sensual activities and delights. To believe that a fine painter or sculptor of female nudes has no sexual interest in or excitement about his work is to be rather naïve. At the same time, it would be equally naïve to assume that graphic portrayals of the nude form are executed *only* because of the conscious or unconscious sexual urges of the artist. The nude body has the kind of form, coloring, and texture that would give it esthetic value even were its representors and their audiences completely sexless. It is these additional nonsexual aspects of nudity that give it such a widespread esthetic appeal.

Sexual Sublimation and Art

Sigmund Freud has been responsible for the most widely discussed and debated theory of sex and art of all time—the theory that art essentially springs from the individual's repressed unconscious thoughts and wishes and is largely a sublimation of his aim-inhibited sex drives. In his *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1920), Freud noted that the artist is constitutionally endowed with a powerful capacity for sublimation as well as with a certain flexibility in the repression determining his inner conflicts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

In the fourth volume of his *Collected Papers* (1925) he stated this hypothesis in more detail:

> The artist is originally a man who turns from reality because he cannot come to terms with the demand for the renunciation of instinctual satisfaction as it is first made, and who then in phantasy-life allows full play to his erotic and ambitious wishes. But he finds a way of return from this world of phantasy back to reality. With his special gifts he molds his phantasies into a new kind of reality, and men concede them a justification as valuable reflections of actual life.

In his consideration of an actual artist, Leonardo da Vinci, Freud (1947) held that this painter's genius resulted from "his particular tendency to repress his impulses and, second, his extraordinary ability to sublimate the primitive impulses."

This psychoanalytical theory of sexual sublimation and art was not entirely original with Freud, since several poets and novelists had outlined similar views previously, and Otto Weininger (1906), a contemporary of Freud, independently arrived at the view that art is a sublimation of Eros and that all genius stems from essentially erotic motives, with the artist's love being directed toward the universe and eternal values instead of toward members of the other sex (Klein, 1949). But Freud's version of the sublimation theory quickly won out over all similar views, and it soon had scores of adherents. Ella Sharpe (1950, p. 126) dogmatically stated that "sublimation and civilization are mutually inclusive terms." Lionel Goitein (1948) claimed that "art is possibly the only area for a conflict-ridden humanity to use today, a sublimation for repressed bewilderment and frustrated desire." Emil Gutheil (1951) pointed out that there is a close connection between the daydream and a work of art. And Ernest Jones (1951), in his analysis of the work of Andrea del Sarto, insisted that this artist never fulfilled himself and did not reach the heights as an artist because he shared a domestic existence with his wife, Lucrezia, thus preventing himself from truly sublimating his repressed sex drives.

The Freudian theory that art originates in sexual sublimation has so completely swept the field of psychology, literature, and esthetics that many non-Freudians have vociferously endorsed it—sometimes in enthusiastic ways of which Freud himself might not have completely approved. The noted gynecologist and sexologist, Robert L. Dickinson (1932), held that sexual desire could easily be diverted into what he called the Third Direction, which included work, amusement, asceticism, illness, art, etc. The academic psychologist, Herbert S. Langfeld (1950), thought that art was an escape to a world of so-called unreality, where the artist could have full power over his environment; and that it was in this world of his own making that he solved his inner problems. The social historian, J. D. Unwin (1934), upheld the extreme view that civilization depends almost entirely on sexual repression and that where people are sexually free their culture never matures or deteriorates.

Several correlates to the Freudian position on sex and art may be particularly noted. The first of these is that the main source of artistic productivity is the artist's unconscious mind (Groddeck, 1951; Neumann, 1959). In its most general form, this theory again predates Freud and his followers; but classical psychoanalysis not only posits an unconscious from which artistic productions are drawn, but also the individual's coping with, defending himself against, and finally mastering his unconscious thoughts and feelings—particularly his unconscious sex and aggressive urges. As Bychowski (1947, p. 56) states, "In a really great artist the mastery of technique is but an expression of the mastery of the unconscious material achieved by the ego."

The second correlate of the Freudian theory of art and sex sublimation is that the material the artist dredges up from his unconscious mind and employs in his work is largely repressed material—it has once been conscious and has been censored and squelched by the ego (or superego) because the artist is ashamed of or frightened by it. Artistic work, Marcuse (1955) points out, although opposed to civilization is at the same time bound to it by increasing instinctual repression. And just as we have repressed childish ways of thinking, Weiss (1947) insists, we have also repressed childish ways of perceiving and representing; and it is these latter repressions which are somehow employed by the artist (and which remain unavailable to nonartistic individuals).

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

A third corollary of the Freudian position on art and sex is that not merely repressed sex drives are necessary for artistic creativeness, but repressed feelings of love and hate as well. As might well be expected, the classical psychoanalysts place Oedipal strivings, and the conflicts to which these strivings lead, at the core of their theory of art. According to Schneider (1954), the artist achieves his power to identify with his characters and his themes from his early identifications with and subsequent transference relations with his parents. Or, in Ella Sharpe's more concrete exposition (1950, p. 135): "Art is a sublimation rooted in the primal identification with the parents. That identification is a magical incorporation of the parents, a psychical happening which runs parallel to what has been for long ages repressed, i.e., actual cannibalism. The artist externalizes his incorporation of the hostile parent into a work of art. He thus makes, controls his power over his introjected image or images."

Because of the Oedipal foundations of art—as Kris (1952), Schneider (1954), and Tarachow (1949) indicate—the artist must fundamentally be a communicating, social person. By conquering his Oedipal conflicts he learns to love himself and his work and to want to communicate productively with others.

A fourth concomitant of the Freudian view of art and sex sublimation is that an economy of psychic energy is involved in artistic creativity. According to Freud (1947), the energy that might be used for artistic production is usually bound by sexual repression; but if the artist is endowed with a certain flexibility of repression this energy can be freed for the work of artistic transformation from the unconscious to the conscious. The artist thus knows how to find his way back to reality from the world of private phantasy.

Joseph Weiss (1947) has gone beyond Freud himself in this connection and has claimed that just as wit, according to classical psychoanalysis, is the economy of expenditure of psychic energy in inhibition, formal esthetic pleasure is the economy of expenditure of psychic energy in perception. In Weiss' own words (1947, pp. 396-397): "When the perception of a picture causes a comparison with a more economic treatment of the same material, psychic energy is not saved but wasted, and a disagreeable feeling is produced. Thus if two colors are too similar, they can be perceived easily neither as one color nor as two separate colors. The resulting increase in psychic work causes displeasure and we say the colors clash."

A final correlate of the Freudian theory of art and sex sublimation that we shall consider here is the view that art and neurosis are integrally intertwined and that only out of dealing with his own underlying anxiety and guilt can the artist be creative. A feeling of calm, Sachs (1942) states, is a prerequisite to the creation or appreciation of beauty; but calm is only achieved by one's overcoming one's basic hostility and anxiety. The artist, moreover, never really conquers his underlying neurosis, but keeps producing his work as a continual defense against his still-existing disturbance. In Tarachow's words (1949, pp. 224-225): "The artistic creation of beauty is also a relief, but from the intolerable tension of the fear and aggression of others. . . . A motive in the creation of beauty is anxiety produced by a feared and hated object with whom the artist must become reconciled." Ella Sharpe (1950, p. 127) concurs: "Art rises to its supreme height only when it performs a service—first for the artist and unconsciously for ourselves—that it did in ancient times. That service is a magical reassurance." Lee (1947) agrees that an artistic work represents an atonement for the artist's destructive rage against objects and also a means of self-therapy for his neurotic depression, the depression being a requisite for artistic creation.

Otto Rank (1932, 1950) gave considerable thought to the relationship of art and neurosis and took a somewhat more optimistic view of the artist's ability to resolve his own fundamental disturbance through his creative efforts. Like the Freudians, Rank felt that the forming of unconscious phantasy is essential to artistic creation; and that in his phantasy the artist attempts to solve his own deepest problems. The neurotic and the artist thus have a fundamental point in common—they have both committed themselves to the pain of separation from the herd, from unreflective incorporation of the views of their parents and of society. But the artist, through his work, is able to achieve in-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tegration of his isolated will by establishing a creative relationship to others. Schneider (1954) also takes a more optimistic view of art and neurosis and holds that art does not directly stem from emotional disturbance, even though some neurotic artists may get secondary (rather than primary) gains from being disturbed.

Critique of the Freudian View of Sublimation and Art

Although there is much to be said in favor of certain aspects of the classical psychoanalytical theory of sex sublimation and art, the one-sided formulations of this theory that are often given fail to do justice to the immensely wide ranging elements of artistic creativity and, at best, give but partial answers to the questions of why some individuals are artists and why they create what they do. Specific limitations of the Freudian position include the following:

1. That the artist must in some manner tap his unconscious mental processes if he is to produce and communicate to others works of lasting values is almost certainly true. But the "unconscious mind" that he thereby taps is hardly a mysterious entity in its own right. It consists, rather, of the total sum of the individual's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and memories which, by an act of conscious introspection, he is able to dig into, reactivate, and recombine in an almost infinite number of new ways. All his artistic concepts, as Locke, Hume, and other philosophers have shown for several centuries, merely consist of re-experiences and recombinations of some of his original, if now mainly forgotten, precepts. It is true that he is almost totally unaware (or unconscious) of exactly *how* he reactivates and recombines his past experiences (just as most of us are unaware of exactly *how* we solve a mathematical or a chess problem, although obviously the solution does not really come to us—as it sometimes appears to come—by magic).

2. Granting that art depends largely on creative processes that involve our past experiences, many of which we no longer consciously remember and whose recollection and recombination into art forms are only vaguely understood by us, there is little evidence that the artist's use of his "unconscious" thoughts and feelings invariably implies his coping with, defending himself against, and finally mastering his instinctual urges. This is not to say that *some* artists do not have sexual or aggressive feelings that they are ashamed to admit, that they unconsciously repress, and that consequently impel or compel them to work out these feelings in artistic productions, as a kind of expiation of or defense against these repressed feelings. But to believe that because *some* artists are thus unconsciously driven to creativity *all* artists *must* be so driven is to make one of the commonest errors of logical thinking and to set up a hypothesis for which there are as yet no confirmatory data. One of the most unscientific aspects of orthodox psychoanalysis is the conclusion by its devotees that because A and B, who have been treated for some neurotic symptom, display X complex, every other human being who has the same symptom must also show evidence of X complex. Similarly, presenting evidence that artists A and B were impelled to create because of their defenses against their own unconscious sex or aggressive urges scarcely proves that all creative artists have similar repressed urges.

3. Assuming, again, that unconscious thoughts and feelings play a vitally important role in virtually all artistic creations, there are no scientific data whatever to support the Freudian assumption that these unconscious experiences are dynamically *repressed*. Occasionally, when a person is thoroughly ashamed of his ideas or phantasies, he may dynamically refuse to admit that they exist; and as a result of this kind of repression, he may later be driven to express these unconscious feelings in artistic forms. There is much more reason to believe, however, first that most of our experiences of which we are at any moment unaware consist of fairly neutrally toned thoughts and feelings which we would not hesitate to reawaken to consciousness; and second that the unconscious experiences that artists generally employ in their productions are notably in this class of quite *un*repressed ideas and emotions. Freud believed that the artist (for some mysterious reasons which he never could explain) is the type of individual who somehow is flexible about his repressions and is able to dredge up his repressed unconscious ideas and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

use them effectively in his work. It would seem to be far simpler and wiser to assume, instead, that either (a) the artist is the kind of person who is less self-blaming than others and therefore likely to do less repressing; or (b) he is an individual whose "talent" or "genius" (by which may well be meant his unusually well organized brain and central nervous system) enable him in the first place to have more vital life experiences than the nonartist or the inferior artist and in the second place to dig into his unrepressed store of these experiences.

4. The Freudian notion that art is intimately related to Oedipal relationships or to repressed feelings of love and hatred for one's parents (which are ultimately transferred to other significant figures in one's life) probably has a grain—but *only* a grain—of truth in it. For great artists (as we shall note in more detail below) almost invariably love their work and to some degree love (or at least seek the approval of) the audiences to which they present this work. And behind all feelings of loving, vital absorption, and desire for the approval of others it is quite likely that there are *some* remnants of early attitudes and ideas which were learned in one's early family romance. To believe, however, that *all* emotions of love and absorption as well as those of aversion and hatred stem from a boy's originally lusting after his mother and resenting and being guilty about his resentment of his father's intrusion is to make one more of those overgeneralizations for which orthodox Freudians are unfortunately famous. Again: assuming that an artist's loves and hates significantly influence and affect his productions, there is no evidence that his *repressed* feelings of affection and hostility are much more important than his open and avowed feelings.

5. If the Freudian theory of art and sex sublimation were true, one would expect artists to be unusually inhibited individuals who lived ascetically in their garrets, had little or no sex-love affairs, and consequently felt compelled to compensate by throwing themselves into their work. But most of the great artists of all time, as we shall indicate in a later section of this article, were reasonably happily married or engaged in distinctly more than their share of heterosexual or homosexual activities. What repressed instinctual sex-love urges they were artistically "sublimating" is, in the light of these circumstances, difficult to imagine.

6. The Freudian notion that psychic energy is involved in artistic creativity and that formal esthetic pleasure stems from an economy in the expenditure of this energy is particularly hard to take in the light of twentieth-century discoveries in physics and neuroanatomy. Freud's application of nineteenth-century mechanics to the psychic working of the human organism and his "explanations" of human thinking and feeling in terms of his own hypothesized system of libido economy have been much criticized by numerous modern critics of psychoanalysis; and there seems to exist little or no empirical evidence to support his highly imaginative sex-economy theorizings (A. Ellis, 1950; Eysenck, 1953). The mere fact that a host of psychoanalysts, such as Kris (1952), Reik (1945), and Weiss (1947), have heartily endorsed Freud's notion that artistic creativity depends on the economics of the expenditure of libidinous energy by no means adds any validity to these highly theoretical constructs.

7. The view that art and neurosis are integrally related would seem, at first blush, to have some validity, since it is obvious that most great artists have been more or less emotionally disturbed and many of them have even been psychotic (Phillips, 1957). The facts would also seem to indicate that supersensitive and emotionally aberrated individuals (for example, fixed homosexuals) are frequently more interested in art than less sensitive and aberrated persons appear to be. These facts, however, seem largely to be accounted for by several understandable reasons: (a) Great artists are generally unconventional and their very unconventionality is often misinterpreted as severe disturbance. (b) Noted artists are investigated more carefully by their biographers than are hacks or nonartists; therefore we tend to *know* about their aberrations and to remain unaware of how disturbed were their less great contemporaries. Many outstanding artists who live regular and undistinguished lives are rarely written or talked about; while the more erratic ones, such as Gauguin and Van Gogh, are endlessly biographized. (c) We have no way of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

knowing how many thousands of highly talented individuals never became fine artists precisely because they were so disturbed that they never actually produced any works of note. (d) Severely disturbed individuals, who have no creative talents themselves, frequently become interested in art because they are interested in being "cultured" or "superior" persons, and thereby winning a derivative kind of social approval.

What little clinical evidence is available tends to indicate that the more severely disturbed an individual is, the less he tends to actualize whatever artistic potential he may possess (A. Ellis, 1959). Moreover, since great art almost invariably involves a considerable amount of mental integration, concentrated drive, and persistent work on the part of the artist, it may seriously be doubted if most outstanding artists were *severely* neurotic or psychotic when they were at the height of their productivity. The Freudian and Rankian hypotheses that the artist "works through" his disturbances in his artistic creations, and helps therapize himself thereby, may have some validity. But it may just as logically be hypothesized that the truly great artist is somewhat less disturbed in most instances than the lesser artist and that that is why his potential talent is more likely to be effectively actualized. It may also be hypothesized that in the case of the inordinately talented artist his genius is so outstanding that, neurotic or not, he finally produces outstanding works and that in understanding him, we might better focus on his genius than on his reasonably irrelevant emotional aberrations.

A Multifactor Theory of Art and Sex

The main objection to the Freudian theory of art and sexuality is not that it is entirely mistaken, and certainly not that it adds nothing to our understanding of the creative and the sexual processes, but that it is at the same time too restricted and overgeneralized. In attempting to account for the "deeper" and more complex aspects of the influence of human sex drives on artistic production, it undervalues some of the simpler and more significant factors involved in sex and art. A wider ranging and more objective theory of the place of sexuality in art would include some of the following factors.

It should first be noted that man appears to be essentially and inherently a creative animal. Even when he is not particularly intelligent or educated, he tends to restructure his environment in terms not only of utility but also of esthetics. The more intelligent and culturally educated he is, the more artistic, in terms of both productivity and audience participation, he tends to be. Art, therefore, may be conceived as a *normal* aspect of human living; and the question may well be asked, "Why does a human being *not* use his creative potential in some way?" rather than "What makes this or that individual artistic?" To be human, and especially to be a highly intelligent human being, to some degree *means* that one will tend to be inventive, problem-solving, and artistically creative. The mystery, if there is a mystery about esthetic productiveness, is why so few individuals in our society actually do invent and create. And one of the fairly obvious answers to this mystery is that we raise our people to be so nauseatingly approval-seeking and terrified of failure that most of them do not *dare* take the risk of committing their creative potential to actual artistic production.

The second point to be noted in trying to arrive at a wide-ranging theory of art and sex is that art is essentially a form of *work* and that no artist produces anything who does not, at some point in the game, push himself into *action*. Arts such as drawing, painting, and particularly sculpture require physical effort along with mental exertion; and unless the artist is willing, quite consistently, to buckle down to the necessary tasks and chores involved in his activity (including the often boring tasks of mixing paints, stretching canvases, etc.), he simply is not going to accomplish anything in his chosen field. Fortunately, however, all animals to some extent *like* to move, to act, to work; and the artist normally becomes thoroughly absorbed, in a pleasant way, in his activities once he manages to overcome his initial inertia and to get these activities under way. Because he learns, by experience, that it is pleasurable to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

work in an absorbed, intense manner, he has an incentive to keep going back to his artistic activity, even when he is not too unhappy in a more restful state.

If, as just posited, the creative urge is innate in most men, and if art is a form of activity, which itself is also a normal part of human living, it is not difficult to see that there must inevitably be *some* connection between sex and art. For the human sex drives are certainly to some degree inborn and intrinsic and they are one of the most highly motivating forces (from both an innate and socially learned standpoint) in driving men and women to intense and sustained activity. To accept this fact does not mean that we have to go the whole Freudian or Jungian way and identify life itself as an essentially libidinous or erotic force. Activity-impulsion is probably the most generalized form of aliveness; and sex-impulsion is merely one, albeit a major, form of activitization. But it is hard to conceive of living, behaving, or activity-impulsion without *any* measure of sexuality—especially since, in the human species, reproduction of the race is entirely dependent on sexual processes.

The argument then logically proceeds: If art depends on inborn (as well as culturally acquired) activity-impulsions, and if human behaving and reproducing to some degree depend on inborn (as well as environmentally learned) sexual-impulsions, it would indeed be odd if there were no reasonably direct relationships between art and sex. Or, to state the matter a little differently, under these circumstances it would be remarkable if the main or only influence of sex drives on artistic creativity was, as the Freudians state or imply, the result of such highly indirect factors as sexual sublimation, repression, defenses against anxiety and hostility, reaction formation, and various other kinds of psychic circumlocutions. As Harry B. Lee, himself a psychoanalyst but one who takes a somewhat non-Freudian view of sex and art, has rather poetically stated (1953, p. 283): "Creation and recreation are inventive activities born of spiritual necessity, and they are something more than chance iridescences upon the surface of a daydream."

If we turn from Freudian hypotheses and give a little thought to the possibility of *direct* influences of human sexuality on artistic production, we may soon come up with the following hypotheses:

1. Sexual desire is a highly activating and motivating force behind many pursuits. It spurs people to achieve fame and fortune, in many instances, in order that they may be more attractive to members of the other sex; and it is quite likely that art is one of the main fields in which this sexually impelled fame and fortune is sought.

2. Sexual urges frequently encourage individuals to enter certain professions—as when the physician studies medicine in order that he may be able to undress women or the actor enters the theatrical field because of the attractive women he may encounter there. Certainly, therefore, some artists must be drawn to their work because of their interest in nude models or (as we noted previously in this article) their sensuous pleasure in depicting the nude form.

It has been hypothesized by Rhoda Winter Russell (personal communication) that many painters have highly enjoyable, positive experiences with members of the other sex; and that in their artistic productions they not only create the sexualized forms of the persons with whom they have had pleasant contact but also *re*create the sex pleasures they have had with these individuals. This hypothesis, that direct sex gratification may lead to an urge to recreate images of itself, seems to make good sense and would partially help to explain why many artists are drawn to depict nudes or other sexualized representations in their work—and why some of them may even be drawn to art itself as an enjoyable form of life activity.

3. Karl Groos (as quoted by Forel, 1922), notes that since the object of art is to excite the sensibilities, it is obvious that it will utilize the domain that is richest in emotional sensations—the sexual domain. Drawing, painting, and sculpture in particular are forms of art which require that the sentiments of the observer be attracted and heightened almost instantaneously, whereas certain other art forms (such as literature) must ultimately, but not immediately, strike an emotional cord in the members of the artist's audience. It is therefore to be expected that the graphic and sculptural arts will make particular use of sexual themes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

4. Although sexual orgasm is normally reached, in the final analysis, by means of friction and the sense of touch, sexual arousal in most societies, including our own, is largely mediated by the sense of sight. Art, which appeals particularly to this sense of sight, may consequently again be expected to be more sexualized in many respects than certain other forms of creative expression.

5. Autoerotic impulses, as Havelock Ellis (1936) pointed out, frequently are not directly gratified, but drive the individual into some form of restlessness and nonsexual activity; and it is impossible to say what of the finest elements in art, in morals, in civilization generally may not really be rooted in autoerotism. Ellis quotes Nietzsche in this connection: "Without a certain overheating of the sexual system, we could not have a Raphael."

6. There may well be, as Marcuse (1955) indicates, an inherent trend in the libido itself toward cultural expression, without external repressive modification. Although the Freudian theories of art springing from an economy of energy may well be questioned, as we noted above, there may still be truth in the notion that life is basically an energy-expending process and that sex energy is a most important part of and significantly motivating force behind living. If so, such sex energy could both directly and indirectly contribute to artistic creation.

7. At the bottom of artistic production is sensory input and output. The artist almost hungrily draws sensations from his environment; and, albeit in an often abstract and highly intellectualized form, he communicates them back to his viewers—who, in turn, receive their first impression of the artist's product from their senses. "If man expresses his grasp of the world by his senses," states Erich Fromm (1955, p. 347), "he creates art and ritual, he creates song, dance, drama, painting, sculpture." If this is true, then sex and art are two major ways by which man expresses his grasp of the world by his senses—since, in addition to its use of the sense of sight, which we emphasized a few paragraphs back, sex is indubitably a highly sensualized activity. Artists notably draw upon sensations; and it is quite likely that their sensuousness will lap over into sexual expressiveness. Whether consciously or unconsciously, their art will tend to carry pure tones or overtones of sexuality for themselves and their viewers.

8. In some instances, the artist will very deliberately and consciously employ his art form for the expression of his sex impulses. Thus, a writer may become sexually aroused by his own fictional scenes; and a painter may get an erection while painting a real or an imagined nude. Also, instead of unconsciously repressing his sex urges and sublimating them in his work, an artist may consciously suppress his unsatisfiable desires and throw himself into diverting artistic activity that helps keep him from plaguing himself with lustful thoughts.

In many ways there may be a direct or semidirect influence of human sexuality on the artist and of artistic creation on sexual desire and fulfillment. The concept of what is artistically beautiful most probably does not depend entirely on sexual craving; but part, and perhaps quite a large part, of this concept does seem to stem from obvious or covert sexual drives.

As for the more indirect aspects of sex and art, particularly those involved with the psychoanalytical theories of sex sublimation, these too would appear to have *some* validity—in spite of the usual orthodox Freudian attempts to overemphasize their importance. In fact, in the case of any given artist, there is no reason why the sexual sources of his creative work cannot be significantly fourfold: (a) He may have conscious sex desires which he deliberately fulfills to some extent in his art—e.g., by painting exciting nudes, sculpting erotic tableaux, etc. (b) He may have unconscious but unrepressed sex urges, which supply him with considerable artistic raw material (such as sensuous images or predilections for sexualized forms) that he incorporates into either representational or more abstract art forms. (c) He may have conscious sex urges which he consciously suppresses by absorbing himself in his art work and which help give this work either a highly sexualized or a studiously asexualized tone. (d) He may have conscious sex (or aggressive) feelings of which he is quite ashamed, which he then unconsciously represses, and to prevent these repressed impulses from returning to consciousness he may set up compensatory or other neurotic defenses which drive

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

him to produce works of art and sometimes to produce them in a specifically sexualized manner.

Only by taking into account several major factors such as those just outlined is it possible for us to account for the full scope of the relationship between sex and art. And when this full scope is accurately perceived, it indeed appears almost universal. For all that—and let this caveat be duly emphasized—art is far from being entirely sexualized in either its origin or its execution. As Herbert Read (1947) correctly indicates, art forms have their basis in the laws and organizations of inorganic as well as of living things, in the processes of biological growth and function as well as in the mathematical and mechanical properties of matter. Art is the representation, science the exploration, of the fundamental structure and processes within and around us.

The Sexual Psychology of Artists

As briefly noted in our discussion of sex sublimation and art, most outstanding artists have hardly been noted for their sexual abstinence or reticence. Craven (1931, 1940) informs us that Titian had at least one mistress; Rembrandt lived in concubinage with Hendrickje Stoeffels; El Greco was a man of many loves; Van Gogh was a constant frequenter of brothels; Gauguin frequented brothels and also lived with a mistress; Modigliani was promiscuous; Matisse had an illegitimate daughter; Picasso lived with various women; Turner was a man of strong sexual impulsions who had four illegitimate children; and so on and so forth. Brodzky (1946) tells us that Jules Pascin, one of the outstanding painters of nudes, was highly promiscuous and that "a loose life . . . was as food for him."

When not reveling in heterosexual activities, some of the most renowned artists, including Leonardo, Cellini, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Blake, are suspected of having had homosexual or at least homoamative relations during a large part of their lives. Although the stereotype of the bohemian artist who lives in a garret and is sexually promiscuous is probably largely false—since many quite talented and great artists marry conventionally at a reasonably early age and remain sexually faithful to their mates for the rest of their lives—it still can probably be found that renowned artists tend to be less conventional in their approaches to sex and to life than are men of equal genius in other fields (such as engineering or research). Quite possibly, this may partly be because the artist usually is a free lancer, who is not directly dependent on a single employer for his financial security, and that therefore he allows himself more freedom in his sexual behavior. But there may also be something about the artistic temperament itself that finds it undesirable or difficult to conform to bourgeois sexual morality.

There is a widespread belief that an unusually high proportion of artists and individuals who are interested in art are homosexually inclined. As far as great artists themselves are concerned, this belief does not appear to hold much water, since the great majority seem to have been distinctly heterosexual and some of those who are suspected of being homosexual (such as Leonardo) are placed in this category on only the flimsiest of evidence. In what seems to be the only study of homosexuality and general creativity that has been done to date, a study by the present author (1959), the data clearly showed that the more homosexual an individual is, the less creative—in terms of originality and inventiveness—he tends to be. Dr. Daniel Schneider, a practicing psychoanalyst as well as an authority on art, has also found (1954, p. 300) that "the great homosexual artist is the exception that proves all the rules." The notion of the homosexual's being highly artistically creative is a myth that has largely been fostered by prejudiced observers, such as Edward Carpenter (1914), Havelock Ellis (1936), and John Addington Symonds (1883), who were themselves homosexual or who (as in Ellis' case) were intimately involved by marital or other emotional ties with homosexuals.

There is much more valid evidence that proportionately more homosexuals than heterosexually interested individuals are artistically and esthetically inclined in terms of audience participation. Just as females in our society tend to attend the ballet, dramatic productions, and musical concerts, whereas males frequently are more interested in the more "manly" sports, so

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

do male homosexuals frequently become esthetically inclined. Part of this participation by homosexuals in artistic interests may be compensatory; part may be imitative and derivative; part may stem from withdrawal from "masculine" interests; and part may be otherwise correlated to homosexual neurosis. Art interest, however, should not be confused with artistic creativity; and there is some reason to suspect that fixed homosexuality takes away from rather than adds to artistic solidity and that those relatively few great artists who have been exclusively homosexual have fought their way to the top of their profession in spite of rather than because of their emotional aberration.

Up until and including the present day, sex differences in artistic creativity have been quite pronounced. Although numerous females attend art school and show considerable talent, and although some of them become outstanding illustrators, relatively few achieve high rank among the truly great artists of their day. Havelock Ellis, after an exhaustive study of sex differences, reported that "there can be no doubt whatever that if we leave out of consideration the interpretive arts, the artistic impulse is vastly more spontaneous, more pronounced, and more widely spread among men than among women" (1929, p. 374). Ludovici (1932, p. 44) concurred: "We find chiefly the names of men in all the records of human greatness." And even Simone de Beauvoir (1953), after pointing out that women have had a unique role in the cultural and intellectual life of Western civilization, was forced to conclude that "however important this collective role of the intellectual woman may have been, the individual contributions have been in general of less value."

Why women have turned out to be less impressive in the field of creative art has often been a matter for debate. Havelock Ellis (1929) believed that although the sexual sphere is more massive in women it is less energetic in its manifestations; and that consequently the female's creativity suffers. Virginia Woolf (1930) held that biology has little to do with the artistic inadequacy of women; rather, she contended, the need for true independence and a room of her own constitute the female's worst handicaps in competing artistically with the male. Simone de Beauvoir (1953) insisted that art and thought have their living springs in action and that because woman has not been engaged in action to any considerable degree, she does not make the most of her artistic potentialities. Other authors feel that the female's main creative outlet is childbearing and child-rearing; and that because she is biosocially focused on this kind of creativity, her contributions to art tend to be relatively secondary, imitative, and usually second-rate.

The mystery of why women are, on the whole, considerably less artistically creative than men is enhanced by two noteworthy exceptions to the general rule. In the first place, in certain esthetic fields, such as the writing of fiction, women are often outstanding creators—e.g., Jane Austen, the Brontë sisters, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, Katherine Anne Porter, Elizabeth Bowen, etc. In the second place, women are frequently unusually gifted as performing or interpretive artists, in such fields as dancing, singing, acting, and the playing of musical instruments. Why, then, do they fail, in almost all instances, as outstanding painters, sculptors, and composers?

In addition to the reasons posited two paragraphs back, it may be hypothesized that women, for biological and social reasons, are far more interested in concrete human relations than they are in abstract artistic processes; and that the graphic arts and music, in particular, require for their highest forms of composition a vital absorption in abstract ideas rather than more concrete feelings. None of the foregoing theories of why artistic creativity is lower in the female than in the male, however, have any conclusive data in their support; and the issue remains still scientifically unresolved.

The Diagnosis of Sexual Disturbances from Artistic Productions

During the last two decades art and sex have become associated in a manner that hardly existed before World War II: namely, the psychological diagnosis of individuals with sex (or nonsexual) disturbances through the interpretation of their paintings, drawings, or sculpture. Several psychologists and psychotherapists, in-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cluding Buck (1949), Hammer (1958), Machover (1948), and Naumberg (1950), have published treatises purporting to show that emotionally disturbed, and particularly sexually disturbed, individuals will project their personality problems into their artistic productions and that if these productions are carefully analyzed these individuals may be accurately diagnosed. Thus, drawings and paintings have been employed in revealing the problems of homosexuals, sadomasochists, fetishists, exhibitionists, and other kinds of potential or actual sex offenders.

Evidence presented by the above named authors, as well as many studies by others, would tend to indicate that although artistic productions may be of some use in the clinical diagnosis of sexual and nonsexual disturbances, no foolproof method of diagnosis or prognosis yet exists in this connection and predictive results are spotty, inconsistent, and inconclusive. By far the best method of evaluating an individual's general or sexual disturbances would still seem to be a face to face clinical interview; and projective methods of personality assessment, including the use of artistic productions, are of comparative minor value and low validity (A. Ellis, 1953).

Pornography and Art

Pornography is a term that was originally used to describe prostitutes and their trade but has in recent years been employed to describe literature or art that has been created with the deliberate intention of arousing sexual desire. It is often confused with erotic realism. Thus, some of the descriptions in James Joyce's *Ulysses* or some of the vitally alive nudes of Renoir or Pascin may arouse the most lascivious thoughts in certain readers or viewers; but this does not seem to have been the conscious intent of the creators of these descriptions or portrayals. As Forel (1922) points out, Greek art was enormously concerned with the nude female figure; but most of this art was far from being pornographic or "obscene," since the intention of the artist was to idealize the female form rather than to arouse sexual thoughts and fancies.

The field of art and sex is unusually complicated because the word *sex* has multiple meanings when used in relation to art. Following the suggestions of Brian Heald (personal communication), we shall attempt to break down the term *sex* so that it becomes denotatively clearer when used in the phrase "sex and art." We may thus distinguish among three reasonably clear-cut meanings:

1. *Sex-depicting but nonerotic art.* A considerable number of works of painting and sculpture depict or involve sexual content but do so in a nondynamic or nonarousing way. The majority of the better known examples of Greek nudes, for example, are sexual, in that they depict the feminine form, but they are not erotic, in that they do not arouse the sex impulses of the average viewer. Some Greek nudes, however, such as the Venus Callipyge, are erotic or desire-arousing to members of our society because they emphasize sexual features (in this case, the buttocks) which our mores do not (yet) accept or approve. The Callipygian Venus, therefore, tends to become associated in the mind of today's Western viewer not with nudity but with undressing—which to him is ordinarily tabooed and sex-arousing.

By the same token, Rodin's famous piece of sculpture, *The Kiss,* is sex-depicting (because it deals with sex-love processes) but not particularly, to most viewers, erotic or sex-arousing (because it is relatively objectively descriptive or self-contained rather than dynamically excitative). *The Kiss* may also be deemed to be on the borderline of the two categories of sex depiction and sex arousal because (a) a sizeable minority of viewers may become sexually aroused by it and (b) an even larger number of viewers may become amatively or emotionally (rather than sexually) aroused by its glorification of young love.

2. *Sex-arousing or erotic but nonpornographic art.* A great many works of art not only depict sexual content but do so in a dynamic or arousing manner. Thus, Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'herbe* shows a nude in the company of several young Frenchmen and depicts the girl and her companions so that the average viewer's phantasies tend to move out from the time and place of the painting and to use it as a jumping-off point for his personal sex imaginings. Similarly, the depiction of pubic hair in

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

a drawing or painting tends to make this work erotic or sex-arousing because, in the same sense as Manet's picture, it draws the attention of the viewer to the "realities" of the situation. The "peep-show" aspect of semi-nudity is erotic because it expresses the dynamism of undressing rather than the *state* of nudity.

Between the objective sex-depicting and the subjective sex-arousing work of art there is often a fine line; and this line changes drastically from community to community and from time to time. Thus, the notorious copulating nudes that were fairly common on public buildings in ancient Greece and India are apt to be sexually-arousing to a much greater extent for us than for their nudity-accustomed and more objective creators. And even for us, if we continue to see many of them and to be accustomed to their nudity, they soon lose most of their erotic or sex-arousing quality. In general, however, there is a considerable body of art that is sex-depicting in an objective way and a body that is sex-arousing in a personal or subjective way. The former will normally be less likely to be banned or bowdlerized than the latter.

3. *Sex-arousing or erotic and pornographic art.* Sex-arousing art may be created by an artist who has little idea of the potential arousability of his work or who wishes to stimulate his viewers esthetically or emotionally and who employs deliberately sex-arousing themes to effect this end. In this case, we refer to his work as being "erotic realism." On the other hand, sex-arousing art may be created by an artist who is fully conscious of what he is doing and who wishes dynamically, concretely, and against some of the mores (or assumed mores) of his day to stimulate the naked sexuality of his viewers. Thus, if Rodin's male in *The Kiss* had his hand on the female's buttocks or genitals his statue would be violently erotic but not necessarily pornographic; while if the female had been having active intercourse with the male or had been another male the statue would be pornographic. Again, the statues of coital figures on Indian temples are erotic, but not pornographic; but the depiction of the same acts in terms of contemporary photography would (in 99 per cent of imaginable cases) be pornographic and not erotic.

It is necessary, again, to distinguish between the motives of the creator and those of the viewer. In the case of the Indian temple statues, for most of the tourists who see them the figures are unquestionably pornographic, but from the standpoint of their creators it would not be logical (except with careful qualification) to call them pornographic art.

If these three categories of sex-depicting, sex-arousing, and pornographic art are valid, it would appear that pornography can normally only exist where sexual mores are to a degree prohibitive and where pornographic productions can therefore be mores-destroying. The laughter at sex acts and depictions—as shown in the tendencies of many primitive peoples to enjoy lascivious stories and in those of the Chinese and Japanese to enjoy their "pillow book" art—is not necessarily pornographic; but where the mores are quite antisexual, it almost necessarily is. In a perfectly mature and permissive society pornography probably cannot exist.

Clear-cut instances of sex-depicting and sex-arousing art are known from ancient times. Primitive peoples have created much sculpture and pottery that portrays sexual and erotic themes. Cicero and Pliny mention *libidines*—highly erotic pictures and bas reliefs used to adorn Roman villas of Pompeii; and many of these have been unearthed in modern excavations of ancient cities (Northcote, 1916). Erotic as well as pornographic playing cards were fairly prevalent in fifteenth-century England and were quite in vogue in the nineteenth century (Bloch, 1934). As noted previously in this article, an entire school of enormously talented erotic (and sometimes pornographic) artists arose in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Edward Fuch's monumental three-volume work on the erotic element in caricature (1909-1912) shows that some of the most renowned artists have deliberately drawn and painted sexually arousing pictures. Bloch (1908) lists, among the great names in art who have created paintings that have frequently been called "obscene," Rembrandt, Watteau, Fragonard, Pascin, and Beardsley.

Can there be great erotic art? There almost certainly can, even though most sex-arousing representations are so focused on some of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

more limited aspects of their content that they tend to ignore some of the main elements of composition, organization, and style that are necessary for the existence of truly fine art. But some of the deliberately sex-arousing Japanese drawings—which we would undoubtedly label as being pornographic, though the Japanese themselves would often take a different position—are works of rare beauty and craftsmanship; and when viewed by a cultured person they are likely to appeal to him primarily as works of art and only secondarily as erotica.

Many nonerotic works, ironically enough, have been endowed with a highly stimulating character because of attempts to censor them. Thus, as Havelock Ellis (1936), Forel (1922), and other authorities have pointed out, putting fig leaves on paintings or statues often excites the viewers, by drawing attention to what they conceal, far more than a display of simple nudity would.

Nonetheless, censorship of art representations has been rife from at least the days of early Christianity. Christian opposition to nudity in any form made it a sin, well into the Middle Ages, to use even a naked boy as a model (Stanley, 1955). During the Renaissance, Savonarola preached mightily against nudity in art and burned many pictures portraying delights of the flesh. During the Counter-Reformation, after the Medici popes had passed on, fig leaves were supplied for nude statues in the Vatican, and Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" was made respectable by the addition of painted drawers (Markun, 1930).

In eighteenth-century America, a plaster cast of Venus de Medici could not be publicly shown in Philadelphia; and Vanderlyn's "Ariadne" was looked upon with disfavor. In nineteenth-century America, when Horatio Greenough painted a group of "Chanting Cherubs" for J. Fenimore Cooper, the naked babies aroused great moral indignation. A half-draped statue of George Washington also was looked upon unfavorably. In the 1870's and 1880's, Markun (1930, p. 560) tells us, "it was rather a daring person, even in New York high society, who ventured to hang a nude in his drawing room."

In Victorian England, Watts was called upon to explain in public why he could not have clothed his Psyche and the young girl of his famous Mammon work. William Etty and others continued to paint nudes; but Etty's scheme of decoration for a garden house in Buckingham Palace was rejected because of its "immodesty."

Censorship of so-called obscene paintings and sculptural representations continued into the early part of the twentieth century; and, of course, it still persists, except that there has been considerable liberalization in the "so-calling." In the early 1900's John S. Sumner of the Society for the Suppression of Vice prosecuted the art dealer who displayed the nude painting, "September Morn"; and the French playwright, Paul Bourget, was shocked to discover, when he was visiting America, that the people of Boston refused to permit the forms of two naked children carved by the American sculptor August Saint-Gaudens to appear on the façade of their public library. Trousers were also put on antique statues in Baltimore and Philadelphia (Dingwall, 1957).

It has only been during the last half of the twentieth century that the realistic portrayal of nudity in art has truly begun to come into its own and to remain essentially unfettered by censorship. "September Morn" is now found to be entirely innocuous by the viewing public; and many of our widely circularized periodicals have become exceptionally unsqueamish about publishing full-length, completely bare-bosomed pictures of appetizing young females (Ellis, 1960a). For the moment, at least, censorship of pictures that combine art and sexual themes is well on the decline. To use the distinctions made at the beginning of this section, we may say that both sex-depicting and sex-arousing paintings and sculpture are both widely accepted in Western society today; but the banning of outright pornography is still very much with us.

Art and Sex Education

Sex education is normally carried on in a rather hesitant fashion in Western society; and when it is given it usually consists of written words or spoken lectures. Art, when it is employed at all in this kind of sex teaching, is used for the photographlike illustrations of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sex and reproductive organs that many of the marriage manuals contain.

Other societies, however, are more imaginative and wide-ranging in their use of art for sex education. For centuries, the Japanese "pillow books," which consist of sex manuals illustrated in the most concrete ways, have been given to married couples for use on their wedding nights and subsequent occasions. In New Guinea, Mantegazza (1935) informs us, erotic scenes showing the mingling of men with gods, with the genitals of the portrayed individuals purposely enlarged, are employed to educate young people in sexual pursuits. Recumbent wooden figures four feet long which can be made to move and simulate intercourse are also employed.

In China, as in Japan, illustrated sex picture books have been used for centuries. In Italy, during the Renaissance, Augusto and Annibale Carraci made a series of so-called "figures," showing positions of intercourse, which were sometimes used for sex education. And in the twentieth century the famous gynecologist and artist, Robert L. Dickinson, published his *Human Sex Anatomy* (1933), which was probably the first modern book of repute that contained illustrations of sex positions. In the early editions of this work, these illustrations were published separately, since the publisher was not certain that they would be allowed to circulate through the mails. In later editions, the illustrations were published as an integral part of the book.

Havelock Ellis (1936) believed that art could be very useful in the sex education of children. "Children," he wrote, "cannot be too early familiarized with the representations of the nude in ancient sculpture and in the paintings of the old masters of the Italian school. . . . Early familiarity with nudity in art is at the same time an aid to the attainment of a proper attitude towards purity in nature."

In regard to the use of art in the sex education of adults, most modern writers are still too squeamish to explore the possibilities of the use of erotic art to arouse sex partners who may normally have difficulties in becoming aroused or in achieving orgasm. Some material on this subject, however, is contained in the present author's *Art and Science of Love* (1960b).

Conclusion

Human sexuality is an exceptionally important facet of life. As such, it would be most unusual if it did not play an important role in and have a significant amount of influence over artistic creativity in general and the production of painting, drawing, and sculpture in particular. Although the classical Freudian theory of art and its origins in sex sublimation seems to be both too narrow and too overgenerally applied, there does appear to be some measure of truth in it. It would be more accurate, however, to point out that sexuality seeps into art directly *and* indirectly, consciously *and* unconsciously; and there would seem to be no special or unique way in which it affects artists or the viewers of their creative productions. Also to the point: unless the word *sexual* is indiscriminately employed to cover virtually all of life's energizing forces, it would appear that artistic endeavor is significantly nonsexual as well as sexual and that any theory that would truly explain why artists create and why members of their audience find their works immensely satisfying must take into account multifactor hypotheses that cannot be condensed into any pat formula. Art is art and sex is sex; and never the twain shall completely merge.

(The author wishes to thank Tore Hakansson, Leon Kroll, and Rhoda Winter Russell for their helpful criticism on the original manuscript of this article, but to implicate them in no way for the final views expressed in the article.)

References

Beigel, Hugo, *Encyclopedia of Sex Education.* New York: John Day, 1952.

Bloch, Iwan, *The Sexual Life of Our Time.* New York and London: Rebman, 1908.

Bloch, Iwan, *Ethnological and Cultural Studies of the Sex Life in England Illustrated as Revealed in its Erotic and Obscene Literature and Art.* New York: Falstaff Press, 1934.

Brodzky, Horace, *Pascin.* London: Nicholson & Watson, 1946.

Buck, John N., *The House-Tree-Person Manual.* Brandon, Vermont: Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1949. *Psychoanalyt. Rev. 34;* 32-57, 1947.

Bychowski, Gustav, "The Rebirth of a Woman: A Psychoanalytic Study of Artistic Expression and Sublimation."

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Carpenter, Edward, *Intermediate Types*. New York: Kennerley, 1914.
Craven, Thomas, *Men of Art*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1931.
Craven, Thomas, *Modern Art*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940.
de Beauvoir, Simone, *The Second Sex*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953.
Dell, Floyd, *Love in the Machine Age*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930.
Dickinson, Robert L., *Human Sex Anatomy*. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1933.
Dickinson, Robert L., and Beam, Lura, *A Thousand Marriages*. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1932.
Dingwall, Eric J., *The American Woman*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957.
Ellis, Albert, *An Introduction to the Principles of Scientific Psychoanalysis*. Provincetown: Journal Press, 1950.
Ellis, Albert, "Review of the House-Tree-Person Test." In Buros, O.K., *The Fourth Mental Measurements Yearbook*. Highland Park, N.J.: The Gryphon Press, 1953.
Ellis, Albert, "Homosexuality and Creativity." *J. Clin. Psychol. 15;* 376-379, 1959.
Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex*. New York: Grove Press, 1960a.
Ellis, Albert, *The Art and Science of Love*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960b.
Ellis, Havelock, *Man and Woman*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.
Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. New York: Random House, 1936.
Eysenck, H. J., *Uses and Abuses of Psychology*. London: Penguin Books, 1953.
Flugel, J. C., *Man, Morals and Society*. New York: International Universities Press, 1945.
Forel, August, *The Sexual Question*. New York: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1922.
Freud, Sigmund, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. New York: Liveright, 1920.
Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV. London: Hogarth Press, 1925.
Freud, Sigmund, *Civilization and Its Discontents*. London: Hogarth Press, 1930.
Freud, Sigmund, *Basic Writings*. New York: Modern Library, 1938.
Freud, Sigmund, *Leonardo da Vinci*. New York: Random House, 1947.
Fromm, Erich, *The Sane Society*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.
Fuchs, E., *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Munchen: Albert Langen, 1909-1912.
Garland, Madge, *The Changing Face of Beauty*. New York: M. Barrows & Co., Inc., 1957.
Gide, André, *Journals*, Vol. I. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.
Goitein, Lionel, *Art and the Unconscious*. New York: United Book Guild, 1948.
Groddeck, Georg, *The Unknown Self*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1951.
Gutheil, Emil, *Handbook of Dream Analysis*. New York: Liveright, 1951.
Guyon, René, *The Ethics of Sexual Acts*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934.
Hammer, Emanuel F. (ed.), *The Clinical Application of Projective Drawings*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1958.
Jones, Ernest, *Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*, Vol. I. London: Hogarth Press, 1951.
Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.
Klein, Viola, *The Feminine Character*. New York: International Universities Press, 1949.
Kris, Ernst, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*. New York: International Universities Press, 1952.
Kronhausen, Eberhard, and Kronhausen, Phyllis, *Pornography and the Law*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1959.
Langfeld, Herbert S., "Feeling and Emotion in Art." In Reymert, M. L. (ed.), *Feelings and Emotions*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950.
Lee, Harry B., "A Theory Concerning Free Creation in the Inventive Arts." *Psychiatry 3;* 229-294, 1940.
Lee, Harry B., "On the Aesthetic States of Mind." *Psychiatry 10;* 281-304, 1947.
Lee, Harry B., Review of Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art. Psychoanalyt. Quart. 22;* 280-284, 1953.
Lewandowski, Herbert, *Ferne Länder-fremde Sitten*. Stuttgart: E. Gunther Verlag, 1958.
Ludovici, Anthony M., *Man: an Indictment*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932.
Machover, Karen, *Personality Projection in the Drawing of the Human Figure*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1948.
Mantegazza, Paolo, *Sexual Relations of Mankind*. New York: Eugenics Pub. Co., 1935.
Marcuse, Herbert, *Eros and Civilization*. Boston: Beacon Press, Inc., 1955.
Markun, Leo, *Mrs. Grundy*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930.
Mencken, H. L., *Prejudices: First Series*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1919.
Natkin, Marcel, *Photography of the Nude*. London: Fountain Press, 1937.
Naumberg, Margaret, *Schizophrenic Art: Its Meaning in Psychotherapy*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1950.
Neumann, Erich, *Art and the Creative Unconscious*. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1959.
Newton, Eric, *The Meaning of Beauty*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950.
Northcote, M. A., *Christianity and Sex Problems*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1916.
Phillips, William (ed.), *Art and Psychoanalysis*. New York: Criterion Books, Inc., 1957.
Rank, Otto, *Art and the Artist*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1932.
Rank, Otto, *Will Therapy and Truth and Reality*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Read, Herbert, *Education Through Art.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.
Reik, Theodor, *Listening With the Third Ear.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1945.
Sachs, H., *The Creative Unconscious.* Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Press, 1942.
Schneider, Daniel E., *Psychoanalysis and the Artist.* New York: International Universities Press, 1954.
Schopenhauer, Arthur, Essays. New York: Willey Book Co., 1898.
Sharpe, Ella F., *Collected Papers on Psychoanalysis.* London: Hogarth Press, 1950.
Skinner, B. F., *Science and Human Behavior.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953.
Sorokin, Pitirim, *The American Sex Revolution.* Boston: Porter Sargent, Pub., 1956.
Sparrow, W. S. (ed.), *Women Painters of the World.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905.
Stanley, Louis, *The Beauty of Woman.* London: W. H. Allen, 1955.
Symonds, J. A., *A Problem in Greek Ethics.* London: Privately printed, 1883.
Tarachow, Sidney, "Remarks on the Comic Process and Beauty." *Psychoanalyt. Quart. 18;* 215-226, 1949.
Unwin, J. D., *Sex and Culture.* London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
Wall, O. A., *Sex and Sex Worship.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1932.
Weininger, Otto, *Sex and Character* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906.
Weiss, Joseph, "A Psychological Theory of Formal Beauty." *Psychoanalyt. Quart. 16;* 391-400, 1947.
Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

ALBERT ELLIS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Artificial Insemination

ARTIFICIAL insemination (A.I.) is a method of treating infertility and may be regarded as an alternative to adoption. More than ninety years ago Marion Sims described A.I. as follows: "For conception, semen with living spermatozoa should be deposited in the vagina at the proper time."

A.I. is a method of achieving conception by mechanical means instead of by sexual intercourse. It is sometimes referred to as artificial fertilization; but since the procedure does not produce fertility, the term is misleading. The popular and lay press reference to the products of A.I. as "test tube babies," however striking the term, is equally misleading; in none of the many variations of the A.I. technique does the seminal fluid ever get into a test tube, and A.I. babies develop and grow in the mother's uterus in the same manner as all other babies.

We distinguish between A.I. with husband's sperm (A.I.H.) or homologous insemination, and A.I. with donor's sperm (A.I.D.) or heterologous insemination.

History

There is indication that cross-pollination of plants was known to the ancient Assyrians and Cretans. The first mention of artificial insemination is found in the Babylonian Talmud (sixth century A.D.). A Talmudic student, so the story runs, submits to his rabbi-teacher the hypothetical case of a woman who became pregnant after bathing in water that, unknown to her, had contained seminal fluid. The rabbi ruled that the woman was innocent; no intercourse had taken place, and insemination was to be considered accidental. Reference to A.I.D. in animals is found in an Arabic tale dating back to 1322, which describes how hostile Arabic tribes secretly inseminated their enemies' stock of thoroughbred mares with sperm from inferior stallions.

Around 1549, Bartolomeo Eustachio (1524-1574), consulted by a physician's wife because of infertility, gave this advice: after intercourse, the husband should insert his finger into the vagina and move the semen toward the uterus. This was done, and the woman conceived.

The first scientific paper on artificial insemination in dogs was published in 1780 by Lazzaro Spallanzani, a professor at the University of Pavia. He was quite aware that the method could be used for humans, but he limited his experiments to animals because of religious inhibitions.

Several years later, the British anatomist and surgeon John Hunter was consulted by a man suffering from hypospadias: he was unable to ejaculate semen into his wife's vagina. After Hunter had injected the husband's sperm into the posterior part of the vagina with a syringe, the woman conceived.

In 1866, Marion Sims did a series of fifty-five intra-uterine inseminations with husbands' sperm. In his only successful case, the woman conceived after the tenth A.I.H. but aborted in the fourth month. Sims attributed 50 per cent of his failures to faulty technique; he estimated his rate of success as about 1:27.

In 1907 the Russian physiologist Iwanoff published a book on A.I. in animals; ever since, the method has been widely used for breeding horses, cattle, and other species. Using A.I., one thoroughbred can sire many mares, and the danger of injury during the mating act is

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

avoided. The semen can be refrigerated and shipped.

Abroad, A.I.H. became increasingly popular after Döderlein (1912) and Fraenkel (1914) recommended the method. Fraenkel was probably the first to advocate systematic timing to make A.I. coincide with ovulation.

In the United States, Robert L. Dickinson practiced A.I.D. from 1890. Some 10,000 A.I. pregnancies (two-thirds of them A.I.H.) were surveyed in 1941; this figure rose to an estimated 20,000 in 1950, 50,000 in 1955, and 100,000 in 1958. The total for New York City alone is believed to be above 10,000 at present.

Technique

A.I. is a simple procedure, usually done in the doctor's office. No strict aseptic precautions are necessary, except for intra-uterine insemination.

The patient is placed on a gynecological examining table; the cervical os is exposed by insertion of a unlubricated bivalve speculum into the vagina. The specimen (husband's or donor's) is then injected by means of a dry glass syringe. The semen is spread around the uterine cervix (*paracervical* insemination); sometimes a few additional drops of sperm are injected into the lower end of the cervical canal (*endocervical* insemination); in an infrequently used technique a curved cannula is attached to the syringe (*intra-uterine* insemination). For the record, we also mention *intratubal* insemination: in this variant, which we condemn as dangerous, intra-uterine insemination is followed by tubal insufflation.

After insemination the patient is left on the tilted table, shoulders lowered and pelvis elevated, for 20 to 30 minutes, sometimes up to one hour.

In a variation of the paracervical method a contraceptive device (diaphragm or plastic cervical cap) is used to establish prolonged and intimate contact between cervix and sperm. With this method the patient can leave the examining table immediately after insemination. In the cervical cap technique, the cap is filled with sperm and then inserted in the usual manner. There also exists a plastic cervical cap with attached plastic tubing; once the cap is *in situ*, sperm can be injected via the tubing into the paracervical region from outside the vagina. With this tubing, the husband may himself perform A.I. Experience with this new method is still limited; it seems to facilitate multiple insemination without necessitating frequent visits to the doctor's office.

Timing

The life span of human spermatozoa in the female reproductive organs is not accurately known; it is short, presumably between 14 and 36 hours. Likewise, the life span of the human egg is supposed to be very short, presumably between 2 and 24 hours. Therefore, successful A.I. is largely dependent on good timing: the closer it coincides with ovulation, the better the chances of success.

As yet, unfortunately, we have no reliable method to determine the exact period of ovulation. There are subjective signs, such as *Mittelschmerz* (low abdominal pain at the right or left side) and a special type of discharge, both occurring at the time of ovulation, but these signs are noticed only by a certain percentage of women. A fair indication can be obtained by keeping a temperature chart; around ovulation time the temperature will dip, followed by a slight rise. A number of laboratory tests have been designed to pinpoint the date of ovulation, among them Farris' rat test, Papanicolaou's vaginal smear, the crystallization test, and the *Spinnbarkeit* phenomenon of the cervical mucus—all too complicated or too unreliable for practical use. A new simple test, recently developed by Birnberg and associates seems promising. It indicates the time of ovulation by a change of color of a strip of enzyme paper placed in the cervical canal. Artificial inseminations, timed according to this test, were in over 70 per cent of the cases followed by pregnancies after a single insemination.

At present, most physicians still prefer to do not one but a series of inseminations per cycle.

Indications for A.I.H.

Indications for A.I.H. are:

1. Physical conditions prohibiting vaginal intercourse, such as paraplegia or hypospadias

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of the husband. We know of some isolated cases of fertile males who, instead of ejaculating seminal fluid through the penis, had a reflux of sperm into the bladder. A.I.H. with sperm recovered from the husband's urine was successful. We also have a single case report on successful A.I.H. in azoospermia caused by postgonorrhoic obliteration of the spermatic ducts; in that case an emulsion of tissue excised from the husband's testicle was used for insemination.

Another indication for A.I.H., this one controversial, is hostility of the cervical mucus to sperm; to overcome this reaction, sperm is injected into the uterine cavity—a dangerous procedure and therefore not recommendable.

2. Psychological conditions, such as impotence, require psychotherapy. If the condition is refractory to such treatment, marital stability is endangered and A.I.H. is therefore contraindicated.

Indications for A.I.D.

Male sterility due to complete absence of live spermatozoa is an absolute indication, clinical sterility (poor sperm count, for instance) a relative indication for A.I.D.

Genetic reasons, such as serious hereditary disease in the husband's family or past history of an erythroblastic baby, may make A.I.D. advisable. The latter condition is due to Rh incompatibility in the parents (Rh negative-sensitized mother and Rh positive father), and a donor with Rh negative blood must be used.

Physician's Responsibility

Although the physical indications for A.I.D. are relatively easy to define, the psychological and sociological factors to be considered require a great deal of thorough probing. The indications for A.I.D. cannot be evaluated from the medical point of view alone. The physician, who has to make the decision, must have intuition and tact, psychological insight, and experience in marriage counseling. He must make sure that the husband and wife applying for A.I.D. are both mature, well-balanced persons; that they have a stable marriage; and that the desire for a child is equally strong in both partners. If one partner seems hesitant, the physician should rule against A.I.D.

It is widely recognized nowadays that it is best to leave the handling of adoptions to an agency, even though the physician might seem the logical person to be entrusted with such a task. A.I.D. is an even more involved procedure and necessitates a more difficult adjustment for husband and wife. A.I.D. is often called "semi-adoption," because only one marital partner, the husband, is "adopting" the child conceived by A.I.D. Incidentally, indications for A.I.D. and adoption are similar in many respects. However, there is no equivalent to the adoption agency, and it is the physician who by necessity must make all the important decisions connected with A.I.D. Most physicians who have accepted the method know the extent of their responsibilities; the ethical standards by which they should be guided are probably best expressed in the writings of Guttmacher (1958) and Kleegman (1954).

Selection of the Donor

Adding to the physician's responsibilities is the selection of the donor. A donor must be free of venereal disease, his hereditary background must be free of lethal genes, he should be of the same race and religion as the prospective parents, and his physical characteristics should resemble as nearly as possible the husband's. He must have a high degree of fertility, preferably be a father himself. If the prospective mother is Rh negative, the donor must also be Rh negative. Complete anonymity between donor and prospective parents is imperative. An amendment to the Sanitary Code of the City of New York, in 1947, imposed certain restrictions on the use of donors. Donors are most frequently selected among medical students, interns, or residents of hospitals.

The current price for semen varies between $5.00 and $20.00. The specimen should be produced one hour or two prior to insemination; for this reason one specimen can usually not be used for more than one woman.

The practice of mixing donor and husband sperm seems to make little sense; legally, it could not be used to disprove adultery; psy-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

chologically, more will be achieved by suggesting sexual intercourse to the marital partners on the day of insemination.

Results

The rate of success in artificial insemination is difficult to appraise statistically. Although the procedure has been performed in thousands of instances, few physicians have personal experience exceeding 100 individual cases, and even fewer have published their case material. Some of the publications cannot be properly evaluated, because they do not differentiate between A.I.H. and A.I.D. Such specification is important because the rate of success is incomparably lower with A.I.H. Physicians use widely varying techniques in performing A.I. and have different methods of interpreting results. Obviously, a series in which women were inseminated three to five times per cycle and throughout an entire year cannot be compared with a series in which the patients were inseminated once per cycle and for three months only.

It can be said with certainty that A.I.H. has a very low rate of success. In the largest A.I.H. series published, only 7 out of 132 women (5.3 per cent) conceived, whereas A.I.D. succeeds in 80 per cent. Kleegman reports that 33 per cent of her cases conceived after one insemination, and that 78 per cent were inseminated during three and 92 per cent during six cycles.

Research Projects

Experience with the following techniques is still limited:

Frozen Semen

Use of frozen semen in animal husbandry is common practice and produces excellent results. Human insemination with frozen specimen is still in the experimental stage. A few experiments have produced normal children, but fear of fetal abnormalities or genetic changes is still prevalent among physicians. A.I. with frozen semen would present a number of advantages: it would reduce waste of seminal fluid to a minimum; it would reduce the cost and increase the availability of sperm; and it might open new fields for the procreation of outstanding men whose semen may be preserved for equally outstanding women. Geneticists and philosophers are pondering these possibilities.

Mixture of Sperm with Penicillin

This technique is supposed to lengthen the span of survival of seminal fluid in the cervical mucus, and also to remove the danger of infection. The latter claim seems unsustainable as penicillin is not effective against all types of infection. Moreover, an increasing number of people have become allergic to penicillin, making its addition potentially dangerous.

Mixture of Husband's Sperm with Donor's Seminal Plasma

When the husband's sperm count is low or the motility of his sperm poor, the sperm is mixed with a donor's seminal fluid from which the spermatozoa have been removed. In this way it is attempted to carry out A.I.H. Pregnancies are on record with this method; but as donor spermatozoa might easily slip into the mixture, it might be difficult to prove that conception really was achieved with the husband's sperm.

Sex Regulation Through A.I.

It has been claimed that A.I., with either husband's or donor's sperm, produces more male than female babies. Statistical data are as yet too meager to support this theory.

A.I. was used successfully for sex regulation in rabbits; it was achieved by electrophoretic separation of rabbit sperm and consequent insemination. Human semen can also be separated electrophoretically, but the potential danger of damage to the sperm and resulting genetic changes makes the method unpracticable.

Medical and Religious Attitudes

Even though the practice of A.I. is spreading, general acceptance by the medical profession is still lacking. In 1945 the French Société de Gynécologie et d'Obstétrique almost

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

unanimously condemned A.I. as an adventure full of medical, moral, and legal dangers. In the same year, Titus, an outstanding American obstetrician, condemned it as distasteful and unwise. A German textbook on forensic medicine, published in 1957, declared that inability of the husband to perform intercourse made A.I.H. permissible, while it condemned A.I.D. outright.

In order to protect themselves as well as their patients, many physicians obtain written consent from husband and wife before starting A.I. The wife may be sued for adultery after insemination with donor's sperm and, theoretically, even the doctor who performed A.I.D. is subject to prosecution.

Some physicians refuse to deliver their patients after they have performed A.I.D. successfully; knowing that the patient's husband is not the progenitor of the baby, they are afraid that their signature on the birth certificate may bring on legal complications. However, this signature merely certifies the date and hour of birth and that the physician was in attendance.

In 1958, the American Medical Association issued the following statement:

> When the physician uses semen from a donor other than the husband, there is a possibility that legal complications may arise. Certainly the physician assumes a certain degree of responsibility as to the suitability of the donor.

More and more physicians nowadays have the confidence to assume such responsibility.

A.I.D. is an effective cure for certain types of sterility; nevertheless, as far as we know, the method is not being used by any of the sterility clinics. In 1947, Guttmacher, Haman, and MacLeod sent a questionnaire to the members of the American Society for the Study of Sterility. Of the 71 members who replied, 7 had an ambivalent attitude, 12 were against, and 52 in favor of A.I.D. On June 4, 1955, the Society passed the following resolution:

> If it is in harmony with the beliefs of the couple and the doctor, donor artificial insemination is a completely ethical, moral and desirable form of medical therapy. Conditions under which donor artificial insemination is acceptable include: 1) Urgent desire of the couple to have such therapy applied to the solution of their infertility problem. 2) Careful selection by the physician of a biologically and genetically satisfactory donor. 3) The opinion of the physician after thorough study that the couple will make desirable parents.

When Pope Pius XII addressed physicians at the Second World Congress on Fertility and Sterility in 1956, he made clear that the Catholic Church objects to both A.I.H. and A.I.D. Collection of sperm specimen, be it by masturbation, withdrawal, or in a condom, is immoral according to Catholic law. The only method that gained the official epithet of "probably licit," spermatozoa collected by use of a perforated condom during marital intercourse, is equally condemned by most Catholic moralists. The only Church-approved technique is the insertion of a cervical "spoon" after intercourse, to help passage of the sperm into the cervix. This method, called "assisted insemination," is reminiscent of Eustachio's device and is not very effective.

Only the Catholic Church rejects both A.I.H. and A.I.D. The latter is also condemned by other denominations, such as the Swedish Church and the Church of England (the latter's attitude was reaffirmed at the 1958 Lambeth Conference). Most Protestant Churches of America have not taken an official stand on the subject, leaving the decision up to the individual. No official rabbinical announcement on A.I. has come forth; reporting on 270 cases of A.I.D. in Israel, Halbrecht says that even religious patients accepted the procedure readily.

References

American Medical Association, "Statement on Artificial Insemination." *J.A.M.A. 166;* 646-647, 1958.

Birnberg, Charles H., Kurzrock, Raphael, and Laufer, Anne, "Simple Test for Determining Ovulation Time." *J.A.M.A. 166;* 1174-1176, 1958.

Döderlein, A., "Ueber kuenstliche Befruchtung." *München. med. Wchnschr. 59;* 1081-1084, 1912.

Fraenkel, Ludwig, "Normale und pathologische Sexualphysiologie des Weibes." In W. Liepmann, *Kurzgefasstes Handbuch der gesamten Frauenheilkunde.* Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1914.

Guttmacher, Alan F., "Artificial Insemination." In Joe V. Meigs and Somers H. Sturgis, *Progress in Gynecology,* Vol. II. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1950.

Guttmacher, Alan F., "Test-tube Paternity." *The Nation* 269-272, 1958.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Halbrecht, I., "Artificial Insemination." *Proc. First World Congr. Fertil. & Steril.* New York, 1953.

Kleegman, Sophia J., "Diagnosis and Treatment of Infertility in Women." *M. Clin. North America 35;* 817-846, 1951.

Kleegman, Sophia J., "Therapeutic Donor Insemination." *Fertil. & Steril. 5;* 7-30, 1954.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "Indications for Child Adoption." *Proc. First World Congr. Fertil. & Steril.* New York, 1953.

Pommerenke, W. T., "Artificial Insemination: Genetic and Legal Implications." *Obst. & Gynec. 9;* 189-197, 1957.

Pope Pius XII, "Address to Second World Congress on Fertility and Sterility." *Internat. J. Fertil. 2;* 1-10, 1957.

Portnoy, Louis, and Saltman, Jules, *Fertility in Marriage.* New York: Signet Books, New American Library, 1951.

Seymour, Frances I., and Koerner, Alfred, "Artificial Insemination: Present Status in the United States as Shown by a Recent Survey." *J.A.M.A. 116;* 2747-2749, 1941.

Sims, Marion J., *Clinical Notes on Uterine Surgery.* New York: William Wood & Co., 1866.

Stone, Hannah M., and Stone, Abraham, *A Marriage Manual: A Practical Guide Book to Sex and Marriage.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1952.

Warner, Marie Pichel, "Artificial Donor Inseminations, an Analysis of 100 Cases." *Human Fertil. 13;* 37-40, 1948.

HANS LEHFELDT

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Attitudes toward Sex, Modern

SEXUAL attitudes, like other attitudes, generally derive from unspoken and often unconscious premises. Creative thought, which is always articulate and precise, results from frustration: a man sees that a problem must be solved and he creates new thoughts in solving it. But the overwhelming preponderance of human "thought" is not of this purposive, articulate, and creative kind. Most of what we consider our mental activity consists of subarticulate, half-conscious semantic reflexes—reactions to key words as the situation invokes these words in our minds.

The Judeo-Christian Sexual Dogma

For example, our mental reaction to sex—our so-called "philosophy" of sex—is, in most cases, a set of neuropsychological reactions to a few very simple "poetic metaphors." The particular metaphor that has had the strongest influence on Occidental civilization and that underlies traditional Judeo-Christian sexual dogma is that sex is "dirty." Sexuality is a kind of besmirching of oneself. Sexual activity is filthy. Sexual functions are like excremental functions—foul, disgusting, embarrassing, not "nice," etc.

We speak of this as a *simple poetic metaphor* because it can be analyzed as a literary critic analyzes a line of verse. A metaphor is the implicit identification of two different factors. Simile says, "The ship is like a plow." Metaphor, less obvious and therefore more effective, insinuates the identification without stating it openly: "The ship *plows* the waves." When an identification is not put forth as an explicit proposition we are less likely to challenge it. When we are told that the ship is like a plow, we are apt to ask, "When? how? in what way?" When we are told that the ship plows the waves, we agree at once that, in some respects, the ship *is* like a plow. This identification is all the more effective because we are not aware that we are making it.

Judeo-Christian theology has consistently spoken and written of sex in metaphorical terms as a species of dirtiness. The identification of sexuality and dirtiness has been "built into" the psychological and neurological reactions of countless millions of people subliminally—without their being completely aware of the "poetic" or pre-logical nature of the identification.

When Romantic poets associate sexuality with budding flowers, growing grass, sprouting shrubs, and so on, they are creating an identification that points toward the opposite kind of reaction. Here we get the equation "sexuality equals springtime," in contrast to the Judeo-Christian "sexuality equals dirtiness." Both equations are effective psychologically because they are poetic and imperfectly articulated.

Modern attitudes toward sex are far from consistent or unanimous. Indeed, we can say of twentieth-century sexual philosophy what historian Crane Brinton (1959) said of twentieth-century philosophy in general, that the chief characteristic of modern thought is "multanimity," a word coined to signify the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

opposite of unanimity. However, behind the sharply contrasting attitudes of modern sexual philosophers one common tendency can be observed—the tendency to reject the Judeo-Christian identification of sexuality and dirtiness.

This metaphorical identification deserves to be more closely scrutinized before attempting to understand the various forms of rebellion against it. According to *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (Unabridged)*, *dirt* signifies 1. "Any foul or filthy substance; excrement; earth; mud; mire; dust; whatever, adhering to anything, renders it foul or unclean. 2. Meanness, sordidness. 3. In placer mining, earth, sand, and gravel, before the gold has been washed out . . . *v.t.*, To make foul or filthy; to soil; to bedaub; to pollute; to defile." According to a popular epigram, "Dirt is matter in the wrong place." Dirt is that which must be washed off an object before it is sanitary or edible. Dirt is the part of the ore that the placer miner throws away. Dirt is that which, adhering to an object, makes the object less useful or desirable. Any crime or antisocial behavior sounds worse when the word "dirty" is placed in front of it: a "dirty thief," a "dirty murderer," even a "dirty liar" are worse than an ordinary thief, murderer, and liar.

Traditionally connected with the concept of "dirtiness" has been the concept of "obscenity." Etymologically, this word has been traced back to "that which is not represented on the stage," that which is kept *off scene* (Watts, 1958). The traditional view, therefore, makes sex not only repugnant but also mysterious, arcane, *hidden*. Judeo-Christian morality, in short, regards sex much as a civilized man regards drug addiction. It is something to be avoided or, if it cannot be avoided, it must be engaged in furtively. As Alan Watts (1958) remarked, the traditional Occidental attitude toward sex is not so much antagonistic as "squeamish." Squeamishness is characterized not by the open antagonism of a logical position but by the ill-defined negative feelings that result from internalizing an unpleasant metaphor.

Modern attitudes toward sex, then, are "multanimous" rather than unanimous because they are in opposition to a fundamentally cloudy alternative. The orthodox Christian and the orthodox Jew have "squeamish" feelings about sexual functions, but not even their best theologians—not even Saint Paul—have demonstrated *logically* that "sex is dirty." They have demonstrated all sorts of negative things about sex (most of which we now know to be inaccurate) but they have always communicated the concept that "sex is dirty" subliminally rather than logically. The modernist has difficulty, therefore, defining precisely what he is against, and the leading proponents of modern attitudes toward sex differ sharply among themselves according to how clearly they understand that what they are rebelling against is semantic-poetic feelings rather than logical ideas.

Modern and Traditional Sexual Thought

Supporters of traditional attitudes toward sex tend to resent and denigrate all sexual activity not directly connected with conception. The degree of resentment and denigration has varied with epoch and place, but, in general, fornication has been considered bad, masturbation worse, and homosexuality still worse.

Although modern thinkers tend toward multanimity rather than unanimity, in general their tolerance for nonreproductive sexual activities is inversely proportional to the degree of Judeo-Christian contempt for these activities. In other words, fornication has largely come out from under the cloud; masturbation (within sharply defined limits) is no longer considered so contemptible; and homosexuality is still largely under the cloud, as is animal intercourse.

Fornication has almost always found easier forgiveness than other so-called sexual "sins"—and this fact has been little understood or commented upon. Once we are aware of it, however, the reason is not hard to find. Fornication is the sexual "offense" most often performed by ordinary adults, and it does not differ in physical details from the reproductive marital intercourse grudgingly permitted by the Judeo-Christian code. Indeed, the distinction between the love-making of an unmarried couple and the love-making of a married couple is purely metaphysical and social-theological—i.e., purely

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

verbal—and cannot be demonstrated to the senses. Given this physical factor, and the ubiquity of the act, defenses of fornication had naturally been made long before "modernism" arose. Troubadour poetry, the songs of the *minnesingers*, the cult of Romantic Love, and, indeed, most of the lyrical art of Judeo-Christian culture have long carried this argumentative burden. The proposition that "Fornication is not a 'sin' if it is accompanied by Love" has been a strong minority conviction for 700 years at least, in spite of the clergy.

Adultery, like fornication, has been accepted in song and poetry for centuries; but, unlike fornication, it collides sharply with property instincts, so that it has not had quite the respectability in literature that fornication has had.

Masturbation is not as commonly practiced among adults as it is among adolescents. Also, it obviously differs physically from the "acceptable" marital intercourse allowed by the clergy. For these reasons it has not inspired poems, operas, and songs in its defense, and has had to wait for the rationalistic twentieth century to bring it out from under a cloud.

Homosexuality differs from marital intercourse in obvious physical details, but since it has been practiced most often among artistic and cultured circles it has been defended off and on through the centuries. However, it has never been able to win wide popular acceptance.

Intercourse with animals, which is practiced almost exclusively in rural communities, has never been defended until Dr. Kinsey (1948) pointed out that it is not harmful or likely to become compulsive.

The Evolution of Modern Thought

Thus, we can see that when modern thinkers began to question the traditional Judeo-Christian sexual code they had behind them a kind of minority tradition. It is no accident, then, that in our time, the orthodox opposition to fornication has been most widely challenged, whereas the orthodox opposition to intercourse with animals has been less widely challenged. "Dirtiness" can be removed from a sexual act only gradually, because the way in which the association with dirtiness was first made was not a logical one. A modern rationalist can more successfully defend the goodness, harmlessness, or rightness of a kind of sexual behavior if this kind of behavior has been defended earlier by poets, dramatists, and musicians.

The rebellion against the doctrine that "sex is dirty" has grown slowly. Havelock Ellis and Richard Krafft-Ebing introduced scientific objectivity into the study of human sexual behavior, but their influence was, initially, confined largely to doctors of medicine and psychiatry. It was Sigmund Freud who struck the first real blow for modernism, and he seems to have done it somewhat accidentally. Freud's published conclusion (1900) that many—perhaps all—neurotic symptoms result from the sexual upbringing characteristic of Judeo-Christian culture electrified the world. It was not long before people were asking if we had to continue to pay the price in neuroses for the blessings of this civilization. Freud himself (1922) thought that we did have to pay that price, but could alleviate the situation slightly. Others were more radical. Wilhelm Reich (1951) called for a "sexual revolution" that would free man from the age-old taboos and usher in an age of sexual rationality.

Meanwhile, from another direction, aid and comfort arrived for the more radical. Studies of anthropology and comparative religion had shed a great deal of light on how the Judeo-Christian taboos had arisen out of savage ignorance. Sir James Frazer (1892-1914) popularized this subject in a twelve-volume work that made mythology and primitive religion as well known as Darwin had made human evolution. Benedict (1946), Mead (1948), and others helped to make these discoveries known to ever-wider audiences. By the mid-twentieth century, it was generally known that every society has taboos that seem utterly irrational to an outsider, and that the Judeo-Christian taboos on sexuality can be accounted for by the same prelogical thought processes that gave birth, for example, to the Orphic taboo on eating beans. Shame or fear over the act of masturbating seems, in the light of such anthropological knowledge, as irrational as shame or fear over eating beans.

At the same time, a change began to take place in literature, which had been extremely puritanical and evasive during the nineteenth century. One of the causes of the revival of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sexual realism in literature was, almost certainly, the example of the psychoanalysts, anthropologists, and other scientific writers. A scientific work cannot be as evasive as the puritan temperament would wish it to be. Freud and Frazer, and their followers, had to discuss sexual matters in specific detail. Literary men, struggling to reveal the truths of human life in terms of their imaginative dramas, could not read such scientific texts without wishing they themselves had the same freedom. Sexual frankness was also necessary to the crusading medical men who led the fight against venereal disease and to the writers who defended planned parenthood. All of this led writers such as D. H. Lawrence, James Joyce, and Ernest Hemingway to present sexual material in their novels with the same frankness that could be found in a scientific treatise. Thus there developed an atmosphere in which sexual matters could be discussed. Sex, no longer completely "off scene," was no longer completely "obscene," either.

In spite of all this, the pressure of orthodoxy is still great. Modern sexual attitudes, in practice, are an uneasy blend of reason and unreason, science and superstition, knowledge and mythology. According to Albert Ellis (1958), the Child Study Association of America, consisting largely of trained psychiatric social workers, wrote in a recent publication that, when parents discover that a child is masturbating, they should "ally themselves with the child's own conscience in this matter and while assuring him that the practice will not harm him, also help him to find ways to grow out of it." On the surface an enlightened, modern viewpoint, this statement contains within itself all the contradictions of our multanimous culture.

To "help" a child "to find ways to grow out of" masturbation sounds better than to frighten him half to death with threats of blindness, as Taylor (1955) tells us was done in the Victorian Age. But the assumption that the child *must* be "helped to grow out of it," as if it were a harmful thing, reveals a partial emotional hangover of Victorian standards since, as Kinsey (1948), Ellis (1958), and others have pointed out, masturbation is not harmful.

However, D. H. Lawrence (1930) writes a poetic and impassioned defense of the right of unmarried adults to fornicate; in the midst of it he has a diatribe, several pages long, on the evils of masturbation. In the course of this diatribe, Lawrence refers to masturbation as "self-abuse" and even repeats the old, exploded myth that once the habit is formed masturbation "goes on and on, on into old age, in spite of marriage or love affairs or anything else."

Similarly, Theodoor Van de Velde, one of the most liberal and enlightened authors in the "marriage-manual" field, writes (1947) an eloquent, even lyrical, defense of the "genital kiss," as he calls it. But he is careful to add that "carried to orgasm," this becomes a "perversion." On the other hand, Hannah and Abraham Stone (1952) advise that there is "nothing perverse or degrading . . . in any sex practice which is undertaken for the purpose of promoting a more harmonious sexual adjustment between a husband and wife in marriage," and seem to be recommending cunnilinctus and/or fellatio to the point of orgasm. (Why it should be stopped before orgasm Van de Velde does not make clear.) Albert Ellis (1954) is not afraid to recommend cunnilinctus and/or fellation to climax, but he mentions the penalties that can (theoretically) be invoked in various American states, even when these acts are performed between two fully consenting and legally married adults. Connecticut threatens 30 years for mouth-genital contacts; Georgia goes further and threatens life imprisonment at hard labor; Ohio has a 1-to-20-year term.

The same contradictions appear wherever we look. D. H. Lawrence (1930) urged that, for sex to fully escape from the cloud of "dirtiness," we should be able to "give it its own phallic language, and use the obscene words" in love-making. Thirty years later, however, Lipton (1959) writes that the use of these words during love-making is considered "degenerate" and "middle class" by the young Bohemians of today. The same young Bohemians often use obscene words for shock effect in their poetry.

Idealism and Realism in Sexual Thinking

The wide conflicts of opinion among modernists can, of course, be traced to one or two basic conflicts in primary assumptions. In other words, it is possible to see most of the conflicts we have been discussing as manifestations of a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

few simple philosophical predispositions. In general, modern sexual thinkers can be divided into the (more or less) idealistic and the (more or less) realistic. The idealists, such as D. H. Lawrence and Wilhelm Reich, tend to be preoccupied with the life-importance of "the perfect sex-love relationship," and their thinking largely revolves around making such relationships possible for greater numbers of people. The realists, such as Alfred Kinsey and Albert Ellis, tend to accept mankind unconditionally as it is, and their thinking is concerned with helping the individual to accept his own sexual pattern regardless of how "imperfect" it may be.

These remarks, of course, are oversimplified. Nonetheless, there is considerable truth in them. Consider, for example, the matter of premature ejaculation. This very widespread problem makes it extremely difficult for many couples to achieve the simultaneous climax about which the Stones (1952) and other popular authors of marriage manuals write so glowingly. To a Reichian, and to most orthodox Freudians, it is a grave psychological illness of the male and should be cured whenever possible. This is, fundamentally, an idealistic position. Dr. Kinsey, representing realism, counsels that men and women accept themselves as they are; he says (1948) that it is "unrealistic" for wives to expect their husbands always to restrain themselves long enough to achieve simultaneous climax. He urges wives to be more tolerant and husbands to feel less guilty.

The same distinction between idealists and realists can be seen when we examine the matter of frigidity in women. Dr. Edmund Bergler, representing orthodox Freudian idealism, writes (1951): "Under frigidity we understand the incapacity of woman to have a *vaginal orgasm during intercourse.* It is of no matter whether the woman is aroused during coitus or remains cold, whether excitement is weak or strong, whether it breaks off at the beginning or end, slowly or suddenly, whether it is dissipated in preliminary acts, or has been lacking from the beginning. The *sole criterion* of frigidity is absence of vaginal orgasm" (author's italics). On the other hand, Albert Ellis says equally forcefully (1954): "After carefully reviewing the recent literature on this subject and interviewing scores of sexually normal and disturbed women, I was forced to conclude that the so-called vaginal orgasm is largely a myth."

Like many disputes that seem to be over matters of fact, this is at least partially a matter of values. Dr. Bergler thinks that any woman who cannot achieve "vaginal orgasm," and is, therefore, "frigid," needs psychotherapy in order to become normal. Dr. Ellis thinks that if a woman is achieving any kind of orgasmic satisfaction in sex, she is achieving what is natural for her. In other words, Dr. Bergler represents the idealistic longing for the "perfect love-sex relationship" and Dr. Ellis represents the realistic acceptance of whatever love-sex relationship is possible for the specific individual.

The same conflict underlies the majority of discussions about homosexuality. Dr. Lindner (1956) and others who speak of homosexuality as a "way of life" seem to be concerned with helping the individual homosexual to find such happiness as is open to him or her; Dr. Bergler (1959) and others who speak of homosexuality as a "disease" are, of course, interested in curing it—again, in the interest of "the perfect love-sex relationship." Dr. Ellis (1960) takes an in-between, liberal-realist position and holds that occasional homosexual activity may be normal but that exclusive or obsessive-compulsive homosexuality is the result of an emotional disturbance and can be treated and cured by psychotherapy.

It begins to be obvious that all those we have been calling the idealists are following in the tradition of the cult of Romantic Love introduced to the Western world by the medieval troubadours, whereas those we have been calling realists are representatives of the ethical relativism that has been introduced by cultural anthropology. Perhaps the terms "realist" and "idealist" are too simplified, and we certainly do not intend to have them taken as judgmental; they are meant to serve as brief descriptive labels, and no more. But there is probably food for thought in the fact that the idealists are in some respects closer in spirit to earlier rebels against Judeo-Christian orthodoxy than are the realists. Taylor (1955) has pointed out that most historic rebellions against Judeo-Christian sexual teaching have deliberately taken inspiration from the early Mediterranean fertility cults. The pagan conception of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the "holiness" of certain types of sexuality has repeatedly been resurrected as an alternative to Judeo-Christian asceticism. We should not be surprised to see a disguised form of this old pagan ideology appearing as one branch of the modern sexual revolution.

Indeed, among certain of the extreme Bohemians of the so-called "Beat Generation," sexuality has become associated with religious ideas from outside Judeo-Christian culture. Kerouac (1958) describes Tibetan *yabyum* (ritualized coitus) among the California "Beat" mystics. Mailer (1959) has described the entire "Beat" movement as a search for "perfect orgasm," with decidedly religious (non-Judeo-Christian) overtones.

Among the "Beats," however, this search for the perfect love-sex relationship is less orthodox than elsewhere. They believe, for example, that it is as likely to be found in homosexual as in heterosexual relations. McReynolds (1959) quotes a "Beat" girl as saying "that if you liked someone very much you ought to sleep with him or her at least once, because sex helped bring you closer to the person." McReynolds adds that he does not believe this attitude is really an attempt to turn life into "one long orgy"; rather, he thinks, it is an attempt to make real and concrete the "universal love" many earlier Romantic movements have conceived only abstractly.

The "Beats," further, are largely free of the sexual intolerance of most intellectuals. Lipton (1959) emphasizes the amicable relations between heterosexual and homosexual "Beats" and the fact that neither group tries to "convert" the other. There is, instead, a general feeling that each person has a right to seek truth and express love according to the laws of his or her own nature. It is for this reason that "Beats" tend to be unfrightened also of psychoses or criminality. Much of the best literature produced by "Beat" writers deals with friends who were psychotic, criminal, addicted to drugs, or in some other way socially "undesirable." The jazz musician, Charlie Parker, was all of these, and remains a leading "Beat" hero; Lipton (1959) quotes a poem by a "Beat" writer that describes Parker's psychotic episodes with almost clinical lack of emotion and claims that one should neither pity nor condemn, because, through these experiences, Parker was able to reach the special kind of awareness his music demanded.

The "Beat" philosophy of sex, in short, is like all other aspects of "Beat" philosophy, centered on the individual's achieving his full potential in awareness and the expression of love. No other values are higher than these to a "Beat." Therefore, the only question to be asked about any sexual experience is: does it add to one's awareness or one's expression of love? All other questions of abstract morality or social normalcy are, to a "Beat," irrelevant.

But the "Beat" search for self-fulfillment is only one of the many different present-day approaches to sex. The "Beats" are most interesting because they combine the "idealistic" search for the "perfect" love-sex relationship with the "realistic" acceptance of relativity. Equally important, however, are several vastly different attitudes. In addition to such representative "realists" and "idealists" as we have already discussed, there are unclassifiable thinkers such as Alan Watts (1958), who tries to synthesize modern scientific positivism with ancient Oriental mysticism and, in so doing, has created a philosophy of sex that can be described as more relativistic than the relativists and yet at the same time more perfectionist than the perfectionists. Watts believes, and argues plausibly, that the "perfect love-sex experience" will only come to those who do not seek it, and that to abolish completely the Judeo-Christian squeamishness about sex we will have to abandon also the way of thinking that considers Man apart from nature.

Equally noteworthy are the theories of Ian Suttie (1935), who argues that there is a "taboo on tenderness" in our civilization even more pervasive than the taboos on sexuality, and that we have to become less afraid of selfless love before we can thoroughly cleanse our sexual attitudes of lingering Judeo-Christian denigration. Ashley Montagu (1955) has reiterated psychiatrist Suttie's ideas, with the different emphasis of a physical anthropologist, and has added to them a faint patina of well-concealed puritanism.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that in all the conflicting attitudes of modern thinkers toward sex, one overriding theme is evident. That

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

theme is not, as defenders of orthodoxy often charge, a simple reversion to infantile self-indulgence. On the contrary, we can observe—both in "realists" such as Alfred Kinsey and Albert Ellis, and in "idealists" such as Wilhelm Reich and Edmund Bergler—a deep scientific humanism that demands more of Man than Judeo-Christian orthodoxy ever did, because it respects him more. To believe that Man is capable, through reason, of solving his sexual problems is to have more faith in him than those who believe that his "fallen" state gives him an inborn tendency toward "sin." The self-denial and self-torture of the orthodox is not more "responsible" than the attempt of a modern man to make sex a satisfactory and beautiful experience for himself and his partner. It might even be said that the orthodox person, refusing to attempt to make of sex a wholesome and decent part of life and ruthlessly "denying" himself, is less responsible, more infantile, than the modern. The medieval saint who went off into the desert to punish his flesh looks suspiciously like the four-year-old child who bangs his head against the wall because his parents won't give him what he wants.

Indeed, perhaps the orthodox teaching that "sex is dirty" has no more complex an origin than the fox's pronouncement that the grapes he could not have were sour. Except for masturbation and intercourse with animals, sexual relations always involve more than one person, and, hence, require a certain amount of reciprocity, tolerance, maturity, and responsibility. Those who enter such relations with a decent respect for themselves and their partners are undoubtedly less "self-indulgent" than those who back away in repugnance. The repugnance is very often a mask for a lazy and cowardly refusal to accept participation in ordinary human life with its mixed joys and sorrows. Although the traditionalist will accuse modernists of irresponsible hedonism, the truth may be that he really fears the adult responsibility of modernism.

References

Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture.* New York: New American Library, 1946.

Bergler, Edmund, *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* New York: Hill and Wang, 1959.

Bergler, Edmund, *Neurotic Counterfeit-Sex.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1951.

Brinton, Crane, *A History of Western Morals.* New York: George Braziller, 1959.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Albert, *The Art and Science of Love.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960.

Frazer, Sir James. *The Golden Bough.* 12 vols. London, 1892-1914 (new edition in one vol., New York: Criterion, 1959).

Freud, Sigmund, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud.* New York: Modern Library, 1938.

Freud, Sigmund, *Civilization and Its Discontents.* London: Hogarth, 1922.

Kerouac, Jack, *The Dharma Bums.* New York: Vanguard, 1958.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Lawrence, D. H., "Pornography and Obscenity" (1930) and "A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover" (1930), both in *Sex, Literature and Censorship.* New York: Compass, 1959.

Lindner, Robert, *Must You Comform?* New York: Rinehart & Co., 1956.

Lipton, Lawrence, *The Holy Barbarians.* New York: Messner, 1959.

Mailer, Norman, *The White Negro.* San Francisco: City Lights, 1959.

McReynolds, David, "Hipsters Unleashed." *Liberation,* June, 1959.

Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies.* New York: New American Library, 1948.

Montagu, Ashley, *The Direction of Human Development.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.

Reich, Wilhelm, *The Sexual Revolution.* New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1951.

Stone, Abraham, and Stone, Hannah, *Marriage Manual.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952.

Suttie, Ian, *The Origins of Love and Hate.* New York: Julian, 1952 (first edition, England, 1935).

Taylor, G. Rattray, *Sex in History.* New York: Vanguard, 1955.

Van de Velde, Theodoor, *Ideal Marriage.* New York: Random House, 1947.

Watts, Alan, *Nature, Man and Woman.* New York: Pantheon, 1958.

ROBERT ANTON WILSON

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Australia and New Zealand, Sex Life in

MUCH factual knowledge concerning the sexual life of a people, particularly in relation to their reproductive activities, can be obtained from government statistics. This source of information has been used in the writing of this article. No systematic survey of the more intimate aspects of sexual life in all its manifestations has yet been made in Australia and New Zealand. To obtain a reasonably clear picture of sex life in this part of the world, I have consulted anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, police officials, educators, social workers, legal experts, and others whose work is associated with aspects of the sex life of the people.

It should be understood that this article represents collective opinion. It may be objected that this method of investigation is based upon individual impressions only, and not upon strict scientific analysis. Yet, this method is the only one by which it is possible to obtain what may be regarded as a realistic picture of the situation. In fact, the value of any investigation of a sociological nature is increased if its findings are checked against totally different sources of information.

Basically, the pattern of sexual behavior in Australia and New Zealand is the same as in other countries of Western culture, but the fact that primitive native tribes are still found in New Guinea and in some parts of Australia presents us with interesting variations. It seems that, among the more highly civilized Western nations, sexual behavior is remarkably similar, but conventional attitudes toward this behavior vary considerably, with the result that stereotypes have been created and are regarded as being truly characteristic of particular peoples.

Australian Aborigines

The stone age people who still inhabit parts of this continent carry out initiation ceremonies before the male adolescent is entrusted with the secrets of the tribe and becomes a full-fledged member of it. The rite of circumcision is performed at any time subsequent to puberty. As part of the ceremony there is dancing on two successive evenings, and a lending as well as an interchange of women takes place, with due observation of the status restrictions. The lending of a woman is an expression of good fellowship. On ceremonial occasions it is done in recognition of past kindness or in anticipation of future favors. The lending and interchange of women is, however, of a purely temporary nature and is confined to those who may lawfully have marital intercourse.

When the boy has completely recovered from the operation of circumcision, another operation is performed on the penis. It is known to social anthropologists as subincision and is an extraordinary procedure. A long incision is made on the under surface of the penis, extending from the external urethral opening back to the scrotum. The whole of the penile urethra is thus laid open. The operation is done with a sharp stone knife and it is surprising that no serious complications occur. No woman is ever

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

allowed to witness the operation of subincision.

The origin of this operation is lost in the mists of antiquity. The white man invents reasons to explain why it is done, but his explanations are not supported by the evidence. Subincision is not done, as is generally supposed, for the purpose of preventing conception so as to regulate population growth in accordance with the available food supply. As a matter of fact, the operation has little effect upon fertility, for sexual intercourse takes place in such a position that most of the semen enters the vagina. The number of children in an aboriginal family is usually not more than four. In all tribes practicing subincision every youth, without exception, has the operation performed, so we may exclude fertilization by an intact male.

The numbers in the tribe are kept down by infanticide, which the Arunta natives have no hesitation in carrying out as soon as an unwanted child is born. The newly arrived babe is killed if the mother already has an infant to nourish and carry about. It is of interest to note that the aborigines recognize no direct causal relationship between childbirth and sexual intercourse, although they consider that coitus prepares the way. They believe that the totem centers are inhabited by children in spirit form and that only under certain conditions do they enter the uterus.

When an aboriginal woman is about to give birth to a child a shallow hole is made in the ground and she sits in a squatting position over it, her thighs widely separated. Another woman, who squats behind her and supports her, massages the abdomen of the gravid woman, the squeezing and pressure being carried out from the rib-margins down to the hips. Eventually, the baby is expelled into the shallow hole prepared for it and the umbilical cord is cut with a stone knife. For the delivery of a child this attitude has the advantage that it allows the muscles commonly used in expulsion to be used most effectively in assisting the force of the uterine contractions.

The social anthropologists who have studied the Australian aborigines agree that abortion is extremely rare among them. For some reason not clearly understood the girls seem to be sterile for several years after puberty. Some investigators in this field have even asked whether conception is physiologically unlikely when the girls begin their sexual activities at a very early age, have numerous lovers, and have sexual intercourse with great frequency. It is hardly possible that immunity to seminal fluid could be developed. Whatever the explanation there are no abortions because there are no unwanted pregnancies. As for the married women we have already seen that population growth is controlled by infanticide.

The aboriginal women have their own secret ceremonies, of which magical love charms are a feature. There is little reference to the development of the breasts, to menstruation, or to childbirth. In their songs the emphasis is on amorous desires, the securing of lovers, and the various ways of retaining the devotion of a husband. These songs are full of phallic symbolism and make numerous references to coitus. Other songs refer to simple magic and to aboriginal mythology.

Among the primitive Australian natives, marriage and divorce are not the highly complicated procedures which they are in modern civilized society. Long ago group marriage was the rule. This did not differ greatly from absolute promiscuity. At a later stage father-daughter marriages became taboo, and then the ban was extended to brother-sister marriages. In simple manner an aborigine might take unto himself a wife in accordance with the custom of his people but, in some tribes, he might be liable to lose her and abandon his claim if a stronger man admired her and wanted her for his own. This amounts to divorce by right of conquest.

Among the tribes of Northeastern Australia there is a strongly held belief in the contraceptive action of some plants, when their juices are taken by mouth. According to aboriginal belief the plant juices protect a woman's body against the entry of a spirit-child.

The aboriginal woman's claim to social status and prestige is marriage and the bearing of children. Social standing is not won by marriage alone. To gain complete status a woman must have at least three children. She is then regarded as having qualified to be present at the rituals held when a girl reaches puberty. She is also entitled to be present at cases of childbirth.

These brief comments on the sex life of an

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

interesting stone age people do not apply equally to all the tribes scattered over the continent, but they are true of the majority. For those aborigines in close contact with the white man in pastoral work there is a strong tendency for some of the old customs to die out.

New Guinea

The natives of New Guinea are made up of many different tribes with remarkable differences in mode of life, language, and customs. Among the Motu people parents do not mind if their daughters have premarital relations, but they expect them to be faithful to their husbands after marriage. Prostitution is frowned upon. Coitus takes place out of doors in daylight, which is presumably why the pudenda of all the women are ornamented with tattooing.

In the Trobriand Islands the people are sexually uninhibited. There is probably greater sexual freedom at all ages among them than there is anywhere else in the world. Even before the children are really able to have coitus, genital manipulation and other forms of sexual amusement form part of play. Boys and girls have sexual intercourse at a very early age. The adults regard it as natural and see no reason to interfere or to scold the children. Adolescent boys and girls continue to have many sexual experiences before they settle down and accept responsibilities, after which their amorous adventures are not so numerous. The taboo of incest operates early in life. Otherwise, the Trobriand Islanders act sexually in accordance with their natural desires.

On one island of the New Guinea group, owing either to lack of means to pay the dowry or to a shortage of women, there is a custom by which a number of men form a company to acquire a common wife. It is said to work quite well.

The Maoris

The New Zealand Maoris are a Polynesian people and are thus an entirely different race from any of the native tribes already discussed. According to the Sacred Legends, sexual intercourse was a religious duty and parents were directed to give adequate sex instruction to boys and girls at puberty. Sex experience before marriage was regarded as a necessary preparation for a successful permanent union. However, statements by anthropologists concerning the primitive Maoris do not apply to their descendants today. There has been so much intermarrying with the white population that there are comparatively few full-blooded Maoris left. Furthermore, the old customs have either been greatly modified or are no longer observed, so reference to them would be of historical interest only.

White Population of Australia and New Zealand

Masturbation

At one time the production of an orgasm by manual manipulation or by other friction applied to the genitals was regarded as very injurious and was even referred to by some as a sin. Exaggerated statements were made about the harmful effects of "self-abuse." A study of the literature relating to sex clearly shows that these erroneous views were not confined to Australia. Although masturbation is still condemned by the majority of parents, they are more inclined now to adopt a condoning attitude. During recent years the physician has not had to approach the subject of sex obliquely. If he frankly states that masturbation is a natural activity resulting from a desire for pleasurable sensations and that it will almost certainly be discontinued when other sexual outlets are available, he will be understood. He is then in a position to explain that the real harm is done by the tacit threats and unfounded statements concerning the evil effects of masturbation.

It is realized, of course, that the habit can be overdone and that it can take up so much time and expend so much nervous energy that activities essential to the progress of the girl or boy may be interfered with. Statistics are not available, but the general impression is that masturbation is just as common in girls as it is in boys.

Premarital Sexual Relations

It is impossible to obtain accurate statistical data concerning the incidence of premarital sexual intercourse in any community. However, by studying reliable statistics, by considering

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

one's own experience in the consulting room, and by reading the reports of official investigations it is possible to obtain a reasonably accurate impression of the general situation.

What proportion of children are born out of wedlock? Although the figures vary from year to year, the ratio of ex-nuptial to nuptial births in Australia is about one to twenty-three. In New Zealand the ratio is almost exactly the same. Although the ex-nuptial births include children born to widows and divorced women as well as to young women who have not married, the ratio is high when one considers that contraceptives are readily available and that large numbers of pregnancies are terminated artificially.

How many brides are pregnant when they marry? In Australia, in 1955, the total first births that occurred less than eight months after marriage was 17.97 per cent, and the total first births that occurred eight months after the wedding was 3.35 per cent. The proportion of premature births is exceedingly small in Australia and, since the period of gestation is nine months, it is reasonable to conclude that one woman in every five is pregnant when she marries. There is a vast trade in contraceptives, but it is impossible to estimate the number of single women who use them and do not become pregnant.

Medical practitioners, especially gynecologists, know that premarital sexual intercourse is the rule rather than the exception, and that the incidence of nuptial virginity rapidly diminishes as age increases. Nevertheless, one must be careful not to make sweeping assertions. During the past thirty years I have been giving instruction in contraception to young women who are about to be married, and quite frequently have encountered an intact hymen.

From time to time some incident causes the curtain to be drawn aside so that one variety of youthful behavior is revealed to the public. One such incident occurred in New Zealand in 1954, when a young girl was reported missing. Detectives uncovered evidence that dismayed the public to such an extent that the New Zealand government appointed a special committee to inquire into the whole problem and suggest remedies. To quote from the report: "The police investigations revealed a shocking degree of immoral conduct which spread into sexual orgies perpetrated in several private homes during the absence of parents, and in several second rate . . . theatres, where familiarity between youths and girls was rife and commonplace."

The available evidence makes it obvious that a very high percentage of young people have sexual intercourse before marriage. This is only to be expected, for it is entirely in harmony with biological urges. There is a conflict here between nature and conventional morality, but the more objectionable aspects of this conflict would be eliminated if all children had the emotional security that is provided by parental love, sympathetic understanding, and watchful care.

Marriage and Divorce

The desire to exercise the reproductive function, as distinct from the urge to obtain sexual gratification, is commonly expressed in marriage. In every country there is some variation in the marriage rate, according to changing economic and social conditions. In 1955 the number of marriages per 1,000 of the mean population was 7.8 in Australia and 8.3 in New Zealand, as compared with 5.5 in the Republic of Ireland and 9.3 in the United States of America. In Australia, during recent years, the age of brides at marriage has remained fairly constant at an average of about 25.5 years. The average age of bridegrooms has also remained fairly steady at about 28.8 years. In New Zealand the average age at marriage is a little higher, being slightly over 26 years for brides and about 29.5 years for bridegrooms. These statistics include remarriages of widowed and divorced persons. Large numbers of divorced men and women in these southern lands marry again.

Despite its superficial popularity, there is a widespread opinion among the Australian people that marriage in its present form is not the ideal type of relationship between the sexes. There are many who consider that marriage is too binding and permanent, that people rush into marriage without giving mature consideration to all that is involved, and that the high divorce rate and the large proportion of broken homes are evidence that marriage, as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

at present constituted, has failed. On August 26, 1958, the Minister for Social Services stated that "wife desertion has become an alarming problem in Australia during the past few years . . . . The increase—almost 120 per cent—in the number of deserted wives receiving assistance occurred during the longest period of sustained prosperity the country had enjoyed. It was out of proportion to the increase in the marriage rate and the divorce rate."

In these numerous unsuccessful marriages we have a most difficult problem in human relationships, a problem that becomes much more complicated when there are children. In our world there is little stability either in group relationships or in individual relationships. National groups are experimenting with political systems, and conflict between rival ideologies threatens the peace of the world. In individual relationships humanity is striving, rather unsystematically, to find a satisfactory solution to the problems presented by sexual attraction and the reproduction of the species. We are probably still in the early stages of social evolution, still in search of a condition of society that will ensure the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people.

Church and State have combined to bring about a situation in Australia and New Zealand which is not a happy one. Although the divorce laws are basically similar, they are different in every Australian state, and New Zealand presents a further variation. The purpose of a bill that is before our federal parliament at the time of writing is to make the divorce laws uniform throughout the Commonwealth of Australia. Making the laws uniform, however, will not necessarily improve the general situation. The laws may not be sufficiently liberal. They may still be antiquated and not show the influence of enlightened understanding resulting from a careful study of the human aspects of sexual relationships and the best interests of the children. Of the parties to the divorces granted in Australia in 1955, 33 per cent had no children, 29 per cent had one child, 22 per cent had two children, 9 per cent had three children, and 7 per cent had four or more children. It would seem that children have a stabilizing influence on a marriage. The facts appear to indicate that, even though there is deep-seated antagonism and repeatedly expressed hostility between the parents, each decides to take no action because of the children. As a matter of fact, the psychological development of children is more normal and less liable to lead to neurosis when such parents are separated and the children, being with one or the other parent, can live in a peaceful, harmonious atmosphere free of bewildering tension. In the future, it is probable that the State will play a greater part in the rearing of children when the parents are incapable of doing it satisfactorily. Each Australian state now attends to the education of children and arranges for medical examinations, for immunization against disease, and for other matters affecting their welfare.

In Australia, by far the largest age group to whom divorces were granted in 1955 was from 30 to 34 years in the case of men and from 25 to 29 in the case of women. The duration of the marriage prior to divorce varied from under one year to 45 years and over, the highest number for any twelve-month period being between six and seven years. The petitions for dissolution of marriage, nullity of marriage, and judicial separation are actions taken more frequently by the wife than by the husband. The statisticians do not state whether this is due to the greater forbearance of the man or to his being more frequently in the wrong. The grounds on which divorce was granted in Australia in 1955 were: desertion 63 per cent, adultery 29 per cent, with cruelty, drunkenness, insanity, imprisonment for crime, and other items making up the remaining 8 per cent.

Many considerations deter people from seeking liberation from the bonds of matrimony. Divorce is expensive and is sometimes associated with undesirable publicity. With a view to increased sales, some newspapers delight in publishing intimate details concerning the private lives of citizens. When there are no children and a marriage has gone irretrievably "on the rocks" it should be possible to obtain a divorce quite simply, by mutual consent, after claims relating to property have been settled by an impartial adjudicator. This seems to be the general opinion of the Australian people, except among certain religious groups.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

It is generally recognized here that something should be done about the whole problem of marriage and divorce, but the proposed reforms are not sufficiently radical. In Australia and New Zealand, marriage guidance councils have been formed by church organizations and public-spirited citizens, but they deal with difficulties that arise during marriage rather than with the education of single young men and women concerning the wise choice of a life partner. It is true that some lectures are given on preparation for marriage, but such instruction is not sufficiently comprehensive and in any case it does not reach the masses of the people. As long as the choice of a mate is based upon nothing more than romantic love that is not tempered by good sense and discerning judgment, the high rate of failures will continue. To relieve the situation to some extent marriage should not be as binding and permanent as it is at present. It is not in the best interests of society that the misery of unhappily married couples should be prolonged. That is the writer's impression of the attitude of the community, but, like many other impressions, it cannot be scientifically verified.

Prostitution

Man has a strong biological urge to have sexual intercourse with the female of the species and this urge is not diminished by the artificialities and conventional attitudes of civilized society. Sexual desire is stronger and more insistent in most males than in females, partly because of the continuous formation of spermatozoa and their accumulation in the seminal vesicles, causing reflex actions that reach the psychic level and partly because social mores in most regions endorse aggressive male sexuality and discourage sex activity by unmarried females.

Since the dawn of history men of many different types and of every social level have had premarital and extramarital sexual intercourse. This natural demand by the male for sexual satisfaction is met in different ways, one of which depends upon his willingness to pay for the gratification of his desire.

What is the marital status of the majority of the clients of prostitutes? Totally different sources have agreed in stating that the majority of the clients are married men and that in the brothels the proportion of married men is about 90 per cent. That percentage seems high, but several interesting reasons have been given in support of it. An unmarried man, when he desires sexual intercourse, need not visit prostitutes unless his girl friends fail to satisfy his desires in this respect. Free young men enjoy the excitement of the chase, the dining out, the dancing, and the other preliminaries. Sailors are exceptions. While the ship is in port they usually have insufficient time to woo a girl with gifts and attention until she consents to sexual union. They therefore pay cash to prostitutes for immediate satisfaction. Soldiers on leave for a brief period are in the same category.

The pattern of sex behavior has changed, in this part of the world as elsewhere, since reasonably reliable contraceptive methods have become readily available. Furthermore, the progress of medical science has resulted in the use of antibiotic preparations that cure venereal disease much more quickly than the old forms of treatment, greatly diminishing the incidence of venereal disease. Young men and women therefore feel that they can have sexual intercourse with the risk of conception and of contracting undesirable infections reduced almost to zero. To them, love without fear has become a reality. They are often reckless or careless, of course, and pregnancy may result, but it is essential to point out that single men, when they desire sexual intercourse, usually have it with their girl friends.

It is not suggested that all girls readily agree to have sexual relations when such a proposal is made to them. There are many who resent such advances and steadfastly refuse to surrender themselves until after marriage. They regard chastity as a worth-while ideal. However, the percentage of girls who do have premarital intercourse is undoubtedly very high in certain groups. The general attitude of a girl towards sex varies with her upbringing, temperament, and social environment. What other girls in her group do has a powerful influence in determining her own actions.

The married man presents an entirely different picture in relation to prostitution. His wife may suffer from chronic ill-health; she

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

may take little or no interest in sex, or if she does she may no longer stimulate or satisfy him. It has been said that variety is the spice of life. At some time almost every man is interested in more than one woman. After the birth of several children the entrance to the vagina may be greatly overstretched and relaxed. When this condition is present the vaginal musculature does not stimulate the man much or help to maintain his erection. A man thus finds a nulliparous girl in her early twenties more exciting and satisfying. Furthermore, the married man must maintain respectability and seek sexual satisfaction where there is no publicity. The prostitute can satisfy this requirement. As Bertrand Russell says, "the man who has been with her can return to his wife, his family and his church, with unimpaired dignity." Finally, there is a very simple reason why more married men than single men go with prostitutes; there are more of them. The last Commonwealth census showed that the marital status of men in Australia aged 21 years and over was as follows: Never married 21.2 per cent, married 71.4 per cent, married but permanently separated 2.1 per cent, widowed 3.9 per cent, divorced 1.1 per cent, not stated 0.3 per cent. The low percentage of divorced men is no indication of the divorce rate in Australia, because the majority of these men marry again. In New Zealand about 80 per cent of persons who become divorced eventually remarry.

A prostitute has been defined as "a woman who sells her sexual favors for cash, as her only or principal source of livelihood." Prostitutes do a flourishing business in our big cities. The general pattern is probably the same in Australia and New Zealand as elsewhere in the world. Many prostitutes frequent hotel lounges, many have regular "beats" in public places, some stop cars in their competition for clients, while others are in houses that are so well known that the women do not have to go in search of business. Taxi drivers know the various houses.

During the war prostitutes practiced in caravans near military camps. "Call girls" are available in our big cities. In Australia, where living standards are high, prostitutes earn large incomes, especially when they are young and keep themselves attractive enough to appeal to their well-to-do clientele. Those in the highest income groups earn more per week than does the Prime Minister of Australia, but for physiological reasons this rate of earning does not continue for the whole month. Furthermore, it is not maintained over a long period of time.

It might be thought that all these women who earn a great deal of money create a "happy hunting ground" for the income tax department, but such is not the case as they are too elusive. The earnings of prostitutes are taxable as "Income from Personal Exertion" but, in the absence of records, the taxation officials can do little except watch assets in the form of traceable investments, as they do with other citizens.

The professional prostitutes work in association with "bludgers" (a colloquial term used to denote a man who lives on the earnings of prostitution), and in a brothel the girls are employed by a madame. They are allowed to keep only a percentage of their earnings. It is claimed that there must be a business manager, and there are so many social parasites making money out of this profession that the prostitutes themselves are often inadequately paid.

Although procurers operate in public dance halls, coffee lounges, and elsewhere, obtaining recruits by paying special attention to likely girls, as yet there is in Australia and New Zealand no highly organized white-slave traffic such as exists in older countries. Nevertheless, the police are concerned about the activities of people who, with the growth of our population, are procuring girls in the large cities and taking them to country towns where professional prostitution has not been developed and organized on a commercial basis.

A distinction is often made between the amateur and the professional prostitute. The distinction is not based on ethical or psychological grounds, but economic, and this should be remembered by those who make proposals for social reform. A similar distinction is made in the world of sports, where the professional has made some particular game his specialty and his main or only means of livelihood, whereas the amateur, although he is very fond of the game and plays it frequently with various people, does not rely upon it as a means of earning a living. In prostitution, as in the sporting

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

world, many amateurs turn professional. The amateur prostitute may bestow her favors upon selected males for pleasure, but she usually expects something in return. But the so-called amateur is not a prostitute in the legal or social sense of the word.

Can prostitution be abolished? The answer is definitely "No," because this ancient profession satisfies a distinct human need. There seems to be a biological urge for man to seek variety in his sexual relations. Moreover, there are complex psychological factors that predispose some women towards sexual promiscuity. Many of the girls start at quite an early age and social workers tell me that it is generally futile to try to rehabilitate them after the age of 18 years. Nevertheless, although it is quite impossible to influence the activities of the so-called amateurs, professional prostitutes would be greatly reduced in numbers by changing the social structure so that the commercial exploitation of women would be eliminated and the profit motive removed from this intensely acquisitive society of ours. The professional prostitute seeks sexual intercourse for money, not for physical gratification. The procurers, the madames, and the bludgers are all after money. They flourish today and will continue until society is radically changed.

Comprehensive and detailed laws relating to prostitution have been passed in every Australian state and in New Zealand, but the great extent to which prostitution is a part of the sexual life of the community in the big cities is proof that the laws are not enforced effectively. However, some examples of these laws should be given, as an indication of professed government policy.

In most Australian states the law regarding soliciting for the purposes of prostitution states that "any common prostitute who importunes any person being in or on any public place or within the view or hearing of any other person therein or thereon, or for the purposes of prostitution solicits or accosts any person being or passing in or on any public place shall be liable . . . ." The penalty is a fine that varies greatly in different states, or it may be a term of imprisonment from one to six months. For living on the earnings of prostitution Australian states have a provision: "Any male person who knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution or in any public place solicits for an immoral purpose shall be liable . . . ." The penalty is a fine or imprisonment for six months to two years. With regard to the keeping of brothels, we read: "No person occupying or keeping premises shall harbor prostitutes." The penalty is a fine or up to two years in jail. The law relating to procuring states: "Any person who procures a girl or woman under the age of 21 years who is not a common prostitute of known and immoral character to have unlawful carnal connection with a man either in the State or elsewhere shall be liable . . . ." For this offense the penalty is not a fine, but a prison term from two to ten years. One cannot help feeling that the whole treatment of professional prostitution in Australia is superficial and totally inadequate.

Sexual Deviations

In Australia and New Zealand homosexuality is regarded as a definite antisocial abnormality. The existing laws are not concerned with the concepts of homosexuality as a biological fact or as a neurosis curable by psychoanalysis. Offenses of this character are starkly and clearly defined, as the following section shows: "Buggery and bestiality: Any person who has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature, or has carnal knowledge of an animal, or permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature is liable . . . ." In three of the six Australian states the penalty is imprisonment for fourteen years. In Victoria "if the other party is under fourteen years of age or if the offence is committed with violence the penalty is imprisonment for twenty years." Up till 1949 the penalty in Victoria was death.

Homosexual relations between males receive greater attention than homosexuality among females and are regarded more seriously by our lawmakers. According to psychiatrists and the police, there is much homosexuality in Australia, but it is impossible to quote any statistics. The Lesbian, or female homosexual, is just as common as her male counterpart, but her activities in this field do not constitute an

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri Funding: IKS

offense. There are all degrees of homosexuality, with varying proportions of psychic and physical components. Homosexual relations are liable to develop wherever groups of one sex are segregated for long periods.

There is probably much undetected homosexuality. Family physicians and psychiatrists are generally not consulted for this deviation because most homosexuals are content to remain as they are. The true homosexual rarely seeks treatment but bisexual individuals do because of the heterosexual component.

Exhibitionism is the most common sexual offense in Australia and New Zealand. It is a frequent occurrence on our bathing beaches and also commonly takes place when a man finds himself alone with one or more women passengers in a compartment of a suburban train. Exhibitionists are prosecuted under an indecent exposure clause that is common to all states: "Any person who without lawful excuse wilfully exposes his person in the view of any person in any public place shall be liable . . . ." The penalty differs in each state, being either a moderate to a heavy fine or imprisonment for from six months to three years.

Nudist clubs have been formed in various parts of Australia and New Zealand, but there are no records of complaints concerning exhibitionism by members. Although the emphasis is on healthy outdoor sports and the beneficial effects of sunlight on the nude human body, there is nevertheless a sexual component in nudism, just as there is a sexual element in most dances, in many theatrical performances, in much of our advertising, and in the motion picture industry.

Voyeurism seems to be as common in Australia as in other parts of the world. The "peeper" is prosecuted under the general offense of being unlawfully on the premises. The penalty varies in different states. It may be a heavy fine or imprisonment for a period that ranges from six months to two years.

Transvestism, or eonism, is identification with the other sex, particularly with regard to dress. In most states it is not an offense unless dressing as one of the opposite sex is used to deceive people and facilitate some illegal activity. However, in Tasmania it is punishable: "No person shall, being a male person, be found in any public place between sunset and sunrise dressed in female apparel." It is not stated whether a female impersonator on the stage would be exempt from this law.

In general, sexual deviations indicate a failure to reach full psychological development. Deviations from the normal are exceedingly common but accurate statistics regarding their incidence cannot be given.

Pornographic Literature and Obscene Photographs

Censorship in Australia is by no means liberal. The censors consider that they are the guardians of public morality and they tend to take a narrow view of the subject. The control of obscenity is exercised by the Commonwealth government through the Customs Department and by the states by prosecutions. According to the Police Offences Act, books, newspapers, magazines, pictures, photographs, statues, or records may be classified as obscene when they tend to deprave or corrupt any person, notwithstanding that persons in other classes or age groups may not be similarly affected. The act makes provision for entering premises to search for obscene articles and for their destruction in the event of a court holding them to be obscene. Works of recognized literary or artistic merit and bona fide medical books are exempt unless publication was not justified in the circumstances.

What is pornographic and what is obscene is largely a matter of opinion, as there is no agreement on a clear legal definition, and is usually determined by the particular magistrate before whom the case comes.

Sex Education

Discussions with educators and psychiatrists revealed the general consensus that sex education is a part of our sex life. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between sex instruction and sex education. Sex instruction relates mainly to a knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the male and female sex organs. Sex education includes this and a great deal more. It comprises not only the biological aspects of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sex but also ethical considerations that are essential to the formation of character. Sex education should relate sex to the whole of life and particularly to human happiness.

What should be the scope of sex education? The position in Australia and New Zealand can best be understood by answering this question with reference to the three stages at which such education should be given; namely, in infancy and early childhood, at puberty and during adolescence, and finally, throughout adult life. Most parents in Australia give their children inadequate sex education. Usually it is too little and too late. By the time the parent decides to speak to the child about sex the youngster has picked up, possibly from crude sources, much more information than the parent realizes.

When children first ask questions about sex they should be answered simply and truthfully by the parents. Parents should speak casually and without embarrassment, so that, as the child develops, sex will occupy its proper place in his mind. If natural curiosity does not prompt children to ask questions, parents should explain the elementary facts at an early age, using language that can be readily understood. Unfortunately, many parents in Australia are handicapped because they do not know the anatomical names of sexual structures. Some parents have false notions of modesty or they regard sex as shameful. Somehow, this seems to be linked with religion. Whatever the origin of this attitude may be, the result is that parents shirk a duty that they have to a child.

Sex education at school should be part of a course of lectures on elementary physiology. It is now generally agreed that the education of youth should include a knowledge of the functions of the human body and the simple rules of hygiene. The reproductive system cannot logically be excluded. The instruction should be given by the school medical officer, with the aid of charts and specially prepared films. These latter present the subject in such an objective manner and with such a sense of responsibility that the child gains essential knowledge without any undesirable associations.

One survey on sex education in the three most populous Australian states revealed that "the Education departments have not issued any direction forbidding such instruction nor, on the other hand, have they encouraged teachers or given them positive assistance in imparting information on this question." The special committee appointed by the New Zealand government reported as follows: "The school is not the proper place for fully instructing children about sex, although it may be a convenient place in which mothers and daughters together, fathers and sons together, or parents together, may listen to addresses or see appropriate films. This would help to break down some of the barriers of self-consciousness."

The sex education of adolescents and adults may be undertaken in several ways. In Australia excellent courses of lectures are arranged in each state by the adult education councils or similar bodies. Unfortunately, only a minute fraction of the population receives advanced sexual education in this way.

At university level there should be a systematic course of lectures on the anatomy, physiology, and psychology of sex, with emphasis on the ethical aspects of sexual relations. Law students should be instructed in the appropriate aspects of psychology, a knowledge of which would enable them in later life to deal more understandingly with the legal aspects of sex relationships, quite apart from the treatment of sex offenders. Medical students should be taught a much wider range of sexual subjects than they are at present, for medical practitioners should be thoroughly familiar with the techniques of contraception, be able to treat disorders of the sexual function, and be able to practice marriage counseling with sympathetic understanding.

The general opinion among the specialists here is that there is probably more hypocrisy, deceit, and dishonesty in relation to sex than there is about anything else in our lives. The welfare of society and the survival of a soundly based morality are best assured by strengthening the family unit. This is done by promoting marital adjustment, by strengthening family loyalties, by passing legislation that protects the family economically, and by strengthening the social cohesion between all members of the domestic group. This will be facilitated by ade-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

quate education from early childhood on all matters pertaining to sex, marriage, and the family.

References

Danielson, Bengt, *Love in the South Seas.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1954.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia.* London: Routledge, 1948.

Mead, Margaret, *From the South Seas.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1948.

The New Zealand Official Year Book, 1957.

Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents. New Zealand Government Publication, 1954.

Rout, Ettie A., *Maori Symbolism.* London: Kegan Paul, 1926.

Russell, Bertrand, *Marriage and Morals.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1930.

Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People.* London: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

Wallace, Victor H., *Women and Children First: An Outline of a Population Policy for Australia.* London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1957.

VICTOR H. WALLACE

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Autoerotism

AUTOEROTISM in its broadest sense is a term referring to the phenomenon of spontaneous sexual emotion engendered without any external stimulus involving another person. Autoerotism is extensive and covers a wide field. It may refer to the incidence of sexual orgasm during sleep or the recognition of sexual feelings during the ecstasy of a religious ceremony or the observation of certain objects of art. It would be impossible in such a work as this to go into any exhaustive consideration of autoerotism, so this article will be confined to a subdivision of the subject, masturbation. This form of activity is more easily observed and has been more carefully studied than any other aspect of the autoerotic field. It is also true that the term "autoerotism" has, in the minds of a great many, been so identified with the subject of masturbation that the terms have become in effect synonymous. It is quite apparent in many of our modern writings on the subject that authors appear to believe that the term "autoerotic" is more polite and less objectionable than "masturbation," so they substitute the one for the other.

Masturbation

"Masturbation" is here defined as any form of deliberate self-manipulation of, or application of pressure on, the sexual organs for pleasure and for the release of tension. Many contemporary writers extend the use of the term to include the use of one's hands on the genitals of another. This also is described by the term "mutual masturbation."

In order to understand the present-day emphasis on discarding the superstitions of the past we must take a glance at history and scan the evolution of concepts that have brought us to the present-day need for a re-evaluation of facts and a re-education of those who have been conditioned by misinformation.

History

No other form of sexual activity has been more frequently discussed, more roundly condemned, and more universally practiced than masturbation. Since in the past it has been condemned by most of the leaders in the fields of medicine, education, and religion, it is reasonable to inquire into the background of the impressions that led to these conclusions and thus to disprove the belief that the old ideas and taboos must have sprung from some observable consequences.

Religious leaders who looked upon masturbation as a sin sought Biblical authority for their contention by the simple device of labeling masturbation as onanism. Onan's withdrawal before emission has been wrongly identified with masturbation. As group survival was of foremost importance in the early tribal days, the elders naturally considered it a sin to waste sperm by any nonprocreative practice. Onan's act was punishable not because of the spill of semen but rather because of his refusal to obey the law of the tribe and have children by his brother's widow. When we turn to the Bible and consider the detailed regulations of sex life, especially under the laws of Moses, it is noteworthy that we find nothing there about masturbation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Sporadic attempts to create a scientific attitude were defeated by the widespread influence of Dr. Tissot. In about the middle of the eighteenth century this French doctor identified the sin of Onan with masturbation and published a book called *Onana,* subtitled *A Treatise on the Diseases Produced by Onanism.* The book is steeped in ignorance and personal bias and would be of little importance if succeeding writers had not accepted Tissot's thesis and ventured into even more detailed descriptions of the evils of "self-abuse." In these writings they did not produce one iota of scientific evidence to substantiate any of their statements, yet their influence has affected the emotional lives of thousands of people up to the present time.

It is obvious that from the medical writings of Hippocrates to those of Brady in 1890, a span of twenty-two centuries, there was a great ignorance of anatomy and little understanding concerning the causation of disease. There was also a general lack of objectivity and an absence of any scientific approach to masturbation.

The modern attitude is not a sudden change, but rather the result of a long struggle to throw off the shackles of ignorance and to view the phenomenon in the light of reason. It has emerged only after knowledge has replaced superstition, facts have taken precedence over conjecture, and understanding and information have replaced bias and prejudice. It is only fair to note that the occasional pioneers of the past who insisted that facts be the background for opinion were, in the light of recent studies, exceptionally wise in their speculations. It is also noteworthy that the superstitions regarding masturbation have not been entirely annihilated, for we find in a few of our modern writings an insistence upon classifying it under the heading of perversions. Whenever modern religious leaders feel under the obligation to discourage masturbation they are not now likely to refer to any horrible consequences but rather to consider it a religious offense. The Roman Catholic Church, for example, deals with it dogmatically and classifies it as a sin. This attitude is also held by some Orthodox groups and by certain fundamentalist Protestant bodies.

Period of Transition

Prevalence and Frequency—Basic Studies

In 1907 Dr. Frederick Sturgis attempted to make a study of the incidence of masturbation without any consideration of its supposed evils or disabling sequelae. His admittedly conservative estimate was that 60 per cent of both sexes masturbated at some time but he held that were the whole truth known the figure would be nearer 90 per cent. The fact that Sturgis could be interested solely in the incidence of the practice and not its supposed moral and physical consequences bears witness to the new light in which the phenomenon was coming to be viewed.

As to the prevalence of masturbation, all of the studies that have been carried on by competent parties under well-credentialed auspices indicate that well over 90 per cent of all males have a history of masturbation. Although these studies vary somewhat in exactness, running anywhere from 90 to 98 per cent for the male, a study made by Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Gebhard of Indiana University (1948), sets the figure at over 94 per cent, and there will be little disagreement with this figure on the part of modern students of the subject. In 1929 Dr. Katharine Davis reported admitted masturbation on the part of 65 per cent of college women. Since for most of them to admit masturbation was a matter of confession, we are justified in adding 10 per cent as a factor of error, since other studies, notably Hamilton's (1929) and the author's unpublished research, indicate that the figure among single women over 25 runs somewhere between 75 and 80 per cent.

In both sexes the frequency of the experience varies greatly, but the average single woman reports masturbating from two to three times a month, usually just before or after her menstrual period, whereas the average single male reports it two or three times a week. Checking this against Hamilton's study, we find that 49 per cent report masturbating three or more times a week, and the Kinsey figures as reported by Glenn Ramsey show 46 per cent of males who report a frequency of from one to six times or more weekly. Finger (1947), Ross (1950), and Giedt (1957) each made a questionnaire

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

study of a college group of males and reported figures that correlated very well with those of the Kinsey study.

It may be safely assumed, therefore, from all the studies to date, that were we to take the histories of men and women who had reached the age of 25 we would find that masturbation has played a part in the lives of over 90 per cent of all males and over 70 per cent of all females, with the frequency running from once or twice a month up to several times a week. No evidence has been presented that the greater frequency is any more productive of harm than the lesser.

Old ideas persist and, as they are passed down from one generation to another, can have a crippling effect on the minds of youth unless they are successfully challenged and defeated by the truth.

The persistence of the idea that masturbation causes insanity has been one of the most vicious in its effect upon the emotional life of our young. Dr. Maurice Levine of the Child Guidance Center of Cincinnati has said in his book *Psychotherapy in Medical Practice* (1942) that the misconception that masturbation causes insanity is not only exceedingly harmful but extraordinarily persistent. He notes that in one child-guidance clinic 75 per cent of the parents of the children who were patients had threatened their children with the dangers of masturbation. He also says that this attitude is prevalent among physicians as well as among parents, and he feels that it is important that they all come to learn that this is a misconception without a vestige of truth.

Every counselor who deals with the sex problems of young people can add to the testimony of the Cincinnati psychiatrist concerning the persistent influence of this old bogey and the damaging effect it has had on the minds of young people—and older ones too, as many older people are still looking for evidences of the breakdown that they are sure is bound to come as a result of their earlier and perhaps their present masturbatory activity. In this lies the crux of the whole matter. Many of the untoward results of masturbation that have been described by these purveyors of misinformation have actually been observed, but these were not the result of masturbation but of the worry concerning probable consequences. In this, then, one might assume that the simple way to deal with the problem would be to tell the truth. This is the only effective way, but in doing so we must be sure we do not replace one set of fears with another. It is of little use for a counselor to try to relieve a person's fears by admitting the normality of the practice while on the other hand he shows his distaste by the use of such words as, "It isn't nice," "Young people should find better things to do," or "One should give one's attention to more constructive things," etc. All of these statements are vague, they have little meaning, and can just as definitely produce emotional conflicts as did the fear that stemmed from the earlier threats.

Since all of this is generally accepted by professional students of sex, it is a dereliction of responsibility not to bring these facts to the attention of millions of people who could profit by the knowledge. Today we have, on the one hand, a growing group of the well-informed who accept the normality of masturbation for the release of tension and for the emotional and physical satisfactions involved. There is also a growing body of opinion that masturbation for these purposes is not only normal but carries with it positive values, which in many instances make it desirable and beneficial. On the other hand, we still have those who remain devotees of the ideas and dogmas of the past.

If we could divide time into periods and say that in the earlier days all people felt this way about masturbation, that in the next period opinion had changed, and that now there has come to be a more enlightened attitude and an acceptance of the normality of this type of behavior, then everything could be very logically arranged and neatly pigeonholed. But when one studies this subject in any detail, one finds that it is too complicated to permit the arrangement of any neat pattern. During the times that the wrong ideas were being disseminated there were individuals who rose up in protest, and some valid studies were made that should have been recognized.

Censorship

In the earlier days, as well as today, one effective device for the suppression of truth was censorship. In the early 1900's the works of G.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Stanley Hall, Winfield Scott Hall, Sylvanus Stall, and others were being widely proclaimed and disseminated. At the same time, works such as those of Havelock Ellis, one of the outstanding scientific investigators of sex of all time, were being suppressed, as were also statements made by Sir James Paget, an English surgeon and pathologist, who said that there could not possibly be any more harm in masturbation than in the same amount of intercourse. Writings of many others who proclaimed their disagreement with the old ideas were being censored and the authors were criticized for indecency, the indecency lying in the very nature of the study. The desire to know something about sex and its relationship to human functioning was in itself portrayed as inherently indecent by the adherents of the old school. Consequently, these studies were put away in libraries, hidden in dark corners of the archives, available only to a privileged few and forbidden to the general public, who were not aware that most of the information available to them had long since been disproven and outmoded. To a large extent that has continued up to very recently.

Probably the greatest factor in breaking down censorship and in giving widespread circulation to the most extensive, scientific approach to the study of contemporary sex behavior was the publication in 1948 of the Kinsey report. However, there were many people who protested and who would have liked to have had the volumes suppressed.

Causation and Initial Experiences

Infancy and Childhood

In the infant's first half year he discovers his fingers and toes, and in much the same way he discovers his genitals. Because there are pleasure values in manipulation of the organ from the beginning, he may return to these areas for such satisfactions.

Children from the ages of 3 to 6 are apt to be physically affectionate and sociable. In common with their playmates, they will exhibit an interest in each other's bodies and occasionally wish to see and touch them. With all this there may develop an interest in masturbation.

Whenever dual masturbation (mutual masturbation or group masturbation) has occurred it is likely to have taken place between the ages of 6 and 12. Many report that they do not know when they began to masturbate but do know that they have been doing it from a very early age.

When in the past masturbation has been observed in children it has been the habit to blame someone for teaching them; blame has been put on servant girls, playmates, and boarding-school companions. Although these influences have played a part, and will continue to do so, it is evident that the average child does not need to be taught.

Studies made by modern investigators indicate that more frequently than not individuals report a spontaneous indulgence in the habit. In cases wherever they had engaged in group sexual activities in childhood they feel that they had acquired an interest in masturbation prior to such an experience, although in some instances it is evident that the observing of others engaging in such experience or being solicited to do so themselves had the effect of stimulating an interest in the activity. Girls, however, more often report seduction to this habit than do boys.

Adolescence

Although Dr. Kinsey has reported some cases in which a form of orgasm has been observed in a very young child, orgasm as we think of it, particularly in the male where it involves ejaculation, generally happens after the onset of puberty. Masturbation at this period takes on a more meaningful sexual connotation.

The act is apt to be accompanied by phantasy. Dr. G. V. Hamilton (1929) differentiated between infantile and adolescent masturbation on the basis that one is purely for sensual pleasure while the other has a deeper psychic significance. In the latter, phantasies of coitus are used to add realism to the activity.

Adolescence is the period most frequently studied and more information of this age group is available than of the earlier age groups. Most males claim to have started at ages of 12 to 13. Some girls report that the interest came at the onset of menstruation; many report a much later date for the initial experience.

Although masturbation is an adolescent prac-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tice in both sexes, all evidence points to the fact that there is a higher percentage among males than among females. However, at the age of 15 there is every indication that at least 50 per cent of girls have masturbated and that the percentage increases as the group gets older, so that there are many more girls masturbating at the age of 19 or 20 than were doing so in their middle teens.

Parental Attitudes and Home Instruction

If masturbation is observed in infancy or childhood, parents should be very careful not to inculcate fear by scolding or punishing the child or by making the incident seem overimportant. To distract the child's attention it would be best to do so on the basis of "Let's do this" rather than "Stop doing that." It would be well for parents to acquaint themselves with some of the contemporary literature on the subject of child-rearing. They will easily find a forthrightness and freedom from the fear-inspiring admonitions that have characterized much of the past literature. A few writers may seem esthetically critical, but the tendency is to deal with masturbation as a fact and as an accepted part of the child's development. In the life of a happy, well-adjusted child masturbation will play a very minor part. The unhappy and withdrawn child may show a preoccupation with masturbation, a condition that should be regarded as a symptom of a deeper problem. In such a case the parent will be well advised to seek the counsel of a child specialist.

Most adolescent masturbation will go unobserved, and the best thing the parents can do to eradicate any possible fear or concern over consequences would be to see that they have in their home some literature dealing frankly with the subject in the light of modern thinking.

Methods

The physical structure of the male does not admit of a great deal of variety in mastubatory practice and it is usually accomplished manually. However, some variations are reported, such as making coital movements against the bedclothes or a pillow, pressing against objects, etc.

In the girl, because her anatomy permits it, there is considerable variation. The use of a finger on the clitoris is the most usual form, and running a close second is what has been referred to as thigh-rubbing, in which the girl presses her thighs together or crosses her legs and squeezes the inner muscles of her thighs, thus bringing pressure on the labia and incidentally on the clitoris. At this she may become quite skillful and able to prolong the experience or bring herself to orgasm at will. Stimulation of the breasts is often an accompaniment of clitoral manipulation, and in some instances is the total experience.

Other methods are reported, such as pulling panties, nightgown, pajamas, the bedsheet, etc., tight between the thighs and making vulvular motions, which excite the clitoris. Instrumental masturbation, by inserting an object in the vagina, is comparatively rarely reported. The objects mentioned are so varied that they can best be classified as some long, round object. Here again, where vaginal masturbation is attempted, the finger is more commonly used.

Many girls who use the thigh-rubbing method report that they stop short of orgasm. This may be because the method is often used as a substitute after admonition by the parent who has observed some digital exploration. A frequent statement of older females is that they remember having been told, "Don't you ever let me catch you touching yourself again." A household term for masturbation is "playing with oneself"; this often develops a concept in the mind of the child that the harm lies in manual contact. The girl can therefore indulge in thigh-rubbing with less consciousness of guilt because she is not "playing with herself."

Masturbation and Orgasm

It is important at this point to discuss the question of orgasm in relation to masturbation and to point out that some of these methods may act as a drawback to marriage adjustment not because of any harm in the behavior itself but because the transition from the satisfactions obtained from a particular form of masturbation to those obtainable from intercourse may be difficult. It is the author's experience that in those females who report that they pass from

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

clitoral stimulation to manipulation of the whole vulva with emphasis upon stimulation of the vaginal orifice very quickly make an adjustment to coitus, and they will often report they had orgasm at the first experience or shortly thereafter. Those who for a number of years have used only the clitoris find it more difficult to make such a transition, but when they have been relieved of guilt feelings and have a cooperative and skillful husband, such an adjustment is probable within the first six months. The girl who masturbates by the thigh-rubbing method has learned to come to orgasm by the closest possible apposition of the thighs. Any position that permits penetration makes such pressure impossible and thus, because of her conditioning, she is prevented from coming to climax during the act.

Those girls who have denied themselves the direct form of masturbation and have used substitute measures, such as various forms of pressure, breast-rubbing, etc., often force themselves to stop just prior to the climax because they have developed a fear of the orgasm, having conceived the idea that the wrong or harm lies in the release itself. In any case, where orgasm has been suppressed the girl may develop a habit of nonresponse and carry this over into her marital relations, later to report that she has little or no satisfaction in coitus and an inability to come to a climax. We can see that in discouraging a form of direct masturbation in children one may be unwittingly encouraging a substitute activity that will later act as a deterrent to achieving orgasm in intercourse. Also, the guilt feeling that caused a girl to withdraw from direct fondling of her own organs may later cause her to resist manual stimulation on the part of the husband in his attempts at precoital excitation.

Total Outlet

A singularly useful term introduced by the Kinsey study was the use of the word "outlet." Heretofore in studies of autoerotism in adolescence it was frequently stated that masturbation was a practice of the adolescent who eventually outgrew the habit. Nothing was said as to what practices were substituted for it, the implications being that, having matured, he saw how childish this practice had been and simply dropped it. In introducing the word "outlet," Kinsey provided a term that is comprehensive enough to give us a view of composite sexual activity. Kinsey and his associates also showed us that the sexual activities of people on different educational and social levels should be differentiated. To make this plain he divided his population into three groups: the lower, middle, and upper educational level. He showed that between the ages of 25 and 30 masturbation provides a little less than half of the total sex outlet of unmarried college-level males. Those on the lower social level accept sexual intercourse at an earlier age as not only desirable but the only normal method of meeting sexual needs; on this level people look on masturbation as a practice of immaturity. The Kinsey study revealed that in all three groups the outlet is about the same; the difference lies only in the method they accept to obtain satisfaction.

Adults

Many adults need re-education to free them of the taboos acquired in childhood. This re-education could serve a twofold purpose: to relieve them of the fear and worry to which they have been subjected and to enable them to be helpful in giving information to the young. Of course, masturbation is no more harmful in adulthood than at any other time of life. Most unmarried adult males have adopted some method of heterosexual gratification, but this is less frequently true with the female, and the statistics gathered as a result of my own counseling practice are in agreement with those of Havelock Ellis, who said, "After adolescence I think there can be no doubt that masturbation is more common in women than in men." He also said, "I have been much impressed by the frequency with which masturbation is occasionally practiced by active, intelligent, and healthy women, who otherwise lead a chaste life. This experience is confirmed by others who are in a position to ascertain facts among normal people." It is this kind of statement, backed by hundreds of similar ones by competent authorities, that I feel should be brought more frequently to the attention of those who would

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

profit by it. The Kinsey study reveals that among women between the ages of 35 to 45, over half of their total outlet is obtained through masturbation.

The Aging

It is to be hoped that those interested in the field of geriatrics will take into consideration the sexual needs of the aging and encourage them to accept masturbation as a perfectly valid outlet when there is a need and other means of gratification are not available. The author recently had a female client of 73, who came because she was worried over the fact that she masturbated two or three times a week. She reported that she had had a very happy marriage, that her husband had died five years before, and that since then she had had to turn to masturbation. She wanted to know if the counselor could recommend some doctor who could give her medicine to prevent this. She was obviously embarrassed to have to admit masturbation and felt there was something wrong with a woman of her age so indulging.

I tried to quiet her fears and told her that I knew of no method of treatment that would be of any use, and that most of the doctors I was acquainted with would not feel that there was any need for treatment. I told her that she should accept autoerotic release as a perfectly proper outlet and not worry about it, especially as she led a very active life, took care of her home, worked outside, had social commitments, and seemed to have adjusted herself to her widowhood very well indeed—provided she could get rid of the notion that in having sex desires and needing an outlet there was something wrong with her.

Dickinson (1933), in reporting on eleven cases of widows between the ages of 60 and 80, mentioned masturbation as a presented problem. Dickinson said, "All practiced masturbation, three by vaginal method, one by the urethra, and others presumably by the vulva method." He found that at this age it was very embarrassing for a woman to admit such a practice, even to herself. The consensus seems to be that sex is a disgrace at such an age, and that when consulting a doctor a woman desires assistance to fight against her "worst self."

With all that has been said about the naturalness and healthfulness of masturbation as an outlet, there are authors who, while they brush aside the use of the extreme and dire warnings of the past, engage in other forms of condemnation, such as: (1) It is evidence of immaturity; (2) It is solitary and therefore unsocial; (3) One cannot possibly get full emotional gratification through masturbation; (4) It will lead to sexual frustration; or (5) It is one cause of impotence or frigidity (although many claim that it may lead to sexual excess). These statements have been listed in this order to conform to a similar listing by Dr. Albert Ellis in his book, *Sex Without Guilt* (1958), where the reader will find a very cogent answer to each of these objections. Also, in my chapter on masturbation in Fishbein's *Successful Marriage* (1947), I show that it is of little use to do away with old taboos if we replace them with other statements of disapproval that cast reflections upon the character of the individual who masturbates.

When the eternal question of "why" is asked by the one who is always seeking causes, we may say that in any act of masturbation the individual is primarily interested in the sensual pleasure, release of tension, and the sedative effect it has on the nervous system.

Man is endowed with two strong appetites, for food and for sex. Individuals vary greatly in the frequency and the amount of satisfaction demanded by these appetites. Certainly the first appetite has to be met on a much more frequent and regular basis than the second. Nevertheless, neither appetite can be completely denied without unhealthy consequences.

Premarital and Postmarital Masturbation

In both the single male and female masturbation is used as a method of release, admitting a differential in frequency. It is practiced by those who have not accepted any other outlet and by those who have accepted heterosexual intercourse or petting to orgasm but who, because of its infrequency, use masturbation as a supplement. Furthermore, single persons turn to masturbation because of the fear of the consequences of heterosexual intimacy such as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

possible pregnancy, social condemnation, or parental disapproval, fears that are certainly not without foundation, or of being degraded in the eyes of the partner, illustrated by the girl who said, "I believe if I allowed him to go that far he would look down upon me and would not want to marry me," a fairly common attitude.

If the truth were known, it would probably be difficult to find any considerable number of husbands or wives who have not at some time or other masturbated during their married life. In married people masturbation is used to supplement infrequency on the part of the mate, during the absence or illness of the spouse, when the mate is unwilling to have sexual intercourse, when there has been a disagreement or a temporary hostility toward the spouse or a type of conflict that has developed an aversion for any sexual relations, and when there is a considerable disparity of interest or need. As Levy and Munroe say in their book, *The Happy Family* (1952), "Such people are very sensible."

When we take into consideration the problem of the divorced, the widowed, and the single, it does not take much imagination to recognize how necessary it is that the message concerning the harmlessness of this particular outlet be emphasized. Counselors are meeting more and more young people who have not been indoctrinated with the fearsome warnings of the past. We should not, however, be blinded to the fact that in all probability the larger segment of our society is still laboring under false impressions.

A survey of the present-day literature indicates a trend toward a much more enlightened attitude. Although some of it deals with the subject frankly on the basis that masturbation is normal and that there are no untoward consequences other than those caused by worry and fear, the greater part of it deals with it on a sort of compromise basis. It holds that what has been said about its harmlessness is true unless—and then these statements are apt to be qualified by warnings of the dangers of preoccupation with masturbation or of indulging in it to excess. Certainly the average person has little time or inclination to be preoccupied with sex. There are too many other things in this world that individuals are interested in. This brings us to the use of the word excess, which is a loaded term. Excess in anything means "more than enough," or "too much." The fallacy in the use of this term in connection with masturbation lies in the fact that no one knows what excess is. The word itself is meaningless unless we have a norm by which to measure frequency, and we have none. Any student of physical sex knows that there are physiological limitations to a person's capability of indulging to excess; nature takes care of the matter.

Let it be understood that throughout this paper I am talking about the normal behavior of normal people, about you and the people you meet in business and social life, the classroom, or the people you work with, play with, go to church with.

No attempt has been made to deal with compulsive or obsessive behavior or any form of exhibitionism. When, in psychopathology, masturbation is reported as a factor in a syndrome, let us remember it is but a symptom and never the cause.

Kinds of Masturbation

DUAL MASTURBATION—This is masturbation by two individuals, each in the presence of the other.

MUTUAL MASTURBATION—This refers to two individuals, who practice manual masturbation, of each other. Some laymen loosely use the term mutual masturbation to include any act other than penile-vaginal intercourse and would therefore consider fellation and cunnilinctus as masturbatory acts. But this is loose and inaccurate usage.

GROUP MASTURBATION—This is sometimes referred to as club masturbation, in which a group of youngsters are involved, generally of one sex and between the ages of 6 to 12, although instances have been noted among somewhat older groups. It has sometimes been reported as a game, each one masturbating and reporting his sensations. In the case of the somewhat older boys a contest to see which one ejaculates first has been reported.

URETHRAL MASTURBATION—A few cases of this have been reported by the male, in which some-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

thing is pushed into the urethra. It is, however, more often a female type of masturbation. She has begun early in life to finger the urethra and has conditioned the sphincter muscle to respond to pressure and in some cases to admit the finger. By doing this she has so sensitized the area that for her it has become the primary erogenous zone of the genitals. In some cases objects have been pushed through the urethra and into the bladder; hairpins have been most frequently mentioned. There are a number of illustrations of this in the works of Havelock Ellis, Iwan Bloch (1910), and others.

PSYCHIC MASTURBATION—This is a form of masturbation in which an individual can concentrate so intently on a phantasy that he responds physically, often even to orgasm, without any manipulation of the genitals.

NOCTURNAL MASTURBATION—This is a form of masturbation that takes place during sleep. This does not refer to the usually reported nocturnal emission of the male but to those instances in which the individual is awakened by jerking movements of the body and discovers that his hands are on his genitals, suddenly becoming aware that he has been "playing with himself" in his sleep. This type has been frequently reported by females.

ANAL MASTURBATION—It is evident that in some cases the fingering of the rectum has led to erogenous response and has in many of these situations led to autoerotic satisfaction.

ORAL MASTURBATION—This refers to the ability of some females to suck their own nipples, and to the acrobatic ability of some males to apply their mouth to their penises. This latter is also called self-fellation.

SYNONYMS—Manustupration (*manus*, the hand; *stuprare*, to ravish); ipsation (*ipse*, himself); onanism; self-abuse; colloquial terms: finger frigging, jerking off, and many others.

Phantasy

Research concerning the masturbation phantasies of normal individuals would be very helpful in order to better understand the use of masturbation as a temporary escape mechanism, as well as for the other purposes previously alluded to. It also would be of great help to the pathologist because it is quite evident in many of the works on psychopathology that the phantasies described are taken as evidence of a deep-rooted emotional disturbance. This may or may not be so. Herbert A. Carroll, in his text *Mental Hygiene* (1951), says, "Since human beings have the ability to make use of language, they can transcend the present in their role-taking. In phantasy they can change the past to some extent and shape the future to a considerable extent. They can pretend for a time that things are not what they seem to be. Phantasy is a normal activity. It is resorted to by well-adjusted persons as a means of rest from the difficult realities of the present and of the past and from concern about the future. Used in moderation, phantasy is a desirable form of temporary escape."

The fact that there are those who use phantasy to excess and develop a mental aberration in which they retire into a dream world as a permanent means of escape should not blind us to the fact that almost all normal people occasionally indulge in eccentric thinking. Maurice Levine (1942) says, "Bizarre thoughts are perfectly normal. . . . The fact is that human beings are capable of, and often do have, a wide variety of unusual thoughts, when they are not psychotic and when they are not abnormal in any real sense. Homosexual ideas, perverse sexual thoughts or impulses, impulses of hatred and of murder, ideas of being dependent and parasitic, ideas of grandeur, and the like, all may occur occasionally in the lives of individuals who are to a sufficient degree normal and healthy."

Phantasies are an integral part of most adult masturbation, especially in the male, and in a considerable number of females. Phantasies can take many forms but they are so much a part of the experience that we can say in this sense that masturbation is psychosomatic in character. The phantasy may be the picturization of a scene of sexual intercourse, imagining one is enjoying coitus with a satisfactory partner of the opposite sex, or it may deal with some type of sexual practice that may be spoken

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of as a deviation. Sometimes the phantasies take on a story form and are developed into a short-story type of thinking.

Some phantasies that have been written out for me are built quite like a story, and the authors claim that in thinking about them they go into the details of the characters that take part, the place where the experience is located, the expressions that people use in their conversations, and often the manner of dress of those who are the actors. Sometimes phantasy takes on a serial form. A girl would imagine, for instance, that she lives in a certain place where sexual practices are a part of her experience and, using this locale, she will "revisit" the scene the next time she masturbates, and the time after that, adding to her experiences in story book form. Males will also do this, and it is interesting to note how often rationalization is exposed, how much it is needed in order to make the experience realistic. For instance, one young man told about his imagining that he seizes girls and takes them to a location where they may be stripped and otherwise embarrassed and finally raped. Realizing his lack of strength to kidnap a young woman, and aware of the illegal aspects, he went into great detail to work out how he could provide a place where he could smuggle in food and staff it with servants to help him in the experience. In other words, he had to imagine that in some way it could be possible, otherwise the phantasy would lose its value. This kind of rationalization is expressed in many different ways. If it cannot be done, the sense of unrealism diminishes the erotic value of the phantasy. However, there is no more significance in this attitude than in the attitude of persons who do not enjoy the motion picture or TV show of the whodunit or western type if acts performed in the picture appear to them to be unrealistic or impossible, as, for instance, the shooting of 12 shots from a 6-shooter without reloading.

The Unusual and the Exotic

Positions

Positions in masturbation are seemingly important. A professional woman said she can lie on the bed and masturbate but she cannot have an orgasm unless she is standing, so she must stand on her feet before she finally has the climax. Some say they can masturbate more successfully in a standing position, some sitting, others in a reclining position. One girl's method as a child had been to place a towel on the edge of the bathtub and, throwing one leg over the edge, straddle it. She said she was still using this method as her means of release.

One young woman told me that she had learned as a child to reach up to the top of a door, which she had opened, and then straddle the edge of the door and rub up and down on it as her method of masturbation. In her adult life when she was alone in the house she occasionally reverted to this form. It is noteworthy that the carry-over of childhood practices into adulthood is very common.

Havelock Ellis refers to horseback riding, and this author has had a few cases where the girl who is a riding enthusiast has admitted that when she feels sexual she goes riding and often will have had relief before returning.

Instruments

Instrumental masturbation has been mentioned. Artistic and commercial exploitation of this interest has resulted in the manufacture of imitations of the male organ known as dildoes, *godemiches,* or *consolateurs.* In about the middle of the eighteenth century these instruments were sold quite openly in London, and a similar business in France was done on a somewhat more secretive basis. Bloch (1910) mentions a certain woman who did a large-scale business in Leicester Square and at the same time carried on quite a mail-order business. The history of such instruments reveals that they have been employed for the purpose of masturbation in almost all lands, notably in Turkish harems and in the islands of Zanzibar, where at one time they were regarded as an Arab invention. However, Bloch reports that there were representations of such instruments in ancient Babylonian sculpture, some of which was created in the third century before Christ. Reference is made to the manufacture and use of such an instrument in the Bible (Ezekiel 16; 17). Considerable artistry and skill went into

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the manufacture of these instruments, which seem to have been most popular in the eighteenth century. These dildoes were cleverly constructed so as to enhance realism in a coition phantasy. A student who wishes to explore this question further will find a very complete description in *The Sexual Life of Our Time* by Iwan Bloch.

Another device that seems to have caught the imagination of investigators is the Japanese instrument known as the *rin-no-tama* (sometimes also called a *watama* or *ben-wa*). This consists of two thin-walled hollow balls, generally of leaf brass, about the size of a pigeon's egg; one ball contains a small amount of quicksilver and the other is empty. The empty ball is placed in the vagina and pushed up against the cervix, and the one with the quicksilver is pushed against it. They are both held in the vagina by a cotton tampon. In walking, or by the use of a rocking chair or swing, the woman obtains what has been referred to as "a delightful sensation."

Such instruments have also been designed for use in a lesbian relationship. An illustration of one of these can be found in Dickinson's *Human Sex Anatomy* (1933). This, however, represents a very simple device and is not the complicated and realistic type described by Bloch. Doctors say that the use of a banana or a cucumber or certain root vegetables is occasionally being reported, as was true in the past. Women sometimes ask if it is true that the internal napkin can serve as an instrument for masturbation. In a few instances it can, but it should be noted that the external napkin is much more liable to arouse sexual feelings and sex consciousness than is the internal type, probably because the external type may be placed so as to cause friction of the clitoris.

Infibulation

Devices designed to secure the woman against the possibility of copulation with anyone but her husband are best exemplified in the well-known chastity belt. However, the use of similar devices for the purpose of preventing masturbation is less generally known. Such devices have been strapped on the female with this purpose in mind, and a cagelike device has been likewise applied to the boy. The author has a picture of such a device, the design of which can best be described as weird. One might think of it more as an instrument of torture. This particular picture was published in a current medical journal under the heading of "Curiosities." It appears to have been designed by a woman nurse and was patented in 1908.

Need for Research

With all that has been said regarding the physical and mental harmlessness of masturbation and with all that has been emphasized regarding the need to spread the truth in order to reduce the fears and worries that lead to psychic conflicts, nevertheless, nowhere has the author suggested that masturbation can be accepted as a replacement for satisfactory heterosexual relationships nor has he found any number of normal individuals who prefer it. Notice here the word "satisfactory." In marriage, what is reported as satisfactory by one partner is often reported not to be so by the other. One partner may find a great satisfaction in rather frequent relationships of the conventional type of experience, indulging in precoital preparation and intromission and finally orgasm; and although the mate may accept this as an occasional performance, he may also find that as a repetitive experience it becomes rather boring and uninteresting because he is interested in deviated methods of expression and in great variation in positions, places, and times. This spouse may turn to masturbation because in phantasy he can enjoy some of the things he finds it impossible to achieve with his mate. Should the mate become aware of this and interpret such behavior as evidence of the spouse's rejection of their marital relationship, what happens to her ego? What happens to the ego of the one who is disappointed because the spouse won't "play the game" according to his rules? In what way does this disappointment affect other interpersonal relationships, such as communication, social life, attitudes toward children, attitudes toward the future? This is but a sampling of the many patterns of marital behavior that may be definitely and directly related to masturbation. I have in mind the case of a young wife who had conflicts with her

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

husband over money matters and a disagreement over some of their social experiences. She was highly sexed and above everything else desired sexual intercourse with her husband, but was able, through masturbation, to maintain an equilibrium in which she could punish her husband by extending the interval between one act of intercourse and the next without correspondingly punishing herself—as she would have been doing if she did not have masturbation as an outlet.

There is obviously a need for more research concerning the relationship of masturbation to many forms of sociosexual deportment in and out of marriage.

References

Adams, Clifford, *Preparing for Marriage.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1951.

Bloch, Iwan, *The Sexual Life of Our Time.* London: Rebman, Ltd., 1910.

Brady, E. T., "Masturbation." *Virginia M. Month.* Pp. 256-260, 1891–92.

Broudy, H. S., and Freel, E. L., *Psychology for General Education.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1956.

Brown, Fred, and Kempton, Rudolf, *Sex Questions and Answers.* New York: Whittlesey House, 1950.

Caprio, Frank, *Variations in Sexual Behavior.* New York: Citadel Press, 1955.

Carroll, Herbert, *Mental Hygiene.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951.

Cavanagh, John R., *Fundamental Marriage Counseling.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Pub. Co., 1957.

Chetwood, Charles, *The Practice of Urology and Syphilology.* New York: William Wood, 1927.

Davis, Katharine, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

Dearborn, Lester, "Masturbation." In Morris Fishbein, *Successful Marriage.* New York: Doubleday, 1947.

Dickinson, R. L., *Human Sex Anatomy.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933.

Dickinson, R. L., and Beam, L., *A Thousand Marriages.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1931.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* Vol. 1, *Autoerotism.* Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1913.

Finger, F. W., "Sex Beliefs and Practices among Male College Students." *J. Abnorm. & Social Psychol. 42;* 57-67, 1947.

Giedt, F. H., "Changes in Sexual Behavior and Attitudes Following Class Study of the Kinsey Report." *J. Social. Psychol. 33;* 131-141, 1951.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage.* New York: Boni, Inc., 1929.

Holy Bible. Genesis 38:4, *et seq.;* Deuteronomy 25:5-9; Ezekiel 16:17.

Kinsey, Alfred, *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kinsey, Alfred, *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Leuba, Clarence, *Ethics in Sex Conduct.* New York: Association Press, 1948.

Levine, Maurice, *Psychotherapy in Medical Practice.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942.

Levy, John, and Munroe, Ruth, *The Happy Family.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952.

Ross, Robert T., "Measures of the Sex Behavior of College Males Compared with Kinsey's Results." *J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol. 45;* 753-755, 1950.

Spock, Benjamin, *Baby and Child Care.* New York: Pocket Books, 1946.

Sturgis, F. R., "The Comparative Prevalence of Masturbation in Males and Females." *Am. J. Dermat. & Genito-Urin. Dis. 11;* 396-400, 1907.

Tissot, S. A. D., *Onana.* New York: Collins and Hannay, 1832 (first French issue prior to 1767).

LESTER W. DEARBORN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Beauty

What Is Beauty?

ERIC NEWTON in his classic book on beauty, *The Meaning of Beauty* (1950), stresses the point that beauty is a thing that causes man pleasure. What is a pleasure to one man need not be and often is not a pleasure to another. According to Newton, then, each person provides his own criteria of pleasure and of beauty.

Any fixed standards of beauty are based on the experiences of persons with a common background who are able to agree on what is beautiful from their point of view. Thus, for example, Marilyn Monroe is considered beautiful by most men in America—she is a standard of America's beautiful women.

To the artist, Newton carefully points out, that which is beautiful is beautiful because it *is*, not because of its function. This writer disagrees with Newton and will provide evidence throughout this article that human beauty is largely judged on function—directly or at least indirectly on *potential* function. Marilyn Monroe is beautiful not only because looking at her gives one pleasure, as one would gain pleasure from looking at a beautiful Greek statue, but also because, in America, we closely associate certain aspects of beauty with sexual aptitude and the pleasure derived from sexual satisfaction. Marilyn Monroe consequently is beautiful to look at not only because of the symmetry of her form but also because of the potential sexual functions suggested by that form.

David Hume (1875) expressed a view, very similar to Newton's, that: "Beauty is not quality in things themselves; it exists merely in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a different beauty." Hume's view is alluded to in the common saying that in the imagination of every lover the loved one is a person of great beauty.

The ancient Greeks, however, believed, according to Westermarck (1894), that beauty was the cause rather than the result of love. Thus, they conceived of Eros as an extremely handsome young man and Aphrodite as the goddess of beauty as well as of love. That beauty is good per se was well expressed by Robert Browning in *Fra Lippo Lippi* when he said: "If you get simple beauty and nought else,/you get about the best thing God invents."

Many, on the other hand, have pointed out that beauty per se does not necessarily give pleasure, that beauty is not, as Keats put it, "a joy for ever," that beauty is something beyond and more than form. Socrates stressed the fact that "[human] beauty is a short-lived reign." In a similar vein, Sappho, the Greek poetess, stated that "What is beautiful is good and who is good will soon be beautiful." The contemporary actress Eva Gabor emphasized a similar point in this comment: "I believe that women should make themselves as attractive as possible. But they don't need artificial help, because real beauty and so-called sex appeal come from within." Paul Popenoe, renowned family counselor, stated that "The modern girl is too *vogue* on the outside and too *vague* on the inside. That's the glamour girl: pretty as a picture—overexposed and underdeveloped." Washington Irving restated the point in this way: "After all it is the divinity *within* which makes the divinity *without;* and I have been more fascinated by a woman of talent and intelligence, though deficient in personal charms,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

than I have by the most regular beauty." Stendhal, seemingly fearful of a kind of Pygmalionism, therefore, in his *De l'Amour* expressed the sexological axiom that "It is *passion* which we demand; beauty only furnishes *probabilities.*"

Beauty Culture

In spite of warnings concerning the ephemeral nature of physical beauty, beauty culture, the art of modifying personal appearance in order to render a person more attractive, more beautiful, and more desirable, is, as *Time* magazine recently put it, "The industry without a recession." The American people spent an estimated $4 *billion* on beauty aids and services in 1957. About 95 per cent of all women over the age of twelve now use at least one of the products made by America's beauty industry. But, *Time* added: "To their credit, more and more women are realizing that beauty is more than skin deep. They want healthy, well-formed bodies and new personalities to go with their made-up faces. Thus the growth of the cosmetics industry is being matched by the growth of reducing salons, gyms and their fellow travelers, the charm schools."

Although modern beauty culture is an art, it also has a broad basis in science and technology because it demands knowledge of what the human body is capable of in the way of adaptation and of how much it can endure without harm. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the temptation to use dangerous chemicals and physical agents without medical supervision is ever present. In medieval times, for example, belladonna was used in eye washes; today, dangerous estrogens are being applied as bust developers.

In broader perspective, beauty culture is closely connected with the fields of hygiene and rehabilitation. Thus, the restoration of a normal appearance after illness or injury involves the correction of constitutional disorders by the physician and physiotherapist, the removal of skin blemishes by the dermatologist, the correction of facial and body disfigurements by plastic and orthopedic surgery, and the fitting of dentures and the correction of malocclusion by the dentist. To this list of beauty technologists should be added psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, psychoanalysts, and counselors who aid the "social-psychologically ugly" in restoring or developing "social-psychological beauty."

Beauty, it seems, is no simple matter. It is, in fact, a complex thing involving every aspect of human nature.

Standards of beauty are, for the most part, culturally rather than biologically determined, each particular culture developing its own special set of values. Yet Finck (1887) and Havelock Ellis (1936), as well as others, point out that there are some universal standards of beauty. Health is almost universally regarded as a prime requisite of beauty. Another universal criterion is youth—beauty and youth often being inextricably related. In the history of beauty culture, cosmetics, grooming, and dress have often been used to make the person appear youthful, and, for that reason, more beautiful.

A distinction should be made at this point, in order to avoid confusion later, between natural and artificial beauty. *Natural* beauty consists of those pleasing aspects of a person based on the biologically and social-psychologically unique characteristics that person possesses, such as naturally lustrous hair, well-formed body parts, and a pleasant smile that comes from within. On the other hand, *artificial* beauty is comprised of those pleasing aspects of a person that are *not* biologically determined or inherent and which are social-psychologically pretentious, such as dentures, "falsies," and a contrived smile.

Modern beauty is a complex admixture of both natural and unnatural beauty, although the beauty industries largely emphasize the latter type of beauty.

We can, then, summarize our attempt to define beauty by saying that it is that elusive phenomenon which some persons have by virture of the fact that they possess qualities, natural and/or artificial, that are highly valued by the particular culture in which they live and sometimes in all or almost all cultures. Beauty is associated with sexual attractiveness, since health and youth are universally linked with both sex and human beauty. But each culture and each person develops particular conceptions of beauty, some of which have as criteria

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

both universal and particular elements, some natural and some unnatural. The rest of this paper will be devoted to clarifying and interpreting the meaning of this point.

Natural Beauty

Beauty in Men

We have defined natural beauty as those pleasing aspects of a person based on the biologically and social-psychologically unique characteristics of that person. In a general way, Westermarck has emphasized the point that "to be really handsome a person must approach the ideal type of his or her sex. The male organism is remarkable for the development of the muscular system, the female for that of fatty elements; and conspicuous muscles are everywhere considered to improve the appearance of a man, rounded forms that of a woman." Thus, among Europeans high-built and broad shoulders are regarded as constituting an ideal of manly beauty. Malinowski (1932) has stated that among the Trobriand Islanders "A slim, straight, tall body is much admired in a man."

Among the English during the late Middle Ages, according to Curry (1916), a man was admired who had "great stature, enormous strength, long sinewy arms, broad square breast and shoulders, together with a small waist and retreating stomach. His legs are long, with thighs thick and strong; and in general appearance he is more like a giant than a mere knight . . . his eyes are generally blue in color, with the fierce, proud glance of a falcon. . . ."

Havelock Ellis believed that most women admire a man's strength rather than his beauty. As he stated in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*: "All those qualities which the woman desires to see emphasized in the man are the precise opposite of the qualities which the man desires to see emphasized in the woman. The man must be strong, vigorous, energetic, hairy, even rough, to stir the primitive instincts of the woman's nature; the woman who satisfies this man must be smooth, rounded, and gentle . . . the choice of the man by the woman . . . has to be recognized in the shape of a regard for strength and vigor. This is not purely a visual character but a tactile pressure character translated into visual terms."

George Eliot, in her novel *The Mill on the Floss*, anticipated Havelock Ellis' findings by suggesting that "There is something strangely winning to most women in that offer of the firm arm; the help is not wanted physically at the moment, but the sense of help—the presence of strength is outside them and yet theirs—meets a continual want of the imagination."

Strength and health rather than handsome features seem to be the criteria for judging male beauty. With strength and health usually goes a well-developed musculature. Woman demand that men they admire also have good character, that they have courage, integrity, etc. Thus, male beauty, contrary to Eric Newton's concept, is not that which is beautiful because it *is* but because of what it does. Male beauty or handsomeness must be translated into function. How strong is this man? How courageous? In the Western world there is a strong physical-culture movement among men that is manifested in the so-called Mr. America, Mr. Europe, and Mr. Universe contests. These contests include weight-lifting competitions to see who is the strongest, and competitive posing for "physique" and "most muscular" awards. From the photos of recent contest winners found in *Strength and Health* (a physical-fitness magazine) it is quite obvious that these men combine both strength and health—two important requirements for masculine beauty.

But women, as was already pointed out, demand that masculine beauty include more than strength and health, they demand that men have quality, good character, that they are human beings with understanding and dignity.

Consequently, although many women enjoyed looking at the physique of the movie industry's long-time Tarzan, Johnny Weismuller, they often made fun of the boorish character he was forced to portray on the screen. On the other hand, many maidens have swooned for the shadowy figures but scintillating personalities of Frank Sinatra and Gregory Peck.

Beauty in Women

Dr. Anna M. Galbraith, in her book *Personal Hygiene and Physical Training for Women*,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

indicated that the ideal measurements of the woman are as follows:

Height	5 feet 5 inches
Weight	138 pounds
Bust	34 inches
Waist	29 inches
Hips	40 inches

These measurements differ decidedly from the average measurements of the Miss Americas from 1921 to 1956. They were as follows:

Height	5 feet 6½ inches
Weight	124 pounds
Bust	34½ inches
Waist	24½ inches
Hips	35 inches

Thus, America's Miss Americas were significantly thinner than Dr. Galbraith's ideal healthy woman.

Likewise, the ideal women of the eugenics experts and of the average American are understandably quite different. Cuber (1955) points this out very clearly when he compares geneticist Scheinfeld's views with that of the average American's views on what constitutes a beautiful woman. Eugenically, physical beauty in the classical Greek sense is unimportant, but strong features, high intelligence, seriousness, sturdy figure, ample waist, broad hips, sturdy wrists, strong hands, solid, sturdy limbs and ankles, and good-sized feet are important. Culturally and esthetically, classical Greek beauty is most important, as well as delicate features, the absence of "deep" intellect, vivaciousness, a slim figure, tiny waist, small hips, dainty hands and wrists, slender, soft, tapering limbs, and slim ankles and tiny feet.

According to Chaucer, as cited by Havelock Ellis, the beautiful woman is one endowed "with buttocks broad and breasts round and high"; that is to say, she is a woman equipped to give birth to and nurse children. Good-sized buttocks and breasts, because they represent aptitude for the two essential acts of motherhood—childbirth and lactation—must necessarily, Ellis believed, be regarded as beautiful among all peoples in all stages of cultural development. A comparative approach to conceptions of beauty reveal, however, that Ellis' assumption is not generally supported by the facts.

Havelock Ellis has stated that "a somewhat greater degree of fatness may be regarded as a feminine secondary character. This admiration is specially marked among several of the black peoples of Africa, and here to become a beauty a woman must, by drinking enormous quantities of milk, seek to become very fat."

Finck asks the age-old question: is a perfect man or perfect woman the more beautiful form? His answer is that: "The universality of curvature as a form of beautiful objects throughout nature and art is of importance in helping us to determine the question which is the more beautiful form—an Apollo or a Venus? A Venus, no doubt . . . in Beauty proper—in the roundness and delicacy of contours, in the smoothness of complexion and its subtle gradations of colour, in the symmetrical roundness and lustrous expressiveness of the eyes—the feminine type is pre-eminent."

It was, perhaps, Rubens' ability to capture these aspects of feminine beauty that placed his nudes among the treasured art works in the world. The Ford and Beach study findings (1951) generally agree with Rubens' conception of female beauty, for the majority of societies whose preferences on body build are recorded feel that a plump woman is sexually more attractive than a thin one. They also found that the Chuckchee, Hidatsa, Pukapukans, and Thonga believe that a beautiful woman, in addition to being plump, should be relatively tall and well built. Most of the societies in their sample admired a broad pelvis and wide hips.

Buttocks

With regard to gluteal and hip development, Ellis says: "The special characteristics of the feminine hips and buttocks become conspicuous in walking. . . . The vibratory movement naturally produced by walking and sometimes artificially heightened thus becomes a trait of sexual beauty." Schapera (1940), in his study of the African Kgatla people, found that they prized large, firm buttocks: "The buttocks, especially, have a powerful erotic appeal, and evoke many compliments, while much of the love play before coitus consists in caressing

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

them. Girls with slim backsides are seldom considered attractive; they are disparagingly said to have 'the bodies of boys.'"

Breasts

The breasts are also very important sources of sexual beauty. According to Reidman (1956), there are four main types of breasts: conic, discoid, hemispheric, and elongated. In Hawaii and New Zealand the small conical breast predominates, while the breasts of the American Indian woman generally are melon-shaped, elongated, and drooping. Chinese women tend to be flat-chested, and the Viennese are noted for their hemispheric type of breast. The tall blond peoples of northern Europe are known best for the discoid or bowl-shaped type of breast in which the base is longer than the sides.

Curry states that in the late Middle Ages beautiful breasts were described as follows: "The breast of a beautiful woman should be rather broad, and as white as snow or as clear as crystal. The breasts must be small, round as a pear or as an apple of paradise, and as soft as silk to the touch. Large breasts and long, hanging breasts are considered ugly."

The Singhalese like firm, conical breasts "like the yellow cocoa-nut." Westermarck tells us that: "The Kafirs and Hottentots are charmed by their women's long and pendant breasts, which, in certain tribes, assume such monstrous dimensions, that the usual way of giving suck, when the child is carried on the back, is by throwing the breast over the shoulder." However, among the Trobriand Islanders, firm, well-developed breasts are admired in women, according to Malinowski.

Ford and Beach, in their comparative study of sexual behavior in 185 societies, found that the Azande and Ganda peoples preferred long and pendulous breasts; that large breasts were admired among the Alorese, Apache, Hopi, Kurtatchi, Lesu, Siriono, Thonga, Trukese, and Wogeo; while the Manus and Masai believed that upright, hemispherical breasts were most beautiful. It would seem that among Americans, large, upright, hemispherical breasts are those most highly prized, at least judging from the figures of reigning Hollywood beauties.

Albert Ellis (1954) rightly points out that the breast cult in our society might be an indication of what Philip Wylie called momism and what many psychotherapists call infantilism: "The modern male's passion for large-breasted women is monotonously played up in hundreds of magazine and newspaper advertisements for brassieres, falsies, sweaters, bust creams, books, exercisers, and scores of other apparatuses and techniques."

The Face

The face has generally figured significantly as a focus of erotic interest. Curry states that medieval people regarded lips to be beautiful that were "sweet, gracious, small and laughing, soft and pleasant to kiss, and in color red or ruddy." Malinowski found that among the Trobriand Islanders erotic interest was focused on the head and face and that "The eyes . . . are to the natives gateways of erotic desire; they are also, in themselves, a center of erotic interest. Biting off the eyelashes, the custom of *mitakuku* as it is called, plays an important part in love-making."

The Skin

Joyce and Thomas (1942) tell us that many peoples pay particular attention to enhancing the natural beauty of the skin. Thus, Polynesian women keep their skin beautiful by frequent bathing in fresh water, together with subsequent oiling and shampooing; this makes their skin peculiarly soft and supple, with a sheen like that of rich satin. Curry states that during the Middle Ages people admired a skin that rivaled "the finest silk in softness." Schapera noted that to the Kgatla women "the most important thing was to wash the genitals everyday, 'to prevent them from stinking of sweat,' and so putting off possible suitors." Kgatla women also made their skin more soft and attractive by smearing on ointments. And although Kgatla men showed less interest in facial beauty than in bodily proportions they liked women with "refined oval features, shapely ears, large eyes, slender nose, and relatively thin lips."

The Beauty of Pregnant Women

There is, Havelock Ellis noted, "the tendency to regard the pregnant woman as the most

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

beautiful . . . since motherhood is the final aim of woman, and a woman reaches her full flowering period in pregnancy, she ought to be most beautiful when pregnant . . . for with the onset of pregnancy metabolism is heightened, the tissues become active, the tone of the skin softer and brighter, the breasts firmer, so that the charm of fullest bloom is increased."

Health and Beauty

In essence, then, female beauty—even more than male beauty—is the result of health. To most peoples of the world deformity and disease, old age and its accompanying defects rob a person of erotic appeal. Finck, in his classic *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty,* stresses the relationship between health and beauty when he says that: "Inasmuch as Personal Beauty is the flower and symbol of perfect Health, it might be shown, by following out this argument, that *ugliness is a sin, and man's first duty the cultivation of beauty.*"

According to Schopenhauer, cited in Finck, "The most important attribute of Beauty, in the lover's eye, is youth. . . . Health ranks next in importance. . . . A fine framework or skeleton is the third desideratum. . . . A certain plumpness or fullness of flesh is the next thing considered in sexual selection. . . . Excessive leanness is repulsive, and so is excessive stoutness. . . . Facial beauty ranks last."

The Medieval Conception of Feminine Beauty

Curry noted that to Western man during the Middle Ages, "the type of feminine beauty praised by the poets in the catalogues of charm is, without an exception, a blonde, whose hair is golden or like gold wire, eyes sparkling bright and light blue in color, cheeks lily-white or rose-red, white evenly set teeth, long, snow-white arms, and white hands with long slender fingers. Her figure is small, well-rounded, slender and graceful, with a small willowy waist as a prime standard of excellence. The skin is everywhere of dazzling whiteness, rivaling the finest silk in softness; and the lower limbs are well-formed and white as milk, with small white and shapely feet." This description is almost identical with the description given by Cuber of the *modern* American conception of feminine beauty and with the Miss America ideal.

The Siriono Conception of Beauty

The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia have an extremely different conception of feminine beauty, for their conception, in contrast to the medieval and modern American conceptions, is based on the woman's sexual and procreative functions. Holmberg (1946) writes: "Besides being young, a desirable sex partner should also be fat. She should have big hips, good sized but firm breasts, and a deposit of fat on her sexual organs. Fat women are referred to by the men with obvious pride as *eréN ekida* (fat vulva) and are thought to be much more satisfying sexually than thin women, who are summarily dismissed as being *ikaNgi* (bony). In fact, so desirable is corpulence as a sexual trait that I have frequently heard men make up songs about the merits of a fat vulva. . . . In addition to the criteria already mentioned, certain other physical signs of erotic beauty are recognized. A tall person is preferred to a short one; facial features should be regular; eyes should be large. Little attention is paid to the ears, the nose, or the lips, unless they are obviously deformed. Body hair is an undesirable trait and is therefore depilated, although a certain amount of pubic hair is believed to add zest to intercourse. A woman's vulva should be small and fat, while a man's penis should be as large as possible."

The Hindu Conception of Beauty

Havelock Ellis cites the Hindu conception of femininity as a subtle combination of the erotic and platonic: "Her face is pleasing as the full moon; her body, well clothed with flesh, is as soft as the Shiras or mustard flower; her skin is fine, tender, and fair as the yellow lotus, never dark colored. Her eyes are bright and beautiful as the orbs of the fawn, well cut, and with reddish corners. Her bosom is hard, full, and high; she has a good neck; her nose is straight and lovely; and three folds or wrinkles cross her middle—about the umbilical region. Her vulva resembles the opening lotus bud, and her love-seed is perfumed like the lily that has newly burst. She walks with flamingo-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

like gait, and her voice is low and as musical as the note of the Kokila bird."

Space does not permit descriptions of what other peoples regard as the feminine ideal. Interested readers should consult Joyce and Thomas' comprehensive, illustrated work, *Women of All Nations.*

In summary, conceptions of feminine beauty, although culturally determined and subject to considerable differences due to differential evaluations learned in various societies, have much in common. All societies usually conceive of beauty as closely related to *youth* and to *health* and generally to specific secondary sexual characteristics suggestive of woman's maternal role: well-developed breasts, buttocks, and hips. An important generalization concerning male and female beauty is that in most societies the physical beauty of the female receives more explicit attention than does that of the male. The male's physical appearance, as long as he is fairly healthy, is less important to a female than his skills, strength, courage, and prestige.

Artificial Beauty

Artificial Beauty in Men

Men, on the whole, are not as concerned with their own physical beauty as are women for the simple reason that, as a means of sexual attraction, a man's character, if he is physically healthy, is more important to a woman than his musculature and esthetic features. But to men, the physical beauty of a woman is often more significant than her character, or, at least equally so. Thus, in studies by Judson T. Landis (1958) and others, more than 60 per cent of the men said that, all other factors being satisfactory, they would *not* marry a woman decidedly not good looking, whereas only a little more than 20 per cent of the women stated that they would not marry a man decidedly not good looking—a statistically and social-psychologically significant difference.

The Poulaine and the Codpiece

Although the clothing of women is often used to enhance their sexual attractiveness, the clothing of men, particularly in Western civilization, seems less so designed. The writer knows of only two significant exceptions. During the Middle Ages many men wore a long shoe known as the *poulaine,* which was in the shape of a phallus and for a long time aroused considerable indignation. The other example was the *codpiece,* popular during the Tudor period (about 1550 A.D.). The codpiece was a bulging portion of the trousers containing the genitals, which was embellished by padding in such a way as to simulate a perpetual erection. To attract attention to their codpieces the men would have them made in attractive colors and sometimes decorate them with bright ribbons and even with gold and jewels.

About the only masculine characteristic that the clothes of men emphasize today in the Western world is the breadth of the shoulders, which is done by the use of shoulder pads in suits, jackets, coats, and some sport shirts. Even this emphasis has been lessened in recent fashion.

Of course, "elevator shoes," shoes that give a man extra height, could be considered as enhancing natural beauty, for tall men are generally preferred to shorter ones.

However, it is in the realm of cosmetics and grooming that modern men have most often enhanced natural beauty in an artificial way. Since a good crop of hair is often associated with youth and vigor, the toupee is very popular, particularly among men in the public eye. Only President Eisenhower and Yul Brynner have lent new dignity to bald-headed men in recent years.

Dentures, plastic surgery (especially on nose and ears), and girdles also help to make men look more youthful and sexually attractive.

Some Hazards of Men's Clothing

Some male dress habits are said to be responsible for damaging certain aspects of masculinity. Studies on higher apes have shown, for example, that baldness can be experimentally produced by placing tight bands around the neck and forehead, and it is believed that the tendency for men in the Western world to wear tight collars, neckties, and hats increases their chances of becoming bald. The New York

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Times has reported that research in Sweden indicates that the wearing of trousers may be more dangerous to future generations than the fallout from atomic and hydrogen bombs. The researchers believe that the excessive heating of the testicles caused by wearing tight shorts, athletic supporters, oversnug swim trunks, and the like has injurious effects upon spermatogenes. They suggest that men should wear skirts, kilts, a toga, or even trousers fitted with a codpiece. If further research confirms the Swedish report, perhaps there will be, in the not too distant future, a revolution in men's clothing.

Primitive peoples have done much more than civilized nations in providing men with artificial beauty. Nicobarese men would not attempt to make sexual advances until they have blackened their teeth, it is reported by Man (1886). Powell (1883), in his study of the men of New Britain, found a similar custom. Weeks (1913) reported that Boloki men, in order to increase their masculinity and attractiveness, chisel the upper incisors to V-shaped points.

Male Eskimos all along the coast of the Mackenzie River a century ago used to perforate the septum of the nose at the time of puberty and insert as an ornament a small piece of ivory about 3 inches long, according to Armstrong (1857).

Among peoples dwelling in the tropical rain forests, men usually wear some sort of pubic covering, a suspensory or supporter. Such conspicuous coverings as those of gleaming shells, bark, gourds, hide, grass, or cloth tend to attract attention to the genital area rather than hide it.

Tattooing is an art of body adornment highly developed in Japan and Polynesia. Among men of the lower classes in American society it serves as symbol of masculinity and toughness. In some cultures, cicatrization, or scarification, is held to be absolutely necessary to manhood. And so important are these scars as symbols of manhood that many men voluntarily repeat the operations to keep the scars large and fresh. Hoebel (1949) reports that among German fraternity students and university men dueling scars are given great honor. These scars are said to have great sex appeal, so much so that a dueling wound that does not fester and leave a noticeable scar is considered useless.

Artificial Beauty in Women

Among the Chinese, small feet are considered a woman's chief attraction and so the feet of girls are pressed from early childhood. Steatopygy, excessive development of fat on the buttocks, is common and admired among the Hottentots. The Baganda like pendulous breasts so much that their young women tie them down in order to hasten the condition.

Among some people the primary sexual parts of the female body are of erotic interest. Havelock Ellis cites reports that certain primitive West Africans elongate the labia and clitoris artificially by pulling them and attaching small weights to them. According to Ford and Beach, elongated labia majora are highly valued among the Dahomeans, Kusaians, Marquesans, Nama, Ponapeans, Thonga, Trukese, and Venda; and a large clitoris is of erotic interest among the Easter Islanders.

Women among the Maori are considered beautiful if they have received certain marks or tattooings, according to Robley (1896). And Seligmann (1910) reports that Koita and Motu girls have the region from the navel to the breasts, extending laterally to the mid-axillary lines, tattooed. Seligmann adds that Tubetube girls tattoo their faces before puberty and after puberty their chest, belly, and other parts.

Robley notes that the Maori believe that women should have full, *blue* lips and that they look upon red lips as a disfigurement. Coon (1949) states that "All primitive peoples known use some kind of body paint, usually made of clay and ochre mixed with fat. Lumps of this have been found in caves in association with Neanderthal man, who lived over 50,000 years ago. It was with 'lipsticks' of this kind that Cro-Magnon men painted animals on the walls of caves in France and Spain."

So it is that women have from the earliest times been concerned about making themselves attractive by using paint and powder, cutting their hair, cramping their chests, crushing their feet, scarring and tattooing and even mutilating their bodies, wearing bustles, corsets, bras-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sieres, having the nose remodeled and teeth straightened, etc., all in order to live up to what they believed was their society's idea of what constituted the type of beauty that attracted men and, perhaps, made other women envious.

Albert Ellis, in his *American Sexual Tragedy*, has analyzed the psychology of dress among American women. He concludes that fashion decrees that American women *must* be dressed "romantically, fashionably, distinctively, extensively, sex-enticingly, and properly." Thus, he goes on, "a girl carefully chooses her dresses and suits so that they make her appear shorter, taller, thinner, fatter, bigger-breasted, smaller-breasted, or something other than she actually is. Fictionalization thus becomes one of the main purposes of clothes selection."

Laver (1938), in this connection, makes a trenchant point concerning women's fashion and sex: "The female body consists of a series of sterilized zones which are exposed by a fashion which is just going out and an erogenous zone, which will be the point of interest for the fashion which is just coming in. This erogenous zone is always shifting, and it is the business of fashion to pursue it, without ever catching it up. It is obvious that if you do catch it up you are immediately arrested for indecent exposure. If you almost catch it up you are celebrated as a leader of fashion."

Concerning clothes of the future, Barnes (1929) has cited this interesting comment: "The world will be more comfortable and more decent when we progress to the point when both men and women can comfortably go to work in bathing-suits—with pockets." Albert Ellis seems to concur: "We expect the average girl not merely to look like a beauty contest winner but to dress like a duchess. This hardly minimizes her life burdens, nor best predisposes her to a non-anxious, emotionally stable existence."

It is only at the beach, on picnics, and at home, in the Western world and in America in particular, that people tend to wear the casual, comfortable clothes that bring out their natural beauty. Natural beauty will not manifest itself in the workaday world until those casual—and incidentally more hygienic—clothes are also worn there. Until that time, women, particularly in the Western world, are likely to augment the pretentiousness and "fictionalization," that Albert Ellis sees in contemporary behavior.

Social-Psychological Aspects of Beauty

The most significant aspects of beauty, as related to sex behavior, are neither natural nor associated with artificial beauty created by cosmetics, grooming, or clothes, but are rather those associated with such social-psychological factors as status, familiarity, and conceptions of goodness.

Curry points out that: "It is a peculiarity of the medieval mind to think of beauty as a characteristic of the good and to look upon ugliness as the distinguishing trait of the evil." It is quite apparent that this idea is still very much with us. From the earliest literature and folklore, heroes and heroines have generally been portrayed as handsome and beautiful persons. Likewise, evil men and women have generally been portrayed as ugly, deformed, diseased persons. Through the centuries Christ, who was supposed to have been the epitome of goodness, has almost always been portrayed as a handsome person. Evil devils and witches have always been portrayed as extremely ugly.

This idea that the good are beautiful and the evil are ugly is essentially a sound one. Thus, even the most perfectly beautiful person, in natural or artificial terms, is often looked upon as ugly if he is evil. And an ugly person who is good gives us the feeling that he is beautiful. We have defined beauty as that certain something that pleases us. Good persons are pleasing and hence beautiful, whereas evil persons do not please us, and are thus ugly. Consequently, Eleanor Roosevelt has been described by people who know her as one of the most beautiful women in the world because of her altruism, her sincerity, and her genuine love of mankind. Abraham Lincoln, homely by standards of physical beauty, was regarded as handsome because of the kind of person he was. Numerous examples of this kind could be given.

Previous familiarity is another significant social-psychological factor in sexual behavior related to beauty. If two females of relatively

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

equal physical beauty are candidates as sexual partners for a particular male, Ford and Beach report that in most societies the male will select the female with whom he is familiar, providing his previous association with her has been a pleasant one. Thus, while the exotic is often the spice of the erotic, the familiar acquaintance is generally preferred to the stranger. Xenophobia rears its ugly head in sexual relations as well as other human relations.

This fact is closely related to status in many societies. Sexual partners are largely determined on the basis of status relationships between potential partners. The incest taboo, relative both to biolological and to affinal relationships, defines a host of ineligible partners. Age, social class, religious affiliation, and many other factors also operate in sexual selection. Higher-status persons often are more sexually attractive than persons of lower status, because what is pleasing is frequently so because it is highly valued. Waller (1937), in his famous article on "the rating and dating complex" in American culture, showed how the most popular, most handsome, or most beautiful persons were sexually the most attractive to college students.

The important relationship between love and beauty has been expressed movingly by Rodin, who said:

> I can only grasp the beauty of the soul by the beauty of the body, but some day one will come who will explain what I only catch a glimpse of and will declare how the whole earth is beautiful, and all human beings beautiful. I have never been able to say this in sculpture so well as I wish and as I feel it affirmed within me. For poets Beauty has always been some particular landscape, some particular woman; but it should be all women, all landscapes. A Negro or a Mongol has his beauty, however remote from ours, and it must be the same with their characters. There is no ugliness. When I was young I made that mistake, as others do; I could not undertake a woman's bust unless I thought her pretty, according to my particular idea of beauty; today I should do a bust of any woman, and it would be just as beautiful. And however ugly a woman may look, when she is with her lover she becomes beautiful; there is beauty in her character, in her passions, and beauty exists as soon as character or passion becomes visible, for the body is a casting on which passions are imprinted. And even without that, there is always the blood that flows in the veins and the air that fills the lungs.

For the average person beauty is what is pleasing esthetically and emotionally to that *particular* person. He is the only judge of what is beautiful to him. However, to the emotionally gifted Rodin there was no particular kind of beauty, no ugliness; to Rodin all nature was beautiful.

From a mental-hygiene point of view Rodin's conception of beauty is a most healthy one, for it removes the invidious and shallow criteria by which beauty and sexual attractiveness are judged in many societies. Beauty without talent and intelligence is an empty kind of human beauty. It is interesting that the more recent candidates for "Miss America" were somewhat *less* beautiful in a physical sense but more talented, more intelligent, and of greater depth than previous contest winners. In the various male beauty contests, Mr. America contests, etc., winners are still selected on the sole basis of strength and physique, paying little attention to other more important characteristics of beauty. America generally has manifested an immature view of beauty.

Summary and Conclusions

Human beauty is most difficult to define and evaluate, since its attributes may be traced to two main sources, both of which may be internally inconsistent and each of which tends to be in conflict with the other. The first and perhaps primary source is biosocial. As indicated by the comparisons cited in this article, although virtually all peoples of the past and present world seem to accept as beautiful those human characteristics which are closely related to youth and health, ideals of beauty differ considerably from culture to culture. And, as might be expected, the vast majority of individuals in any given community are significantly influenced by the socially inculcated ideals of their region: so that both the upper and lower limits of what they accept as being "beautiful" in members of the other sex are appreciably determined by the means of social control and indoctrination to which they are subjected. To

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

a considerable degree, therefore, we may say that human beauty is that elusive phenomenon that some persons have by virtue of the fact that they possess natural or artificially acquired traits that happen to be highly valued by the culture in which they live.

At the same time, there is a distinctly individual and subjective source of beauty that counterpoints the usual culturally imbibed prejudice. Every human being is a biologically unique person—with his or her own particular taste buds, optic nerves, sense of smell, and other physical receptors. And every man or woman (even one who is a member of a set of identical twins) has his or her own set of life experiences, which are enormously influential in determining final tastes and preferences. These biological and experiential uniquenesses interact with and modify the more uniform biosocial influences which are brought to bear on all human beings residing within a given culture; and, in their turn, the culturally imbibed prejudices interact with and modify the more individualized somatic and experiential taste-producing tendencies which all people inherit or acquire.

The net result of these conflicting and interacting influences on what modes of beauty a given person will favor is bound to be somewhat, though never entirely, different in each individual case. Statistically speaking, it may easily be predicted that *most* members of one sex in a certain region will find a certain member of the other sex either beautiful or ugly. But it can rarely be predicted, except on the basis of an intimate personal knowledge of his or her past and present, how *a particular* person will rate the beauty of another male or female.

It would appear from the evidence surveyed in this article that males, in most regions of the world, tend to place too great an emphasis on the more physical or shallow aspects of female beauty. It is quite probable that if these males judged women the same way that women tend to judge male beauty—that is, primarily in terms of strength of character rather than in terms of esthetics—this might be a better and happier world. For such a standard of beauty would help counteract some of the crippling feelings of inferiority that many admirable persons now experience because they see themselves (as others frequently view them) as esthetically ugly. It is unfortunate that many members of both sexes now stand accepted or condemned by a standard of beauty over which they have relatively little control and which almost inevitably foredooms them as they grow chronologically older.

References

"Aesthetics." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1953, Vol. I, p. 267.

Armstrong, Alexander, *Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the Northwest Passage.* London, 1857.

Barnes, Harry Elmer, "Sex in Education." In V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (eds.), *Sex in Civilization.* New York: Macaulay, 1929.

"Beauty Culture." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1953, Vol. III, p. 281.

Beigel, Hugo G., "Sex and Human Beauty." *J. Aesthet. 12;* 83-92, 1953.

Cladel, Judith, *Auguste Rodin.* Paris: 1903.

Coon, Carleton S., *A Reader in General Anthropology.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1949.

Cuber, John F., *Sociology* (3rd ed.). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955, p. 187.

Curry, Walter C., *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty.* Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1916.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Boni, 1951.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 136-212.

Finck, Henry T., *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1887, Vol. II.

Flügel, J. C., *The Psychology of Clothes.* London: Hogarth Press, 1950.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Frumkin, Robert M., "Visual Aphrodisiacs." *Sexology 20;* 481-483, 1954.

Frumkin, Robert M., "Intimate History of Clothing." *Sexology 23;* 244-250, 1956.

"Hazard of Men's Clothing." New York *Times,* December 29, 1957.

Hoebel, Adamson E., *Man in the Primitive World.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949, Chap. 11.

Holmberg, A. R., *The Siriono.* New Haven: unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1946.

Hume, David, *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (ed. by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose). London: 1875, Vol. I.

Joyce, T. Athol, and Thomas, N. W. (eds.), *Women of All Nations.* New York: Metro Publications, 1942.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Landis, Judson T., and Landis, Mary G., *Building a Successful Marriage* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958, p. 97, Table 6.

Laver, James, *Taste and Fashion.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932.

Man, E. H., "A Brief Account of the Nicobar Islanders." *J. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* (London) *15;* 441, 1886.

Miss America Pageant. Atlantic City, Miss America Pageant, 1956.

"Modern Living: the Pink Jungle." *Time 71;* 86-90, June 16, 1958.

Newton, Eric, *The Meaning of Beauty.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950.

Powell, Willfred, *Wanderings in a Wild Country.* London: 1883.

"Qualities." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1953, Vol. XVIII, p. 812.

Riedman, Sarah R., "The Female Breast." *Sexology 23;* 226-231, 1956.

Robley, H. G., *Moko: Maori Tattooing.* London: 1896.

Seligmann, C. G., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea.* London: 1910.

Schapera, I., *Married Life in an African Tribe.* London: Faber and Faber, 1940.

Simmel, Georg, "Fashion." *Am. J. Sociol. 62;* 541-558, 1957.

Waller, Willard, "The Rating and Dating Complex." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 2;* 727-734, 1937.

Wax, Murray, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming." *Am. J. Sociol. 62;* 588-593, 1957.

Weeks, John H., *Among Congo Cannibals.* London: 1913.

Westermarck, Edward A., *The History of Marriage* (2nd ed.). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1894, Chap. XII, pp. 253-277.

ROBERT M. FRUMKIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Catholicism and Sex

SEX is viewed by Catholicism, as it perceives all things, from a total and integral point of view. Accordingly, sex is seen in its supernatural and natural aspects, and in its psychological and spiritual aspects. Every "error" relating to sex it believes due to a viewpoint less than total and integral—one that tends to take sex out of its full context. This viewpoint of Catholicism is not an arbitrary one; on the contrary, it is predicated upon a set of principles, laws, and facts garnered from theology, philosophy, and from empirical-clinical findings.

Theological Aspects

Dogma

Through its dogma (and derivatives of dogma) as learned from revelation, tradition, and the teachings of the Church, sex appears as one of the phenomena created from the beginning of the human race. Genesis relates that when God created the human race He established two sexes. "Man and woman He created them" implies that sex is not just a physical variance but relates to the total natures of men and women—their "manliness" and "womanliness." This, in turn, implies, along with an essential equality of both sexes, the existence of psychological and physiological differences that serve as means to their respective roles of paternity and maternity. The sexes, as so created, were amongst those creatures which, on the seventh day, God called "good."

Accordingly, the sex act in original integrity was good, noble, dignified; even since the Fall in the Garden of Eden, sex when rightly used has been considered a noble act. It is considered an act of the virtue of justice because it accords to one's spouse his or her rights of the marriage contract; an act of the virtue of charity since the sex act is an expression and intensification of love and also since it reduces the dangers of incontinency in one's spouse; an act of the virtue of chastity for this virtue consists in the right and proper use of sex; and an act of the virtue of religion (*Summa Theologica*, Vol. III, Supp. q. 41, art. 4) since its proper use redounds to the praise of God and gives birth to worshippers of God, both in this world and in the next.

For this reason, Catholicism's view of sex has nothing in common with the Puritanical attitudes so widespread in our culture at one time. Before the Fall, although naked, Adam and Eve had no sense of shame. This was because their sensual appetites were subject to reason and will, and reason and will were subject to God. The Fall, having impaired this integrity of man's nature, induced a rightful (though limited) sense of shame. Darkened intellects and weakened wills can no longer enjoy autocratic control over the promptings of lower nature. Temptations to sexual irregularity now come unbidden and sometimes remain against one's will; in addition, during the height of passion, lower nature at times overcomes the reign of rationality.

For this reason, Catholicism believes that a rightful sense of shame is proper and should not be abolished through faulty sex education. Such a sense of shame (not, however, the excessive and damaging inhibitions of Puritanism) furnishes a necessary safeguard to chastity. Sex education when given should use those safeguards required to obviate fallen human

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

nature's proneness to sexual temptation. Although a limited number of physical facts are indispensable for adequate sex education, the undue detailing of such facts can serve little purpose except to incite the passions of a weakened human nature. Because of the sensitivity of weakened nature to sexual arousal, dress, movies, literature, television, radio, and similar means of suggestion and communication should be free of anything of an inciting nature.

Catholicism, accordingly, believes that sex education should include the discipline necessary to handle sex correctly. Mature persons do not give a knife to a child without training the child in its proper use. Similarly, sex education given without benefit of moral control and discipline is deemed extremely dangerous. In this, as in other basic rules of life, the parents have the primary responsibility and grave duty. If, for compelling reasons, parents cannot give it, they must assure themselves that their teacher-substitute will educate their children in all the aspects of sex, including its religious and moral discipline.

Before the Fall, the pleasures of sex were keener because man's faculties were more perfect; this pleasurableness, although lessened after the Fall, remains a rightful part of sex experience. Pius XII in this respect said: "The Creator Who in His goodness and wisdom has willed to conserve and propagate the human race through the instrumentality of man and woman by uniting them in marriage has ordained also that in performing this function, husband and wife should experience pleasure and happiness both in body and soul. In seeking and enjoying this pleasure, therefore, couples do nothing wrong. They accept that which the Creator has given them." On the other hand, to strive to intensify the pleasureableness of the sex act simply for the sake of pleasure has been labeled "un-Christian" by the same Pope. He deplored the current trends by pointing out that "This modern cult of pleasure is empty of all spiritual value and unworthy of Christian couples. . . . Banish from your minds the cult of pleasure and do your best to stop the diffusion of literature that thinks it a duty to describe in full detail the intimacy of conjugal life under the pretext of instructing, directing and reassuring." Despite the impairments due to the Fall of man in the Garden of Eden, sex remains a noble, good, and virtuous act when rightly used in marriage. It is the union of souls and bodies; for those in the state of sanctifying grace, it is the union of two persons who are "temples of the Holy Ghost."

Furthermore, by the procreation of children, sex imitates the love of Christ for His Bride—The Church—whom He fructifies to spiritual offspring in the waters of baptism. Catholicism conceives the possibility of sex being used in three ways: (1) as an animal, fusing male and female on the physical level and impelled by no motive other than sensual thrill; (2) as a human being—in which sex becomes a union of mind, heart, and will as well as of body and effected by the dictate of reason primarily for the purpose of propagating the human species and secondarily for personal development; and (3) as a Christian—in which case the sex act reflects the union of Christ with His Church, safeguards and promotes the spiritual as well as the psychosomatic well-being of spouses, and propagates worshippers of God. Of many possible methods of expanding the human race and ultimately populating heaven, God devised sex. In the present state of nature, no other means of propagation of the human species is available. It is unmistakably oriented toward this purpose which, accordingly, remains primary.

The indulgence of sex before marriage or with another than one's spouse after marriage avoids the proper generative and educative intent placed on the act by the Creator. This does not imply that married partners must have as their primary purpose the procreation of another human being every time they perform the sex act. But it does imply that, procreation being primary, the birth of a child may not be deliberately frustrated by a couple. In addition, sex properly used has equally clear purposes that serve the welfare of the individual rightly employing it—expression and intensification of love, lessening of sex tensions and drive, psychological and physical prosperity, growth in selflessness and of the total personality, and an increase of sanctifying grace in the souls of those already possessing this grace. Furthermore, the union which the sex act is assists two to become one in a unity so pro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

found that St. Paul commented that a man who "loveth his wife, loveth himself." It is this mysterious profundity of the unity of two persons that constitutes one of the reasons for Catholicism's opposition to divorce; as taught by Christ, "Whosoever shall put away his wife . . . and shall marry another, committeth adultery" (Matt. 19:9).

Moral Code

In its moral code, Catholicism applies the regulations made imperative by the nature and purposes of sex as devised by the Divine Plan. Just as all civil governments think it necessary to regulate sex by civil statutes, so the Divine government of the universe implies certain regulations that alone will ensure the proper use of sex. The sex act is a heterosexual union for purposes both supernatural and natural, social and personal. Fallen human nature, through ignorance or malevolence, will not execute in practice this proper use of sex without the guidance and strength of the Divine Plan for sex. The sex perversions that inevitably accompany religious decline attest to this fact.

Having supernatural purposes, sex must ever be used so as to be an act of justice, charity, chastity, and religion. As a natural act, it needs in all instances to conform to the dictates of rationality and to the pattern found in nature (hence the immorality of artificial insemination). The sociality of sex indicates that any solitary use of sex, such as masturbation, is unnatural, and that it is chiefly intended for the preservation of society. Hence, any intentional and artificial blockage of nature's purposes, such as the use of contraceptives, is deemed immoral; any destruction of the generative potential by sterilization (except for reasons of disease), or any direct aborting of a living fetus before birth, are obstructive of nature's clear intention that the sex act be primarily an act of generation. The act of withdrawal vitiates the procreation purpose and is similarly wrong. Catholicism has ever held to the Scriptural account in which Onan was struck dead on the spot for his unnatural prevention of childbirth, which the Bible castigates as "a detestable thing in the sight of the Lord" (Genesis 38:8–10).

The heterosexuality of the sex act indicates that the use of this act between persons of the same sex is opposed to its nature and purposes, and accordingly unethical. On the other hand, Catholicism does not object to family limitation by cooperating with nature through periodic continence known as "rhythm," provided a compelling and justifiable reason is present. Such abstinence from the sex act during the fertile period, even though it has the same purpose as contraceptive use (family limitation), unlike contraceptives does not employ any artificial instrument for blocking nature's intent, and, after setting nature's processes in motion, allows them (without interference of any kind) to work themselves out to their natural termination. Since this is not in any way a stoppage of nature's processes it can be employed when a just reason (such as repeated miscarriages or probable death of the mother) is present. In the absence of a "justifiable reason," the only purpose of periodic continence would be "selfishness" in one form or another —and selfishness is always wrong.

In fact, for the rhythm method to be used without guilt three conditions need to be present: (1) there must be a justifiable reason, as already stated; (2) it must be mutually agreed upon (except when one has a right to refuse), since the marriage contract requires sex rights to be given one's life partner whenever he or she requests such rights reasonably; and (3) the mutually agreed-upon abstinence must not be a proximate occasion of infidelity on the part of one or both spouses. In the same light, partners in marriage may not, in the absence of compelling reasons (as illness), absent themselves from each other for any prolonged length of time except by mutual consent and provided there is no serious danger to infidelity, or solitary sin. Between married partners, however, any actions (kisses, embraces) are deemed proper only so long as they do not lead to an orgasm outside the act of physical union. Such intimacies are rightful expressions of love and preludes to the act of physical union, and without them the ardor of physical love can easily turn into frigidity. Because of the psychosomatic nature of sex it is desirable that physical union be approached affectionately; each partner has a right to the warmth of human intercourse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: MoE

Ascetic Doctrines

In its ascetic doctrines Catholicism teaches that, exalted as is the proper use of sex, the sacrifice of sexual love for the purpose of a more intense dedication to God is deemed even more desirable. Virginity or celibacy is even greater than marriage, not in itself or in every instance, but only when it is taken for God's sake. Catholicism in this matter adheres to the Scriptural teaching: "He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord: how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world: how he may please his wife" (I Cor. 7:32–33). The unmarried who are celibate for God's sake in effect renounce marriage and its sex privileges so that the time, energy, and money that would be rightfully demanded by a family can be used, instead, for promoting the kingdom of God. Furthermore, the practice of celibacy serves as a mute but effective refutation to those who think that continence is impossible.

Even for the married, the ascetic counsels of Catholicism urge that couples refrain from attempting to drain the cup of sex pleasure to its last dregs. Pius XII pointed out that "even here couples must know how to restrict themselves within the limits of moderation. As in eating and drinking, so in the sexual act, they must not abandon themselves without restraint to the impulse of the senses." This is one reason why an emphasis upon the techniques of physical stimulation is condemned by Pius XII as hedonistic and capable of serving no other purpose than the intensification of passionate thrills. Further, married couples are advised (but not commanded) on occasion to voluntarily and temporarily abstain in order: (1) to acquire that self-discipline that is required at such times as prior and subsequent to childbirth; (2) to perform penance, especially during certain penitential seasons such as Lent; (3) to devote themselves less distractedly, for a while, to spiritual matters.

In general, Catholicism views sex as one of the noblest acts human beings can perform on the natural level. It implies the high privilege of participating with God in His creative act; it further implies the greatest creativity of which humans are capable on the natural level —that of other human beings who will live eternally to the praise and glory of God.

Philosophical Aspects

Philosophy, the discipline that discovers truths through reason, has traditionally been called "the handmaid of theology." Through reason some of the revealed truths relating to sex can be known, and others can be more fully understood; but many truths not revealed but relevant to orderly living are arrived at through the use of man's intelligence. In this rational sense, Catholicism views sex only in the light of its total context within the nature and purpose of man, as well as the nature and purpose of sex. Philosophy indicates that man was made by God for His purposes, that these purposes are indicated by His will which, in turn, is partly determinable by His laws. All nature, including man and his sexual components, is subject to laws indicating the Divine Plan and known as "natural laws." These rules for sex and human nature, made by their Creator, are obviously intended (as are all rules attached by human inventors to the products of their minds) to indicate uses that are right and proper and most conducive to order and the attainment of rightful purposes.

On the natural level man is a composite of body and soul intimately integrated into a whole, sometimes called "the self" or "the ego." Sex as a part of man's nature colors both his higher nature of intellect and will as well as his lower nature of emotions and bodily instincts. The attitudinal aspects of sex transcend in importance the physical and should dominate the latter. Sexual incitement, adjustment, or frigidity are, accordingly, more a matter of the psychological than of the physiological component.

A rational study of nature further indicates that the chief purpose of sex in the Divine Plan of the universe was to perpetuate the human species. Reason compels the position that sex is intended for the preservation of the race, even as food is intended primarily for preservation of self. Common sense indicates that the pleasure of eating is a concomitant effect, not an end in itself. Similarly, the pleasurableness

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of sex, although proper, cannot be its chief purpose. The very intensity of the natural pleasure drive in eating and in sexuality points to the transcendent import of the goals of self- or social preservation. Were the pleasure drive less strong, the goal of preservation of self and species would be more in jeopardy. On the other hand, reason assures us that the procreation and education of children is best served by parents who are happy, loving and loved, companionable, and devoted to each other's happiness and welfare. Sexual love, by deepening the unity, the love, and the development of the personalities of husbands and wives, is a potent factor in expanding their parental capacities as educators of their children.

In addition, the inadequacies of the "manliness" of the male and the "womanliness" of the female are complemented by the psychological characteristics of each sex. In this sexual-psychological union husbands and wives find their complement and their completion. This secondary purpose of marital love maintains its importance even when the procreation of children is not possible or even when prudent reasons exist for the practice of periodic continence. To pursue sex exclusively for pleasure is a form of sexual gluttony not unlike the quest for food beyond the requirements of self-preservation or of social intercourse.

Reason clearly indicates that initiating nature's generative processes and subsequently inhibiting these processes from their clear procreative goal is a contravention of nature's (and the Author of nature) intent. This appears more striking, perhaps, were one to compare it to eating and immediately taking a drug that would destroy the digestive system's assimilation of the food. Further, the easy availability of contraceptives encourages extramarital and premarital sexuality. It intensifies an immaturity that induces individuals to enjoy the pleasures of sex without its corresponding responsibilities.

Again, since any living fetus has a soul within it, directly aborting the living fetus is an act of murder of an unborn but living human being who is a composite of soul and body. Reason similarly assures us that no part of the body may be dismembered except to safeguard bodily health; for this reason, sterilization of generative organs when they are not threatening the health or life of the individual is against nature and an act of unwarranted mutilation.

In contrast to the pan-sexualism of some schools of thought, reason clearly indicates that the sex drive is merely a part of the total sexuality—both psychological and physical—of human beings. On the other hand, sex is nature's deepest secret; only the most degenerate of people dare to expose it by open, public exhibitionism. In both primitive and advanced cultures, the sex act is recognized as a private and secretive act. Again, modesty in dress, etc., is indicated since secrets must not be easily disclosed, especially if they are associated with a function so important to the welfare of the race.

The nature and purpose of sex demand an adult stature by those using it; after having learned the art of self-preservation as a child and youth, human beings assume the mature responsibility of perpetuating the race. This requires an outgoing attitude, a social instinct, cooperation, selflessness, and otherness. Sex, like marriage, is for adults only. It represents man's highest natural creativity in comparison to which any other human creative effort remains inferior. In general, reason confirms theology in the position that the Author of nature has placed regulations for the proper use of sex, even as He has placed clearly observable rules concerning all forms of nature—inorganic, vegetative, animal, and human. The discovery of all of these laws by revelation, by reason, by observation, and by experimentation remains a continuing challenge to men.

Empirical and Clinical Aspects

The quest for knowledge of nature's laws is the preoccupation of the sciences—sacred, natural, and social. It is precisely because natural science can and does uncover more and more of the laws of nature that Catholicism respects it and has implicit confidence in its capacity to serve God, man, and society. Contrary to erroneous beliefs, Catholicism has no fear of empirical-clinical science; it has only respect and encouragement for it. What are feared, however (with a fear based upon compelling evidence), are the unproved hypotheses and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

inconclusive theories that are so unscientifically heralded as scientific "facts" or "laws." There is not, unfortunately, a single empirical survey relating to sex (including the Kinsey reports) that has given us any conclusive scientific laws. Due to their inadequate methodology, all of them still present nothing more than feeble theories. In many instances the various surveys directly contradict one another.

Physiologically viewed, the sex act is exclusively designed for generative purposes. The ejection of semen, the search by the semen for the ova, the profuse millions of life seeds in one ejaculation, and the entire orientation and functioning of the female reproductive system in response to seminal penetration compel an acceptance of the primacy of generation in the sex act. Catholicism is as eager as the eugenists to discover the truths of heredity, but realizes that until now little has been proved in this field. Pius XII, addressing a group of geneticists, said: "We ourselves urged the furtherance of research in the hope that some day perhaps results might be achieved which one could be sure of, for up to the present nothing definitive has been obtained." Accordingly, Catholicism teaches that the practice of sterilization of defectives is not only unethical but unscientific. Innovations that run counter to historic experience and natural law (such as contraceptives) must, on a rational and scientific basis, be withheld not only because of the above reasons but also in view of any conclusive proof of the harmlessness of such practices to the individual and to society.

In the face of mounting evidence of a scientific nature, such as the incidence of endemetriosis with the use of contraceptives, it seems unscientific to dash ahead presuming such practices to be innocuous. A growing conviction in psychiatric circles that artificial insemination frustrates the couple and leads to depression further indicates the unscientific rashness of engaging in a practice which, in time, may be proved to be extremely harmful. The complete absence of any medical need for abortion, and in the face of the clearly established adverse results of abortion, the advocacy of this practice also is devoid of scientific premises.

The traditional position of Catholicism that the imparting of sex education is a strict duty of parents stands confirmed by the mounting evidence today of the dire results of the failure to do so. The former hyperemphasis upon physiological detail is now, in the light of clinical data and experiences, giving way to an emphasis upon the attitudinal and emotional components of sex. Catholicism's traditional position that sex is more psychological than physical is constantly being reaffirmed by the findings of psychosomatic medicine. In general, conscious of the fact that theological and philosophical truths have never been contradicted by proved scientific laws, Catholicism urges the progress of true and authentic scientific knowledge. It rests secure in the conviction that her teachings will continue to be upheld rather than contraindicated by genuine and conclusive scientific facts.

Summary and Conclusions

Some of the viewpoints of Catholicism in respect to sex may be stated as follows:

1. Sex is a creation of God and has a set of regulations fixed by Him for its proper use.

2. Sex has supernatural and natural, psychological and physiological, components. The supernatural and psychological transcend in importance the natural and the physiological.

3. It is total and integral, permeating the entire nature of human beings. Sexuality refers more to the differentiations—both psychological and physical—of humans. It is not merely an act, much less a mere physical act. On the contrary, sex embraces all that is implied in "manliness" and "womanliness."

4. Its nature can only be understood correctly in the light of the nature of man himself; its purposes understood rightly only in the light of the purposes of man.

5. The chief purpose of sex is social; only secondarily are its purposes oriented to serve individual goals. Catholicism believes that the current tendency to exalt the personal goals of sex is evidence of "rugged individualism" in marriage.

6. The pleasurableness of sex is deemed a proper concomitant of the generative act. To exalt it to a quest for sexual thrills, however, is thought a form of sexual gluttony. Modera-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tion here, as elsewhere, is considered the golden mean.

7. Properly used, the sex act is one of significant supernatural and natural worth and dignity.

8. To sacrifice sex privileges by a celibate life is superior to the use of the generative function if it is undertaken for the purpose of freeing oneself for an even nobler service of God.

9. Any and all forms of artificial or unnatural birth frustration are immoral; forms of family limitation not violating nature's processes are ethical under certain conditions.

10. Sex education is a serious duty for parents. It must, however, be complete and include education of the will and in religious living, or it will defeat its purpose and result in sexual misuse.

11. Because of man's lack of autocratic control over lower nature and his sensitivity to sexual arousal, modesty in dress, posture, movies, literature, television, etc., is imperative.

12. Good sex adjustment is more a matter of attitudinal and emotional than of physical factors. Contrariwise, frigidity is more frequently induced by Puritanical attitudes or an inadequate affectional rapport than by organic causes.

13. Catholicism trusts that empirical-clinical research will hasten its findings regarding sex. Although it fears the pseudoscience of unproved theories so common today, it remains secure in the fact that not a single proved scientific law in any manner contradicts its teachings. On the contrary, it believes that truth in theology can never disagree with truth in science since God who is Infinite Truth is the Author of both sacred and secular sciences.

Nihil obstat:
Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R.
Censor Deputatus

Imprimatur:
✠ Patrick A. O'Boyle
Archbishop of Washington

The *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* are official declarations that a book or pamphlet is free of doctrinal or moral error. No implication is contained therein that those who have granted the *nihil obstat* and the *imprimatur* agree with the content, opinions or statements expressed.

July 17, 1959

References

Buckley, Joseph, *Christian Design for Sex* (2 vols.). Chicago: Fides Publishers Assn., 1952.

Cavanagh, John R., *Fundamental Marriage Counseling.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956.

Clemens, Alphonse H., *Marriage and the Family: An Integrated Approach for Catholics.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.

Davis, Henry, *Moral and Pastoral Theology,* Vol. II. London: Sheed and Ward, 1938.

Hildebrand, Dietrich von, *In Defense of Purity.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1936.

Kelly, Gerald, *Medical-Moral Problems.* St. Louis: Catholic Hospital Association of United States and Canada, 1958.

Leclercq, Jacques, *Marriage and the Family—A Study in Social Philosophy.* New York: Frederick Pustet Co., 1947.

McAuliffe, Michael F., *Catholic Moral Teaching on the Nature and Object of Conjugal Love.* Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954.

Messenger, E. C., *Two In One Flesh* (2 vols.). Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1948.

O'Donnell, Thomas, *Morals in Medicine.* Westminster, Md.: Newman Book Shop, 1956.

St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province). New York: Benziger Brothers Inc., 1920. (Index Vol. III, p. 3907, see Adam, Adultery, Apparel, Coition, Concubinage, Concupiscence, Concupiscible, Continence, Fornication, Frigidity, Generation, Impurity, Incontinency, Infidelity, Intercourse, Lust, Man, Matrimony, Modesty, Nuptials, Passion, Pollution, Prostitution, Rape, Semen, Sex, Sin Original, Sodomy, Temperance, Virginity.)

Sattler, Henry V., *Parents, Children and the Facts of Life.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1952.

Thomas, John, *Rhythm.* Westminster, Md.: Newman Book Shop, 1957.

Wayne, T. J., *Morals and Marriage—The Catholic Background to Sex.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936.

Wilkins, Vincent, *The Image of God in Sex.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.

Woods, Ralph L. (ed.), *The Catholic Concept of Love and Marriage.* New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1958.

ALPHONSE H. CLEMENS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Censorship of Sexual Literature

THE tremendous power exercised by the written word has always invited interference by governmental forces. In ancient China the Emperor Chi Huang Ti ordered the destruction of the *Analects* of Confucius, and Ovid was banished from Imperial Rome by Augustus for writing the *Ars Amatoria.* In Western Europe the discovery of printing intensified this pressure in the fifteenth century. The Roman Church, apprehending the threat to her control over thought and belief, set up the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* which today lists over four thousand books forbidden to the faithful except by permission of ecclesiastical authority.

England

Countries affected by the Reformation were by no means exempt from the prevailing trend. Henry VIII of England entrusted the control of books to the new Court of Star Chamber, which insisted that they should be read and approved before printing. The detested Star Chamber was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641; and it was against the enactment of a new system of licensing for publications that Milton wrote his immortal *Areopagitica.* After the Restoration attempts to reintroduce censorship were short-lived, and henceforward governmental control of literature was mainly exercised through the common law of libel by the judges of the King's courts.

Obscene Libel

Four sorts of libel came to be distinguished: defamatory, seditious, blasphemous, and (a late-comer) obscene. In 1708 an attempt to punish one Read for printing *The Fifteen Plagues of a Maidenhead* proved unsuccessful, the judge saying that because the ecclesiastical courts were powerless it did not follow that the civil courts could deal with the case. In 1739, however, after considerable argument the judges of the King's Bench fined the bookseller, Edmund Curll, for printing *Venus in the Cloister or the Nun in her Smock.* This case firmly established a common-law misdemeanor, and it is both amusing and instructive to note how the old indictments for this offense read:

> . . . A.B. being a person of a wicked and depraved mind and disposition, and unlawfully and wickedly devising, contriving, and intending, to vitiate and corrupt the morals of the liege subjects of our Lord the King, to debauch and poison the minds of divers of the liege subjects of our said Lord the King and to raise and create in them lustful desires, and to bring the said liege subjects into a state of wickedness, lewdness, and debauchery . . . unlawfully, wickedly, maliciously, scandalously, and wilfully did publish, sell and utter, and cause and procure to be published, sold and uttered, a certain lewd, wicked, bawdy, scandalous, and obscene libel in the form of a book . . . in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, in violation of common decency, morality and good order, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

Censorship of Sexual Literature Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

This quaint phraseology emphasized the public and widespread nature of the offense as originally conceived. In recent times, however, the public element has not been insisted upon by judges, and convictions have been secured in respect of quite private communications, such as indecent letters sent in furtherance of illicit amours. "Publication" in law can mean no more than giving or lending a book, picture, or manuscript to another person. In the notorious case of Montalk (1932), the accused did no more than take the manuscript of a very literary but risqué Christmas card to a printer to get copies to send to his friends; yet he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and the sentence was upheld by the Court of Criminal Appeal.

By contrast, the mildness of the eighteenth-century attitude was illustrated in 1750 when a young gentleman, John Cleland, pleaded poverty as an excuse when arraigned before the Privy Council for writing *The Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*. The President of the Council, the Earl of Granville, granted him a pension of £100 a year on condition that he did not repeat the offense. The book, better known by the name of its heroine, Fanny Hill, is devoted to unvarnished descriptions of love-making and brothel scenes. With the passage of years it has become a sort of best-seller in spite of all attempts at suppression.

The Obscene Publications Act of 1857

The law of obscene libel did not assume any great importance or interfere seriously with literature or science until the nineteenth century when, with the growing literacy of the masses, the authorities became increasingly concerned about a trade in pornography that the existing processes of the law were too clumsy to suppress effectively. After Lord Campbell had been instrumental in passing a bill through Parliament to restrict the sale of poisons, he gave his attention to "a sale of poison more deadly than prussic acid, strychnine or arsenic," as he put it, and the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 was the result.

This Act enabled the magistrates, on information that an obscene book had been sold, to issue a warrant to search the premises concerned. Any allegedly obscene matter found had to be brought into court, and, unless the owner showed cause to the contrary, could be ordered to be destroyed. The Act was not passed until Lord Campbell, who was Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench at the time, had assured the House of Lords that it "was intended to apply exclusively to works written for the single purpose of corrupting the morals of youth and of a nature calculated to shock the common feelings of decency in any well-regulated mind," and that no change would take place in the legal test of obscenity.

The Test of Obscenity

Lord Campbell evidently considered that in law obscenity was equivalent to gross and worthless pornography, but only eleven years later Lord Chief Justice Cockburn put a very different complexion on the matter. In Hicklin's case, which was brought under the 1857 Act, he laid down his famous definition of obscenity as follows:

> The test of obscenity is this, whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.

Since neither the Act of 1857 nor any of the other statutes in which obscenity is mentioned contain any definition of that word, Cockburn's dictum has governed the English courts up to the time of this writing, and it was the test which judges in their summings up directed juries to apply, and which magistrates applied when considering whether any matter was obscene.

The Customs and the Post Office

Besides the Act of 1857, a dozen or so other statutes deal with obscene publications in a subsidiary way. These Acts give special powers to the customs, postal, and police authorities. The most serious consequences have flowed from the long-standing powers of the customs authorities now embodied in the Customs Consolidation Acts of 1876 and 1952. These enable customs officers to seize any imported matter that they consider obscene. The consignee must be advised and he can challenge the seizure in

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

court but the Customs can insist on summary jurisdiction. If the seizure is not challenged the matter can be destroyed without a court order. The Post Office has similar powers and it is a criminal offense to post obscene matter even under seal or inoffensive covers.

The Law and Serious Literature

This combination of common and statute law, together with a judicial definition of obscenity so elastic that it could be stretched to cover almost anything dealing with sex, constituted a formidable legal weapon. Its use was successful in suppressing open trade in the grosser sorts of pornography, but a business still flourished in a wishy-washy catchpenny variety that was no doubt just as demoralizing. However, the weapon placed in the hands of the authorities by the judges and the legislature was not allowed to lie idle so far as serious literature was concerned. Scientific and educational works, and serious novels, were not immune from its operation. Important and typical cases are noted below.

In 1877 Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant were prosecuted for reprinting Charles Knowlton's *The Fruits of Philosophy*, an exposition of early contraceptive methods by an American physician, first published in 1832. The defendants were sentenced to fine and imprisonment but the sentence was set aside on appeal because of a technical flaw in the indictment.

In 1889 Henry Vizetelly, a publisher with advanced ideas, was sent to prison for publishing translations of Zola's novels, in spite of their being bowdlerized.

In 1898 the first installment of Havelock Ellis' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, which had just appeared, was attacked by the prosecution of one George Bedborough for selling it. Bedborough escaped punishment by pleading guilty, and for a generation Ellis' great work had to be published abroad. This case is particularly interesting because Ellis had no opportunity to defend his work. It was by no means a rare event for a book to be condemned as obscene because a publisher or bookseller did not choose to defend it, without the author being able to say a word in defense of his creation.

In 1915 the first edition of D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* was ordered to be destroyed. Similarly, the Customs do their best to keep the unexpurgated edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* out of England, although it is widely read. Lawrence was deeply hurt when in 1929 a number of his pictures were seized from an exhibition at the Leicester Galleries in London and reproductions in book form destroyed.

In 1922 the Customs made a bonfire on the quay of Folkestone Harbour of 500 copies of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and it was not until the American case in 1934 (dealt with below) that the book was allowed, without any official recantation, to circulate in England. Alfred Noyes made a minor but zealous contribution to the banning of a great literary work by securing, through the influence of Mr. Justice Darling, the withdrawal of the book from the sale of Lord Birkenhead's library when he died.

In 1928 Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, a sincere and high-minded novel dealing with female homosexuality, was ordered to be destroyed. The same year the book was cleared of obscenity by the New York Court of Special Sessions. It was republished in England in 1949 without any action being taken by the authorities.

In the Fortune Press case (1934), a holocaust was made of a number of translations, including the *Satyricon* of Petronius, the *Greek Anthology*, and works by Brantôme, Huysmans, and Pierre Louÿs.

In 1935 sex education received a setback by the destruction order against Edward Charles' *The Sexual Impulse*. This book, besides some philosophical speculations and what was at that time very up-to-date information about contraception, treated the technique of sexual intercourse and coital position with gaiety and lightheartedness. This treatment was in marked contrast to the solemnity and gravity in dealing with sex adopted even by such writers as Havelock Ellis, Van de Velde, and Marie Stopes, which lays so many books of sex instruction open to the charge made by Norman Haire that they tell the reader everything about the sexual act except why anyone should want to perform it.

Charles' *con amore* treatment might have been a considerable advance toward a more healthy attitude regarding the physical side of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

love; but the expert testimony of more than a dozen distinguished scientists, religious leaders, and social workers to the scientific, educational, and social value of the work went for nothing. The magistrate asked one of the witnesses, Mrs. Janet Chance, the founder of a sex-education center: "Have you ever given the book to a member of the working class?" Even the admissibility of expert evidence on the religious, scientific, literary, or artistic value of a work alleged to be obscene was by no means certain. In *The Well of Loneliness* case the magistrate refused to hear such evidence.

In 1940 another frank book of sex instruction was published that included in its scope the sexual abnormalities which often cause unhappiness in married life—*Love without Fear* by Eustace Chesser, a consulting gynecologist. In 1942 after 5,000 copies had been sold, the author and his publishers were prosecuted for obscene libel at the instance of the Director of Public Prosecutions. The case was defended before a jury and an acquittal secured.

The same year a man who ran a commercial mail-order lending library of books of sex instruction at Bodmin was similarly prosecuted. The books concerned included *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Knowledge,* edited by Norman Haire in 1934, and a number of similar publications, all of which had been openly sold for years. To spare his wife the publicity of a protracted trial he pleaded guilty, and a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment was upheld by the Court of Criminal Appeal. Petitions to the Home Secretary eventually secured his release, but only at the time when he would have been freed under the good-conduct rules.

In 1950, in a case supported by the Director of Public Prosecutions against a number of Blackpool booksellers, a dozen or so books of the same sort, including the *Encyclopedia of Sexual Knowledge* and a posthumous summary of the work of Magnus Hirschfeld, were condemned to destruction. The following year the Hirschfeld book was similarly proceeded against at Newcastle, but Dr. Norman Haire appeared as a witness for the defense and the magistrates refused to make an order.

In 1951 destruction orders were obtained against part of the stock of a secondhand bookseller at Poole. Except for two copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* all the books were works of literary interest in French—one so rare that the bench allowed it to be presented to the British Museum library in lieu of destruction.

In the following year there was an interesting case in which a whole consignment of nudist magazines was seized by the Customs at London docks and the seizure was challenged by the importer. The prosecution made it clear that what they objected to were photographs of the human body in which the sexual organs had not been deleted by retouching. The whole consignment, which included periodicals of the Continental nudist movement that were of great interest to British nudists, was ordered to be destroyed by a magistrate at the Guildhall.

The Customs were again to the fore in 1957 when they seized a two-volume edition of the complete works of Jean Genet in French, which the Birmingham Public Library had ordered for their reference department. The Town Clerk and other representatives of the Birmingham Corporation visited the Customs and Excise office in London and were persuaded that it was useless to challenge the seizure in the Courts. The Customs have also excluded *The Tropic of Cancer* and similar works by Henry Miller, *Molloy* by Samuel Beckett, and *Lolita* by Vladimir Nabokov.

The typical cases noted above show that distinguished authorship, long immunity from attack, foreign language, and bibliographical rarity have not shielded serious literature from attacks under the law of obscene libel, and that the operation of the law has been arbitrary and unpredictable. Only the institution of trial by jury appears to be some safeguard to justice, liberty, and common sense.

Indirect Effects of the Law

The effect of this state of the law on sexual literature was by no means limited to the condemnation of the courts. Authors, publishers, printers, booksellers, and librarians performed their various functions under a shadow that was arbitrary in its nature and unpredictable in its incidence; and they became timorous. Some books never reached publication, some were suppressed in bookshops and libraries, and others appeared after excisions and bowdler-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

izations or were reticent on matters of concern to their readers. When Paul Elek published an integral translation of Zola's *La Terre* in 1954, the suppression of 1888 was almost repeated, he complained in *The Times* of June 18th, because a large number of printers refused to produce the book. In the translation of Jean-Paul Sartre's *Le Mur*, published in 1950, there were considerable omissions. The British Museum library possesses a large number of printed books of great historical and literary interest that are omitted from the General Catalogue, to the great inconvenience of readers and to subscribers to copies of the Catalogue the world over. The transcription of Pepys' *Diary* at Magdalene College, Cambridge, has only been seen in its entirety by a few scholars. Even the best printed version is sprinkled with asterisks, and it remains to be seen whether the expected new edition will be complete. It is perhaps fortunate that Boswell's journals fell into the hands of an American university, where they are being published in their entirety.

Recent Developments

The obscurantist administration of a law intended to deal solely with gross pornography produced no great opposition until recently, when considerable public outcry was caused by a new turn in events. The circumstances were somewhat peculiar. In 1954 two men, Reiter and Carter, were sent to prison for publishing books by "Hank Janson." The defense put in a plea that books just as bad were published by leading houses and circulated by the libraries, and examples were put into court. This evidence was rejected and the Lord Chief Justice said that the books ought to be looked into. As a result, five prosecutions were launched. All the cases were tried by jury with varied results: Werner Laurie Ltd., publishers, and Margot Bland, author of *Julia,* pleaded guilty; Hutchinson Ltd., publishers of *September in Quinze* by Vivian Connell, were convicted; Heinemann Ltd., publishers, and Walter Baxter, author of *The Image and the Search,* were formally acquitted after two juries had disagreed; Secker and Warburg, publishers, and the printers of *The Philanderer* by Stanley Kauffmann were acquitted, as was Arthur Barker for publishing *The Man in Control* by Charles McGraw. The five books had no very great literary merit except, perhaps, *The Image and the Search,* which E. M. Forster described in a letter to the publisher as "a serious and beautiful book." *The Philanderer* case was tried by jury at the requirement of the defendants and produced a masterly summing up by Mr. Justice Stable, who explained that the test of obscenity was not to be so applied as to make criminal the publication of literature unsuitable for adolescents and children.

The fact that in these cases the established and reputable publishing trade had been attacked caused an uproar that contrasted sharply with the equanimity with which the public had regarded attacks on pioneer reformers and *avant-garde* writers over the years. During 1954 and the early part of 1955 *The Times* and other influential papers printed correspondence and editorials about the matter, the British Broadcasting Corporation devoted two Third Programme broadcasts to the state of the law, and questions were asked in Parliament. The Society of Authors set up a committee presided over by Sir Alan Herbert to examine the existing law and to recommend reforms, and their findings were sent to the Home Secretary. A private member's bill to amend the law on the lines of the committee's recommendations was introduced into the House of Commons but it never passed beyond the Committee stage. When the 1957-1958 session of Parliament opened, however, a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which had partially examined another bill, was reconstituted to consider generally whether it was desirable to amend and consolidate the law relating to obscene publications.

The indifference of the public to this subject is well illustrated by the fact that this was the first time it had been considered by an official body since the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements in 1908. The minutes of that committee contain a lot of evidence about the trade in pornography going on at the time, including the struggle between the British police and Charles Carrington, a distributor of erotic books who operated from Paris and included a number of titles of scholarly and literary interest in his

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

lists. No change in the law of obscene libel resulted from the report.

The Obscene Publications Act of 1959

There is little doubt that, when the report of the recent Select Committee appeared, recommending considerable changes in the law regarding obscene publications, the Government would have liked to quietly pigeon-hole it. Pressure in and out of Parliament, however, was too much for them, and after many delays and amendments the Obscene Publications Act, 1959, came into force on August 29, 1959.

The new Act abolishes the common-law offense of publishing an obscene libel and makes it a statutory offense to publish an obscene article, stating that an article shall be deemed obscene if its effect is, "if taken as a whole, such as to tend to deprave and corrupt persons who are likely, having regard to all the relevant circumstances, to read, see or hear the matter contained or embodied in it."

The Act provides that a person publishes an article who "distributes, circulates, sells, lets on hire, gives, or lends it, or who offers it for sale or for letting on hire." This definition of publication seems sufficiently wide to bring private transactions and personal correspondence within the scope of the obscenity law, but whether it could land some future Montalk in gaol is not clear. Besides reading matter and pictures, the definition of "an article" covers sound records and films, the playing and projection of which constitute publication.

Prosecutions may not be commenced more than two years after the commission of the offense. Cases may be tried summarily within twelve months, and consequently the issue of obscenity will frequently, as in the past, be decided by magistrates and not put to a jury.

The Obscene Publications Act, 1857, is repealed but substantially the same provisions as regards seizure and forfeiture are re-enacted, with the notable difference that the police will no longer have to effect an actual purchase before they can obtain a warrant to seize allegedly obscene matter: the issuing magistrate has only to be satisfied that there is reasonable ground for suspecting that obscene articles are kept for publication for gain on any premises, stall, or vehicle. This change follows the argument put before the Select Committee by police witnesses in 1957, who complained of the difficulty of effecting a purchase from wholesale stores holding obscene books. No doubt the requirement that a purchase must be made put an obstacle in the way of pursuing commercial pornography, but it was also a valuable protection for scholarly and private libraries, which in the nature of things often contain books that would be considered obscene if publicly circulated.

It is provided that in any proceedings for the forfeiture of obscene matter the author or maker of any articles seized "or any other person through whose hands they have passed" shall be entitled to appear before the court to show cause why they should not be forfeited. There is no corresponding right for an author or publisher to appear in prosecutions of booksellers, etc., for publishing obscene articles and it looks as if another Havelock Ellis could be branded as a pornographer without any chance of defending himself because a timid defendant pleads "Guilty."

Further, the Act provides that in any proceedings a defense may be set up "that the publication of the article in question is justified as being for the public good on the ground that it is in the interests of science, literature, art or learning, or of other objects of general concern"; and "that the opinions of experts as to the literary, artistic, scientific or other merits of an article may be admitted."

It is noteworthy that the Act does nothing to curtail the powers of the Customs authorities and the Post Office; and there is no provision to ensure uniform administration of the law and no specific protection for scholars and learned institutions.

It remains to be seen how this Act will work out in practice.

Horror Comics

At one stage of these recent developments the reform of the law of obscene libel became mixed up with the related but rather different question of what are known as "horror comics." The comic is a periodical for children, consisting mainly of strip cartoons. Originally these publications were innocent enough and some still are; but of late years a large number have

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

been devoted to horror, crime, and cruelty, giving considerable anxiety to those interested in the welfare of children and adolescents. Eventually the government dealt with this problem by a separate measure—The Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act, 1955.

Scotland

Scots law is very similar to English as regards obscene publications, except that the Obscene Publications Acts of 1857 and 1959 did not apply to Scotland. The Customs and Post Office Acts do, however, apply to Scotland. Public opinion north of the border is rather more puritanical than in England. As a result of the prevailing moral atmosphere, prudery has combined with salacity to secure that all editions of *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, a collection of indecorous drinking songs and bawdy verses left behind by Robert Burns, should be either bowdlerized or corrupted. The bicentenary year of the poet's birthday saw for the first time an integral and scholarly edition of this valuable source, but even today it has to be privately published.

The British Commonwealth

The British Commonwealth absorbed the principles of the English law of obscene libel, though codification and special legislation have effected modifications in recent times. Literary censorship boards have been set up in Queensland and Tasmania. Legislation dealing with comics has been passed in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

In 1956 an eminent musician who was visiting Sydney to conduct an orchestra was fined as a result of the Customs' discovering a private collection of erotic books, photographs, and films in his luggage.

Eire

Under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, southern Ireland used its independence to set up the sort of censorship that had been unknown in the United Kingdom for more than two hundred years. Under the Censorship of Publications Act, 1929, as amended in 1946, a censorship board exists that can ban books and bar periodicals on the ground of indecency or obscenity or because they advocate "the unnatural prevention of conception." The *Register of Prohibited Publications* lists hundreds of nonfiction books and novels that circulate freely in Great Britain; and the suspension of the import of a newspaper or magazine published in Great Britain which has offended the code is a no unusual occurrence.

The United States of America

The Law

The American states inherited the English common law of obscene libel, and in 1879 the Cockburn definition of obscenity was accepted by the courts. A number of states enacted statutes strengthening the common law, and even more potent was federal legislation forbidding the importation and interstate transmission of obscene matter, which culminated in the notorious Comstock Act of 1873. This Act made the mailing of contraceptive information an offense. The federal law is now embodied in the U. S. Code Title 18, 1461-1463 and Title 19, 1305.

Comstockery

The Act of 1873 took its name from Anthony Comstock, the secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. Before his time the administration of the law had often been oppressive and it numbered Charles Knowlton and Walt Whitman among its victims. But Comstock was a fanatic with a slogan "Morals, not Art or Literature," and the Act of 1873 enabled him to conduct a sort of reign of terror in the publishing world that lasted for forty years. A year before his death in 1915 he indicted Margaret Sanger in respect of articles on contraception that had appeared in her paper, *The Woman Rebel*. Mrs. Sanger left the country but Comstock, by the use of an *agent provocateur*, secured the imprisonment of her husband for selling a pamphlet on birth control.

Comstockery did not die with its parent. In 1918 Mary Ware Dennett was convicted in respect of a pamphlet giving elementary sex instruction, but the conviction was reversed on appeal. The same pamphlet was, however, condemned to destruction by a London magistrate in 1923. In 1929 copies of Voltaire's *Candide* consigned to a Boston bookseller were confis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cated. Theodore Dreiser's *The Genius* was suppressed in 1916 and his *An American Tragedy* in 1930. Books by Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, St. John Ervine, Bertrand Russell, Olive Schreiner, Ernest Hemingway, were among the serious works condemned.

Recent Judgments

The tide turned against Comstockery when Judge Woolsey's exoneration of James Joyce's *Ulysses* was confirmed by the United States Court of Appeals on August 7, 1934. This case appeared to establish that in regard to literary obscenity: (1) the author's intention is relevant; (2) the work's dominant effect and not isolated passages must be considered; (3) in considering the effect of a book, "the reasonable man" and not an abnormal adult or child must be taken as the criterion; and (4) literary or artistic merit should be weighed against incidental obscenity. These rulings apply principally to the federal courts and they have been followed in many state courts, although in others the Cockburn test is still applied.

In 1938 an important step forward was made when, as a result of Dr. Norman E. Himes' contesting a Customs seizure, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals held, in *U.S.* v. *Certain Magazines* (*Marriage Hygiene*), that contraceptive information could enter the United States provided the consignee, even though a layman, was a person qualified to receive it.

Nudism in Modern Life, by Maurice Parmelee, is illustrated by integral reproductions of photographs of nudist activities. In 1934 the District Court of Columbia ordered copies seized by the Customs to be destroyed because of the illustrations. The American Civil Liberties Union assisted in the defense, and on appeal the U.S. Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia cleared the book on May 14, 1940, a majority decision declaring:

> The picturization here challenged has been used in the libeled book to accompany an honest, sincere, scientific and educational study and exposition of a sociological phenomenon and is, in our opinion, clearly permitted by present-day concepts of propriety.

In 1949 a most comprehensive and authoritative account of the present state of American law on literary obscenity was given in a case at Philadelphia involving nine books, three of which, *A World I Never Made* by James T. Farrell, *God's Little Acre* by Erskine Caldwell, and *End as a Man* by Calder Willingham, had been cleared by magistrates' courts in 1933, 1937, and 1947, respectively. In his judgment, Judge Bok said that the law did "not penalize anyone who seeks to change the prevailing moral or sexual code" and that "the modern rule is that obscenity is measured by the erotic allurement upon the average modern reader." He held all the books to be not obscene and was upheld on an appeal to the Superior Court of Pennsylvania.

A long struggle between the American Customs and the Institute for Sex Research, founded by Alfred C. Kinsey at Indiana University, was recently concluded. For years the Customs had been seizing material sent to the Institute from abroad. Protracted litigation culminated on October 31, 1957, in a decision by Judge Edmund L. Palmieri of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, in favor of the Institute. The gist of the decision was that the material, although unquestionably obscene were it in the hands of the general public, was not obscene in the hands of scientists. The Customs did not appeal and announced that they accepted the decision as a basis for their future policy.

The constitutional position in relation to obscenity legislation equally divided the United States Supreme Court in 1948 in the case of Edmund Wilson's *Memoirs of Hecate County*; but in *Roth* v. *United States*, that Court decided on June 14, 1957, that:

> (1) obscenity, whatever it may be, is not within the area of protected speech and press under the First Amendment, and
>
> (2) in view of this exclusion the Court would not apply, in connection with a prosecution involving obscenity, the "clear and probable danger" test which would require a causal relationship between the allegedly offending material and anti-social conduct.

The Court, however, made it very plain that the area which can be excluded from Constitutional protection is narrowly limited. The opinion said, in part:

> All ideas having even the slightest redeeming social importance—unorthodox ideas, controversial ideas, even ideas hateful to the prevailing climate

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of opinion—have the full protection of the guarantees, unless excludable because they encroach upon the limited area of more important interests.

The result of a more recent case will be interesting to readers of English literature. The Grove Press of New York published the unexpurgated text of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* from the author's holograph and with the authority of D. H. Lawrence's widow. The book was banned from the mails but on July 21, 1959, Federal Judge Frederick van Pelt Bryan set aside the ban on the ground that the work was not obscene in American law. The judge made it clear that the Postmaster General had no discretion as to what was to be treated as obscene and that his application of the legal standard could always be challenged in the courts in individual cases.

The Gathings Committee

In 1952 the House of Representatives set up a Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. C. Gathings of Arkansas, to investigate the extent of the obscene book trade and to make recommendations for changes in the law. The Committee devoted most of its attention to cheap books, "cheesecake" magazines, and "horror comics." The report of the Committee recommended minor changes in the federal law—particularly that all transportation of obscene matter should be prohibited and not only transportation through the post—and urged the publishing trade to put its house in order. A minority report complained among other things that the Committee had not adequately distinguished between "what may broadly be classified as obscene and what falls within the realm of free thought and creative expression."

France

There is a common myth among Anglo-Saxons that France is a land of perfect freedom so far as sexual matters are concerned. This is far from true, and certainly not as regards literature. Although a man of letters is treated with greater respect in France than in Britain or America, the French have quite a bad record as far as the suppression of creative literature is concerned; and a law of 1920 forbidding the spreading of contraceptive knowledge is inimicable to the principles of intellectual and moral freedom.

Outrage aux Mœurs

The French equivalent to the English "obscene libel" is "outrage aux bonnes mœurs," which has been a criminal offense since 1819.

During the nineteenth century works that had come from the pens of distinguished authors such as Ronsard, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Rousseau, l'Abbé Prévost, Béranger, and Barbey d'Aurevilly were condemned as an outrage to good morals. In 1857 two masters of the French language, one of prose, the other of verse, stood in the dock. Gustave Flaubert was acquitted as regards *Madame Bovary*: but six poems from *Les Fleurs du Mal* by Baudelaire were condemned and the poet fined. Late reparation was, however, made, for under a new law of September 25, 1946, the Court of Cassation on May 31, 1949, annulled the judgment against Baudelaire. Under this law a Court decision holding a book to be obscene may be reviewed after twenty years at the instance of the author or the publisher, any of their surviving relatives, or the Société des Gens de Lettres de France.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century a more liberal attitude began to prevail in the administration of the law, but there are grounds for suspecting a political motivation in some of the prosecutions. In the present century, periodicals rather than books have been the subject of attack.

Present Law

The current French law governing literary obscenity is contained in the Decret-Loi of July 29, 1939, articles 119–128. It is an offense to publish writing or designs, etc., "contraires aux bonnes mœurs"; the judicial police may seize obscene matter in France or at its frontiers: and the Post Office may refuse to accept obscene matter. There are interesting safeguards as follows:

1. No prosecution may be brought more than three years after the offense has been committed.
2. The Court may donate to a state museum matter that would otherwise be destroyed.
3. In respect of a book a prosecution can only be brought following a decision of a special

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

commission to be set up to advise the Minister of Justice. This commission, called the Commission Consultative de la Famille et de la Natalité Française, was formed by a decree of January 25, 1940.

There is no statutory test of what is contrary to good morals, and the courts are guided by the dicta of judges and jurists who have stressed the essentially mercenary and gross nature of the offense. A conviction can be quashed if the Court gives no reason for finding the work obscene.

In 1947 "comics" and literature distributed to French youth attracted special attention. As a result, a law was passed on July 16, 1949, setting up a special commission to supervise children's publications and forbidding matter favorable to gangsterism, lying, theft, idleness, cowardice, hatred, and debauchery (Loi No. 49-956).

Recent Cases

Recently the French police have again turned their attention to books of interest to the literary world.

The Olympia Press has for some years published in Paris books banned in Britain and the United States and found a ready market among English-speaking tourists. This firm published Henry Miller's *Sexus*, the first volume of his trilogy *The Rosy Crucifixion*, and it was banned in 1950. In 1957 a number of the firm's books were attacked, including Frank Harris' *My Life and Loves*.

A complete edition of the works of de Sade, planned to consist of 26 volumes at about 1,000 francs each, was started by Jean-Jacques Pauvert in 1947. In 1954 and 1955, when most of the volumes had been published, the Commission Consultative gave attention to the matter, and the prosecution of four titles followed on December 15, 1956: *La Philosophie dans le Boudoir, La Nouvelle Justine, Juliette,* and *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*. The case was tried before the XVII[e] Chambre Correctionelle de Paris, and Andre Breton and Jean Cocteau were among the witnesses for the defense. The publishers were fined and the books ordered to be destroyed.

The Court rejected a plea that the edition was intended to circulate among only a small circle of intellectuals on the ground that it had been advertised in a nonscientific journal cheek by jowl with admittedly erotic works. On appeal, the sentence in respect of *Juliette* was quashed because the Consultative Commission was not fully attended when it had initiated the prosecution in respect of that book. Fines in respect of the three other books were suspended but the destruction orders were confirmed. The Court ruled that liberty of discussion allowed all philosophical views to be expressed; only the ways of expression would be condemned. It is worthy of note that the printer in this case on establishing his bona fides was discharged.

Other Countries

Belgium and Switzerland have literary obscenity laws that tend to follow the French model. Other European countries have statutory provisions regarding literary obscenity which, generally speaking, appear to be intended to apply only to pornography. In the Soviet Union all publishing and printing is in the hands of public bodies and very little pornography circulates. The postwar Japanese criminal code contains provisions regarding literary obscenity that suggest American inspiration.

Magazines reproducing integral photographs of nudist activities have been cleared of obscenity by legal decisions in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

General Conclusions

The present time is a period of great change in sexual morals and this process is reflected in both speculative thought and creative art. An almost worldwide censorship of books dealing with sex is therefore a particularly grave matter. The above survey demonstrates that the existing laws are most unsatisfactory. Generally speaking, they constitute an arbitrary menace to moral reform, sex education, creative writing, and scholarship; and they are a ready weapon to the hand of authoritarians and obscurantists and a constant temptation to abuse by ignorant puritans.

The widespread incidence in time and space of such laws makes it highly improbable that they will be altogether abolished in the foreseeable future. Indeed the existence of a commercial traffic in subliterature of an ethically

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

irresponsible character addressed primarily to children, young people, and morally unstable adults, would seem to call, in the minds of many people, for the attention of the law. Liberty of expression cannot remain unrestricted if it is abused to overthrow the intellectual and moral judgment that alone makes it worth while.

So far as children and adolescents are concerned, the enactment of special legislation of the sort noted above which does not affect adult literature appears to be justified; and it is clear that the problem is by no means confined to sex. One may only question whether the reading of juveniles is not more a matter for the parent, the schoolteacher, and the minister of religion than for the policeman.

The semiliterate and emotionally underdeveloped adults who throng our industrial cities present a more difficult problem. The long-term solution is undoubtedly to have better and franker sex education and a more intelligent code of sexual morals. In the meantime, almost any system designed to protect the intellectual and moral weakling from the commercial exploiter is likely to be open to abuse.

If censorship is felt to be unavoidable—and there is no doubt that in the present circumstances public opinion would not tolerate complete abolition—legislation should confine its operation to cheap and trashy publications of an irresponsible type, and leave alone books that are addressed to the educated reading public and are published in a responsible manner. There would no doubt be borderline cases to give the courts difficulty; but the principle should be, not the complete suppression of any book, but the restriction of publication to a responsible public. It should be recognized that in a life-loving society the erotic book that stimulates to human love may well have its place.

Censorship in any form, however, can never be more than a necessary evil and it should always be regarded as a transient one. Present systems are dangerously open to abuse, and the following safeguards would appear necessary to provide the minimum protection for serious literature in any future where the principles of freedom are recognized:

1. The idea that a book can be obscene *in esse* is wrong. It is the circumstances of publication that create the evil, if any. Consequently, statutes like the Obscene Publications Act, 1959, that provide for the destruction of books are bad. The law should confine itself to punishing irresponsible and antisocial publication, and any destruction allowed should be incidental. Any matter should be offered to the learned libraries before destruction.

2. The law should be restricted to publications of a public nature; private communications and private possession should be outside its scope.

3. The condemnation of a book of scientific, artistic, or educational interest as obscene is not a matter that concerns only the authorities and the defendants. Not only should the author or any other interested person be heard, but the Court (as in divorce cases) should be bound to consider all questions of public policy involved and to obtain expert evidence on the literary, scientific, and sociological issues involved. Trial of such cases should always be by jury.

4. Special protection should be afforded to bona fide books of sex instruction (including those of a popular character) by responsible authors, books that have been openly published for a number of years, classics, works of historical interest, and books treated as serious in the country of their origin. Integral pictures of the nude human body should not be held to be obscene per se.

5. Learned libraries, universities, and other public bodies should be immune from prosecution so long as they confine themselves to their recognized functions; and printers should not be penalized in respect of work done for reputable customers in the ordinary way of trade.

6. Any powers given to the customs, post office, or other administrative bodies should always be exercised in pursuance of a court order.

7. Machinery should be set up to secure uniformity in the administration of the law; and the rehabilitation of condemned books should be provided for.

Finally, we must remember that the motivation of sex censorship goes very deeply into human psychology, having its roots in man's ambivalent attitude to sex. Biologically, eroticism is a passing phenomenon: what lures us today repels us tomorrow. Consequently, we

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

are all tempted to be both readers of erotic books and censors of literature. Moral integrity and clear thinking should enable modern communities to resolve the tensions between these two sides of human nature without hurt to the spread of truth, the increase of beauty, and the furtherance of the good life.

References

General Authorities

Blanshard, Paul, *The Right to Read.* Boston: Beacon Press, Inc., 1955.

Censorship Bulletin of the American Book Publishers Council, December, 1955.

Craig, Alec, *The Banned Books of England.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937.

Craig, Alec, *Above All Liberties.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1942.

d'Autrec, Lionel, *L'outrage aux mœurs.* Paris, 1929.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ernst, Morris L., and Lindley, Alexander, *The Censor Marches On.* New York, 1940.

Ernst, Morris L., and Seagle, William, *A Study of Obscenity and the Censor.* New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1928.

Haight, Anne L., *Banned Books.* New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1958.

Scott, George Ryley, *Into Whose Hands.* London: G. G. Swon, 1945.

St. John-Stevas, Norman, *Obscenity and the Law.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956.

Reports of Cases

Commonwealth Vs. Gorden et al. An opinion filed March 18, 1949, by the Honorable Curtis Bok. Reprinted from Pennsylvania District and County Reports, Philadelphia, 1950.

Craig, Alec, "Recent Developments in the Law of Obscene Libel." In A. P. Pillay and Albert Ellis (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *International J. Sexology,* 1953. (This contains a report of the *Love Without Fear* case at the Central Criminal Court, June, 1942.)

Grove Press, Inc. v. Robert K. Christenberry. Opinion dated July 21, 1959 (D.C. S.D.N.Y. Civil 147-87).

"The Hicklin Case." *Law Reports* (Court of Queen's Bench) *3;* 1867-1868, 1937.

Kauffmann, Stanley, *The Philanderer.* London: Penguin, 1943. (This contains Mr. Justice Stable's summing up at the Central Criminal Court, June, 1942.)

L'Affaire Sade. Procès intenté aux éditions Jean-Jacques Pauvert. Paris, 1957.

Parmelee, Maurice, *Nudism in Modern Life.* Mays Landing, N.J.: Sunshine Book Co., 1952. (This contains the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, May 14, 1940.)

The Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. Queen's Bench Division, June 18, 1877. London: Bonner and Forder, no date.

Official Inquiries

Evidence Submitted to the Select Committees on Obscene Publications by the Progress League, Alec Craig, and the Society of Labour Lawyers. London, 1958.

Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements. London, 1908.

Reports and Minutes of Evidence of Select Committees of the House of Commons on the Obscene Publications Bill and Obscene Publications. London, 1957, 1958.

Report of Pornographic Materials by the Gathings Committee, 1952. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952.

ALEC CRAIG

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Chastity and Virginity: The Case For

THE major civilizations have almost invariably expected premarital chastity of women, and often of men also, as part of the social control of sexual expression deemed necessary for cultural stability. Although it has sometimes been difficult to implement this principle, the custodians of the culture have seldom questioned its validity.

In our era there is a growing belief that the insistence on chastity has been based largely on grounds that no longer apply: the appeal to fear has lost much of its power; the discrimination against women has been considerably mitigated. The assumption is that this therefore disposes of the opposition to sexual freedom.

That is a misconception. In our modern world, many arguments can still be advanced in favor of chastity. Kinsey *et al.*, in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (p. 308), list twenty such arguments, and Ellis, in *Sex Without Guilt* (pp. 34–42), lists and discusses seventeen.

The hazards involved in premarital sexual intercourse fall into many categories, most of which are included in the following summary.

Physical Effects

Venereal Disease

Antibiotics promise to bring syphilis and gonorrhea under control, but there can as yet be no guarantee of immunity. Reported new cases in the United States still run about 350,000 annually, and sharp increases have appeared in the 11–19 age group. In addition, there are unreported cases. Damage done by venereal disease before treatment generally cannot be reversed. It is therefore misleading to suggest that the danger of infection can now be ignored.

Pregnancy

Modern contraceptives are efficient, and even better methods may soon be available. Yet Dr. Henry Bowman (1948), of the University of Texas, estimates that premarital pregnancies in the United States today total about a million annually. It has been estimated (Havemann, 1958) from the Kinsey researches that about one in five of all girls who have premarital intercourse becomes pregnant as a result.

The single girl who becomes pregnant must choose between a forced marriage, bearing an illegitimate child, and an induced abortion. The Kinsey Report indicates that the overwhelming majority go to an abortionist. Among women of childbearing age now alive, it is reckoned that one in seven has already had, or will ultimately have, a premarital abortion (Havemann). Can this wanton destruction of incipient human life be regarded as a matter of no consequence? Can young girls who undergo this experience avoid personality damage?

Emotional Effects

Conditioning

If *satisfying*, premarital intercourse sets up the desire for repetition. The boy is encouraged to seek further experience. The girl is awakened

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

to a new need, which she may compulsively seek to satisfy in undesirable associations if her first partner ceases to be available. Either partner may submit to unreasonable conditions in order to maintain the sexual liaison. Once aroused and satisfied, sexual needs become harder to control.

If the experience is *unsatisfying*, feelings of failure and inadequacy generally result, which in a secure marriage would find compensation in other areas of the relationship. A distaste for sex and avoidance of marriage, with acute conflict, may ensue.

Guilt

Since premarital intercourse is against the conventional code, few can seek it without subterfuge. Young people with religious associations (the majority of American youth today) suffer reactions varying from mild uneasiness to agonizing guilt. They may be consumed with remorse at having broken their code, let down their parents, and earned public disapproval. This results in misery to the individual and tension in the relationship. Where one feels guilty and the other does not, the former is likely to feel exploited. These guilt feelings can easily break up a potentially promising partnership.

Anxiety

Frequently there is constant fear of being found out by parents and friends, with ensuing censure. There is also the recurrent fear of pregnancy, amounting to panic when a menstrual period is late. If the relationship becomes strained for other reasons, the girl may suffer a sense of dereliction, knowing that she has nothing left to give in return for continued affection. If maladjustment appears in the sexual area, the distress caused by failure to function, especially in the boy, is likely to exacerbate the situation and lead to serious emotional conflict. There is not the same incentive to seek help about such difficulties as there would be if they appeared in a marriage relationship.

Rejection

This may be strongly felt when one partner criticizes the other's sexual performance, indicating that it compares unfavorably with that experienced in a previous association. The girl may likewise feel deeply hurt when, having yielded herself sexually to "prove her love," she finds that the boy wishes to break off the relationship. The loss of virginity traditionally implies lowered value in the girl, and when it is not compensated by satisfying rewards it may lead to profound disillusionment. Feelings of rejection thus produced may result in patterns of hostility toward the other sex or in the acceptance of an inferior partner because the boy or girl feels acute loss of personal worth.

Trauma

Sex adjustment is often a delicate and complex process, and premarital conditions, especially when charged with anxiety and guilt feelings, are less favorable to success than the emotional security and social approval that accompany marital coitus. Early coital experiences seem to be determinative of later attitudes, and many girls report that their first premarital experience brought pain, disgust, and disillusionment. Often the setting lacks a well-developed relationship and the sense of love and confidence that characterize marriage. In some cases, the partner's approach is crude and hasty. He may even be a sexually deviant personality. Under such conditions emotional shock may result, laying the basis for stubborn psychosexual maladjustment.

Effects on Mate Selection

Overemphasis on the Physical

Sexual harmony has been given increasing importance in our time as a basis for successful marriage. But it is dangerously false to assume that two people able to perform mutually satisfying coitus thereby establish their suitability to be husband and wife. Many young men today are demanding a "sexual compatibility test" before they will agree to marry. It is an illusion to consider that a successful meeting of such a test guarantees either interpersonal, or ultimate sexual, harmony. The girl may rightly ask whether the boy loves her for herself as a person or merely for her body.

Nor need failure to meet such a test be construed as a contraindication to marriage. Many happily married couples need considerable time and effort to achieve physical mutuality, and finally attain it as a result of the growth of emotional and personal harmony. Preoccu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

pation with physical matching is likely to confuse, rather than to assist, good mate selection.

Overemphasis on Personal Gratification

Mature love manifests itself most clearly in consideration and concern for the beloved. When two unmarried people use each other's bodies for pleasure, the altruistic qualities in their sentiments have little opportunity for expression. Personal compatibility is better tested under the acceptance of restraint, and the agreement to postpone pleasure until it is more appropriate, than in circumstances where mutual exploitation would be a sufficient motive. As a test of marital competence, the capacity to develop frustration tolerance together is likely to be more valid than the capacity to enjoy pleasurable experience simultaneously.

Negative Attitudes in the Male

Many men, although gratified by the sexual yielding of an attractive woman, find their respect for her lowered in the process—especially when they are seriously considering marriage. The argument is that if she capitulates to him before marriage, he can never be sure that she will not be unfaithful to him afterwards. Another negative attitude is the lack of motivation to assume the responsibilities of marriage when the male discovers that he can have all the satisfactions he needs without incurring such obligations.

Negative Attitudes in the Female

The girl who feels under pressure to continue premarital coitus when her personal satisfaction is limited is apt to develop hostility. Add to this the strain of anxiety lest she become pregnant, the furtiveness required to conceal what is happening, and impatience if the boy shows any sign of delaying marriage. The cumulative effect of experiences of this kind is to create doubt as to whether the boy can really love her if he goes on making sexual demands. She may be so confused by these emotions that she may be unable to clarify her real feelings about his suitability.

Feeling of Obligation to Marry

Once a pattern of premarital coitus is established, it may be difficult to break off the relationship without seeming to submit the partner to deprivation. Even when in other areas the bonds between the couple are seen to be tenuous, the sexual involvement may be such that they may feel unable to extricate themselves, and may be swept on into marriage, against their best judgment, by a sense of obligation. If no sex relationship had been established, the same degree of commitment would not be felt.

Effects on Subsequent Marriage

Disclosing Premarital Sex Experiences

There is often uncertainty as to whether to "confess" earlier sexual adventures. When these are disclosed, an attitude of hostility, resentment, and disgust may be engendered in the partner. Yet if the secrets are kept, this may create uneasiness lest the facts come unexpectedly to light, or a sense of frustration because there cannot be complete honesty and openness in the relationship. These troubles are avoided if there are no secrets to hide or to confess.

Recrimination

When marriages are under strain, it is common for the partners to express their hostility by seeking to discredit each other. When there has been known premarital intercourse with another partner on the part of one or both, this often becomes a cause of recrimination, increasing the bitterness of the quarrel. Following traditional community attitudes, a record of unchastity is frequently interpreted as indicative of character deficiency.

Unfavorable Comparisons

More critical attitudes to disappointing sexual responses in the marriage partner are likely when the disappointment is based on unfavorable comparison with patterns experienced premaritally with another partner or partners. If no basis of comparison exists, a husband or wife is more likely to be content with the pattern of sexual interaction that naturally emerges in the marriage.

Resentment of the Partner's Premarital Demands

After marriage one partner may regret having been involved by the other in premarital intercourse—especially if a pregnancy resulted

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

—and may attribute to this circumstance lack of present satisfaction, sexual or otherwise, in the marriage. Undoubtedly negative attitudes, engendered by unsuccessful or anxiety-ridden experiences of premarital intercourse, may contribute substantially to sexual maladjustment in a marriage.

(The question whether premarital intercourse in general helps or hinders later sex adjustment in marriage remains unanswered. The Kinsey finding of a positive correlation between orgasm achieved in premarital experience and good early sex adjustment in marriage has been widely acclaimed as justifying premarital intercourse. This conclusion is based on a misinterpretation, since it does not follow that the relationship between the two sets of data represents cause and effect. Other studies have led to an opposite conclusion. All we can say, in the light of research data so far available, is that the evidence is contradictory.)

Chances of Infidelity

When a marriage is under tension, and the possibility arises that the other partner may be involved in infidelity, a record of premarital intercourse will inevitably make it harder to dispel suspicion. There is an obvious similarity between premarital and extramarital sexual inducements, and a person known to have yielded to the one may be deemed to be correspondingly susceptible to the temptation to yield to the other.

The theory that chastity and fidelity are related finds confirmation in the Kinsey research findings. In the volume on the female, it was found that women who had had premarital intercourse were more than twice as likely (the rate is 29 per cent to 13 per cent) to commit adultery after marriage.

Social Effects

Loss of Prestige

Community attitudes vary and are changing rapidly; but the anxiety aroused by the fear of being found out is generally well founded. Strained relations with parents and relatives usually result when premarital intercourse is discovered. Censure on the part of church, school, or college, and sometimes of business associates, is likely to follow. There may well be damage to reputation and a resultant threat to self-esteem. There is embarrassment at being a focus of controversy and often an object of malicious gossip.

If a premarital pregnancy is involved, these effects are intensified. The girl known to be an unwed mother, or to have procured an abortion, is regarded as being of questionable character and a potential bad influence upon the young and innocent. Knowledge that the bride was already pregnant at marriage casts a discreditable light upon the couple.

Example to Others

Although premarital intercourse may be considered as a private and personal matter, it identifies those concerned with the principle of sexual freedom for all. They may be willing to accept the full implications of this. Generally, however, they are not. Chesser (1956) found that among mothers who had themselves had premarital intercourse, only 15 per cent wished their own daughters to follow their example. The others, presumably, had some reason to question whether their conduct had been desirable.

Some may decide to conceal their own behavior, and in that way avoid influencing community attitudes. But to do so involves inevitably the risk of hypocrisy. When there is community pressure to take sides, these people will clearly be in a difficult position.

Harm to Children

Almost any act of premarital intercourse may result in pregnancy, and a child may be born in consequence. The child of an unwed mother starts life under a shadow. Even if the parents marry, however, a difficult situation exists for them. The fact that the child's birth followed so soon after his parents' marriage will tell its own story, and he may in consequence suffer from shame and a sense of inferior status to that of younger brothers and sisters.

Cultural Effects

Ethical Implications

Human society has had to maintain a delicate balance between freedom and responsibility.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The selfish pursuit of pleasure based on the exploitation of others is not an inevitable consequence of increased sexual opportunity; but the possibilities certainly become greater. Personal integrity may be damaged by the need to practice deception, by the willingness of a boy to put a girl's reputation in jeopardy, to risk an abortion or an ill-born child, in order to gain personal gratification.

A long-standing human tradition has seen youth as the time when invaluable lessons of discipline and self-control have to be learned, and sex as one of the supreme areas in which the attainment of self-mastery may be demonstrated. Asceticism is unpopular in our time; yet in its true meaning, as the exercise of the moral powers in preparation for life's duties and responsibilities, and as a safeguard against the "softness" to which we so easily fall prey, it has peculiar relevance to an age when opportunities for self-indulgence are abundant. The thesis of J. D. Unwin (1934), that all great civilizations have ultimately gone into decline following the slackening of the sexual code, may have more substance than our contemporary mood is ready to admit.

Family Instability

Freedom to select and reject sexual partners at will would seem to establish a pattern likely to carry over from the premarital to the marital period. The positive correlation found by Kinsey between unchastity and adultery appears to confirm this connection. Adultery has long been held to be the prime cause, or at least the most common symptom, of marital dissatisfaction and impending disruption. There is therefore strong presumptive evidence of a chain reaction beginning with premarital sexual freedom and ending in marital and family instability.

It would be unreasonable, of course, to attribute the high incidence of family disruption in our day directly to the widespread abandonment of chastity. The causes of our modern family crises are many and complex. Yet it is difficult to escape the impression that the modern American, brought up amidst a plethora of material goods, and conditioned thereby to discard any worn article for a new one, may similarly have been prepared, by the relatively easy availability of sexual partners in his youth, for the divorcing habits that he practices to excess as compared with his counterpart in other Western countries.

Threat to Child Life

The sexual function is closely linked ethically with its reproductive outcome. If sex is used to improve child life, it is used aright. If it is used to damage child life, it defeats its obvious biological purpose.

Surely, then, the acid test of any standard of sexual behavior is its total effect on the child. If this be true, premarital sexual intercourse as practiced at the present time appears to stand indicted. It is resulting on a wide scale in the production of incipient human beings who are then destroyed by the thousands, and of a further crop of unwanted, ill-begotten infants, the tragic rejection of whom by their natural parents is mercifully mitigated by the adoptive couples who receive them with love and gratitude. At the same time, the security of tens of thousands of children born in wedlock is disturbed by the breakup of their homes, in some cases at least because their parents learned inconstancy in the school of sexual freedom during their premarital years.

Conclusion

The probability seems to be that premarital sexual intercourse will continue, and indeed that its incidence will increase, in the future. This will be a source of satisfaction to those who consider such a trend to be a mark of human progress. There are those, however, who think otherwise; and they can adduce their reasons. The arguments on both sides need to be clearly stated, and the issues weighed. Only thus can we shape responsibly the patterns that will best serve humanity in the momentous new era upon which it is now embarking.

References

Bertocci, Peter A., *The Human Venture in Sex, Love and Marriage*. New York: Association Press, 1949.

Bowman, Henry, *Marriage for Moderns*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948, pp. 225-246.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Chesser, Eustace, *The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman*. London: Hutchinson, 1956.

Duvall, Sylvanus, *Men, Women, and Morals*. New York: Association Press, 1952.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Gebhard, Paul H. et al., *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Havemann, Ernest, "The New Kinsey Report." *McCall's*, March, 1958.

Hiltner, Seward, *Sex Ethics and the Kinsey Reports*. New York: Association Press, 1953.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Leuba, Clarence, *Ethics in Sex Conduct*. New York: Association Press, 1948.

Unwin, J. D., *Sex and Culture*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934.

DAVID R. MACE

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Chastity and Virginity: The Case Against

IN CERTAIN Western religions, the ideas of chastity and virginity accord with special ethical rules, which the followers of these religions may or may not observe. It is not those ethical principles that are here expounded. The present article examines chastity and virginity only as they appear to scientific rationalism, independent of all religious ethics.

Chastity

Chastity can be a state of mind or a state of fact. In the first case, it consists of a refusal to practice or take an interest in even the most normal sexual activities. This is for the benefit of a state of purity which recoils with disgust from certain manifestations that are, nonetheless, insistently dictated by nature. The chastity to which Judeo-Christianity attaches such great value is one of the most systematized forms of this abstention, and is based upon various religious considerations. The result of this state of mind may be a total abstention, as supposedly in the celibacy of Catholic priests and nuns, or a partial abstention, as when coitus is allegedly practiced only for the purpose of reproduction (while somewhat hypocritically minimizing the pleasure thereby obtained).

It goes without saying that modern rationalism does not attach to chastity the exceptional value that a superficial, limited, and unscientific ethic arbitrarily sets upon it. Absolute chastity is a form of ignorance, and the rationalist has little sympathy for ignorance of any kind. Even partial chastity constitutes a blind denial of "the legitimacy of sexual acts," and is nothing more than a vestige of the ancestral taboo that certain religions persist in teaching without producing any scientific or logical reason to justify it.

Thus conceived, chastity, in its obtuse ignorance, can result only in producing an incomplete and wretched type of life; for sexual enjoyment is an important part of life, many people finding it as indispensable as the satisfactions of taste in eating. Our senses exist for a complete realization of life, and we should make use of them. It is no more meritorious to remain chaste than to go for a week without eating (and some people are foolish enough to attempt such a ridiculous and mischievous *tour de force*); actually, chastity and fasting are equally devoid of any scientific or rational morality. Abstentions may be prescribed for reasons of health, but they become incomprehensible when they are dictated, without examination, by purely conventional sentiments. As a result, to have remained chaste for a lifetime is to have been a self-deluded victim living a wasted life.

Therefore, the modern spirit should at least refuse to admire chastity or to praise it, and should see it for what it actually is: a dogmatic childishness. Today we are seeing the revival of an earlier fashion, the glorification of "the strength of the chaste." This is sheer claptrap. When a physical manifestation is natural, one goes against nature by refusing to utilize it and, by this refusal, one certainly does *not* increase one's chances of physical and mental develop-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ment and strength. The person who does not use drugs or alcohol has more strength and resistance than one who uses them, but that is precisely because these expedients are *not* natural. When a force is natural and one chooses to sterilize it by nonuse, the final result is likely to be a general neurosis. That is why Professor Metchnikoff considered the state of virginity to be "eminently harmful to the species."

What remains, then, to the credit of the chaste? Very little, indeed, if we remember that, contrary to the conventional assumption, *the chaste individual is not a valuable or desirable member of society*. He is nervous, restless, unstable. He begrudges to others the pleasures that he denies to himself, and he is annoyed by the ease and freedom of their lives. Although he is theoretically chaste, his brain is crowded with images that are far from chaste, images of things against which he has declared war. These things may eventually master him, or they may destroy his well-being: enough has already been written about "repression" and its grievous consequences, which sometimes reach the bursting point and explode in one of those sex crimes that we frequently read about in our newspapers.

Virginity

It should be noted that if we do not distinguish between the ideas of chastity and virginity we inevitably become quickly lost in contradictions and confusions: for there are virgin individuals who are not chaste, and chaste individuals who are not, physiologically, virgins. The way to avoid this muddle is to reserve the word *virginity* for a *material fact*: the fact of not having experienced coitus with a partner, a fact that is generally easily verified by an intact hymen in the case of women, although many times the hymen may rupture from other causes. No test of virginity exists for men.

Somewhere in antiquity virginity seems to have been connected with mysterious reasonings that no longer seem very clear to us today, although they may sometimes be explained by sexual taboos, the significance of which I have elucidated in *The Ethics of Sexual Acts*. Thus were established the Roman Vestals, and the Virgins consecrated to the Sun among the Incas, the violation of the vow of virginity being punished by death. The Greeks also knew women of this type, dedicated to a faithful service of the Divinity. They did not always succeed in being thus faithful, but in that land of Venus there were ways of arranging such things: when the beautiful Polymeda had an "accident," it was attributed to the passion of Hermes, and her honor was easily rehabilitated by a marriage with an influential man, who felt honored to succeed the god as her lover.

Here, again, the Western tradition is indebted to the Israelites. "The Jews," said Dr. J. R. Spinner at the Fourth Sexual Reform Congress, "were the first to attribute an excessive importance to the hymen, and this opinion, which is maintained to the present day, principally in the Ghetto, was also adopted by the Christians." This has had the unfortunate effect of distorting the meaning of the hymen, setting it up as a metaphysical rather than a physiological element. The Occidentals have, in principle, adopted this extraordinary mistake.

But virginity no longer has this importance when we leave the countries that are contaminated by the doctrine of continence. Havelock Ellis (1935) cites the case of the ancient Slavs, according to the geographer Al-Bekri: "If a man marries and finds his wife a virgin, he says to her: 'If you were worth anything, men would have loved you, and you would have chosen one who would have taken away your virginity.' Then he drives her away and renounces her." Ellis adds: "It is a feeling of this kind which, among some peoples, leads a girl to be proud of the presents she has received from her lovers and to preserve them as a dowry for her marriage, knowing that her value will thus be still further heightened." Among the Iranians, says Dr. Binet-Sanglé, virginity was a disgrace after the age of puberty. Many natives of Africa and Brazil refuse to marry a virgin.

Such examples occur repeatedly among all the pro-sexual peoples. They have no prejudice in favor of virginity. At the very least, one can say that they do not trouble themselves about it. Girls have sexual relations as soon as desire incites them, and they know that the disappearance of the hymen does not bring them

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

discredit, or either family or social complications. They consider the abolition of this membrane merely a task that has to be done, just as the ears must be pierced if one wishes to hang pendants there. Experience exists to simplify it, and good sense prevents its being talked about afterwards.

From the strictly physiological viewpoint, the adolescent girl who cultivates her virginity like a flower in a pot seems a very undesirable oddity to the scientific mind. In our day, the girl who does not understand sexual manifestations (or who, hypocritically, pretends not to understand them) is no more a desirable and charming type than a girl who does not know how to read or write. Her ignorance is an inferiority and is nothing to be proud of. The virgin is an absurdity, a sort of monstrosity. That is doubtless why nuns always give the impression of being strange and, even in their best friends, inspire a slight apprehension, a feeling of suspicion or mistrust. It is because the virgin is an incomplete being. She is revealed neither to herself nor to others. One does not know what life will educe from her. One cannot foresee her feminine reactions before the future surprises of existence. Consequently, on the whole, she is a dangerous creature, as many disappointed partners have learned from the shocks and surprises of marriage. Virginity is thus a hindrance to the natural development of life, an obstacle to that most desirable and essential thing, experience.

Contemporary education in the Western world theoretically imposes physical virginity. This indicates a dreadful lack of understanding on the part of our educators, who fearfully close all windows that give a view of the sexual life. Experience proves (as I have personally been able to observe in non-Aryan societies) that a girl who has had the advantage of a complete sexual education that includes practical experience is often, at about 12 or 13 years, *a young woman*, having a clear understanding of sexual manifestations and ready to complete it by that devirgination which will dedicate her sexual autonomy. And note that this policy of rearing the young has a valuable advantage: *it lengthens* life, it restores to existence a number of years that at present are left barren and wasted. The girl who begins to live sexually at 20 years of age may have her life reduced by a good third.

One ignorance entails a hundred others: flung into life, the virgin is disarmed, irresolute, hesitant. On the other hand, the girl who has shaken off virginal slavery moves forward with sureness, clear-sighted and strong-willed, maneuvering among the dangerous rocks and reefs like a ship steered by an expert hand. A single glance among the opposite sex enables the well-informed man to separate the sexual simpletons from the sexually educated and increasingly his preference and interest go to the educated.

Yet the prejudice in favor of virginity obstinately remains in the foolish antisexual's catalogue of virtues. A man marries a widow or a divorced woman without concerning himself about the nonexistence of her hymen. It is therefore manifest that the hymen is not of decisive importance in respect to the pleasures of possession and the happiness of the marriage. Yet if a girl has not received the official authorization for devirgination, this fact depreciates her in the eyes of certain suitors. The superstition of virginity thus becomes the most grotesque symbol of the doctrines of continence. There is no prejudice that has caused more ridiculous episodes or more regrettable conflicts. There have been men foolish enough to commit suicide the day after their wedding night, because they found open a door they had believed to be closed. This way of evaluating a person is about the most unbelievable of our sexual illogicalities. As a result, when a young girl in the Western world has sacrificed her hymen to a man, she expects him to pay a great price for this "sacrifice." She often infers therefrom a claim upon the entire life of that man, and if she is unsuccessful in enforcing it, she genuinely believes that she has been robbed. One does not realize all the consequences of this nonsense until one observes that it does not exist among non-Western peoples, where the loss of virginity is only a physiological incident, with no influence on the rest of a woman's life or on the opinion that is formed of her.

In reality, virginity is of genuine interest only to those brutes who find their pleasure in breaking down doors. We have repeatedly learned by the confidences of women that the true lover

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

prefers to leave this surgical operation to those less sensitive. For defloration is crude work. It is usually done badly, and causes pain and repugnance. As an erotic ideal, it seems to have found a place in the Mohammedan Paradise, where the women that are there for the choosing are "perpetually virgin"! But the considerate lover detests this proving of a woman's virginity. He hates having to behave like a ruffian, even when he has intelligently discussed the subject of how to get through this experience with a minimum of blundering—since the Western world does not have schools where sexual love is taught as a science and an art.

There is also the possibility of failure. I have noted identical observations in respect to two well-educated men, both possessed of the most ardent intentions. They immediately found themselves disarmed when the virgin partner began to scream that she was being hurt. Their excitement died away, or rather expressed itself by an "extramural" ejaculation, postponing from day to day any complete and decisive fulfillment. And so, with girls of a very unyielding, resistive nature, the affair becomes a torture to both of the partners.

Referring to Professor Metchnikoff, Léon Blum has written in his *Marriage*: "If I understand him rightly, he would like to see girls, solely in the interest of their health and hygiene, get rid of this regrettable partition as soon as possible, and otherwise than by the natural operation." Blum adds: "Cheerfully discarded at an early age, virginity would no longer exert that peculiar constraint which, at the same time, counterfeits modesty, dignity, and a sort of terror." Instead of this "modesty" and this "dignity," which a rational education would have debunked long ago, it would be far better to do away with all the irritating inquisitions and the needless gossip from which we now suffer. This would be a sort of first communion with nature, a not unworthy god, under the sign of erotic possibilities. And that would render a valuable service to all those females who are now destined to become "old maids," and who, useless and miserable, live all their lives without any transports of ecstasy, never daring to let themselves go for fear of breaking a thread.

Some writers declare that defloration makes a deep impression upon a woman, marking her with a sort of stamp. When the sexologist investigates this point, he never finds conclusive answers. The idea may be a lingering holdover from ancient times or from the Middle Ages, when a young girl (often very young) was thrown into the bed of a stranger who, in a few hours, would become her "lord and master," and when she was allowed little chance of comparison with other contacts. In our day of feminine emancipation and of "polygamy" revived under the form of repeated divorce and successive remarriage, young women appear to find the idea ridiculous. Any such profound impress would indeed be destructive of individuality, and it should be avoided at all costs. Defloration by a physician prevents it in the most hygienic manner. Let us remember that the early travelers to the Philippine Islands reported that the natives had officials charged with the defloration of girls before marriage. Remember also the excellent and practical system found in the South Pacific, which abolishes the brutality of defloration by making it unnecessary, replacing it by a gradual and salutary dilatation produced by repeated contacts between little boys and little girls.

The counsel to be given by all rationalistic sexologists is therefore evident, and may be itemized thus:

1. By means of a specific, scientific, and physiological education, enlighten young girls about the trap that is set for them by the apostles of virginity, and about the advantages of doing away with this grotesque claim upon their life.

2. Deny that there is anything valuable or estimable about virginity, or about any of the conditions, professions, or offices that identify themselves with chastity.

3. To be complete, sexual education should indicate the necessity of emancipating the body and mind from the virginal slavery that narrows and impoverishes life and makes it ridiculous.

4. Do not leave the defloration of girls to the uncertainties and brutalities of chance, but advocate the establishment of a liberating and hygienic defloration by experienced technicians.

5. Return to the tradition of the ancient

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

world that knew nothing of the grotesque burden of carnal sin, which constitutes such a morose prohibition of the best things in life.

References

Arlington, Norman, "Sex in the World of Tomorrow." *Mattachine Rev. 4;* No. 10, 13-19, 1958.

Blum, Léon, *Du mariage.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1909.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1935.

Ford, Cellan, and Beach, Frank, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Geddes, Porter, *An Analysis of the Kinsey Reports.* New York: New American Library, 1948.

Guyon, René, *La légitimité des actes sexuels* (7 vols.). Paris: 1929-1938. English translations: *The Ethics of Sexual Acts.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934 (Vol. I); *Sexual Freedom.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950 (Vol. II).

Guyon, René, "The Doctrine of Legitimacy and Liberty of Sexual Acts." In A. P. Pillay and Albert Ellis, *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology,* 1953.

Robinson, William J., *Sex, Love and Morality.* New York: Eugenics Publishing Co., 1930.

RENÉ GUYON

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Child Sexuality

FREUD is generally credited with having stimulated scientific interest in the study of childhood sexuality. As Watson (1959) points out, "before Freud, sexual tendencies in infants were almost completely ignored." The publication of his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* marked the beginning of a new period, not only in theories about personality development but ways of viewing many types of child behavior, including the sexual. His views about sexuality in the child, as well as his theories generally, aroused indignation in his day—and still do today. Frequently his views were summarily dismissed as being those of a most unusual man, if not a lewd one. Since his views of sexuality relate most intimately to childhood development, they should now be given.

Freud's Theories

Freud held that the period of childhood personality development is divided into three stages, each of which is dominated by sexual tendencies. These sexual proclivities are in the nature of instinctual, unlearned urges and the goal of each is the hedonistic one of pleasure. Each tendency seeks its inevitable end in its culminating goal, or aim, of sensual gratification. The instinct seeks its goal in an unhampered, direct fashion until the child learns to modify the instinctual aims through learning, cultural experience, and similar forces. More specifically, during each period of childhood, satisfaction is achieved through stimulation of erotogenic zones and consequent achievement of sensual pleasure.

The first erotogenic satisfaction is sought through stimulation of the oral areas (such as the lips and mouth) by means of oral activity, such as sucking. This is followed by a period of erotogenic pleasure in stimulation of anal areas by anal activities, known as the anal period. The final general period of erotic satisfaction is sometimes divided into two subperiods, the phallic and the genital, characterized by securing pleasure through stimulation, first, of the sexual parts of one's own body (phallic) and, finally, of those of another person (genital).

Freud maintained that there was a normal progression through infancy and childhood from oral, anal, to the phallic and genital periods of personality development unless some condition or state interrupted it. For example, a child might suffer a trauma when at the anal level (as for example by the mother's rigidly insisting that he be regular in his bowel movements). Through this urging on the part of the mother the child might become "fixated" at the anal level of satisfaction. Such fixation would have consequences for later personality development. A person so fixated might become penurious in adulthood and treat money (the unconscious equivalent of feces) as invaluable —as something rare beyond reason. This, Freud maintained, would have resulted from his having learned (become fixated) to value feces and anal activity.

Both Freud's personality theory, based on his concept of child sexuality, and his idea that children and infants were sexual, aroused immediate attack, and considerable criticism of his ideas has followed ever since. Although his concept that infants have a sexual life shocked Victorian laymen and, in fact, many scientists,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

it stimulated enough controversy to cause both his critics and supporters to take a closer look at childhood sexual behavior.

Havelock Ellis, Moll, Preyer, and others were early students of child sexuality. Although Moll (1912) stated that "Freud has not systematically studied the individual manifestations of the sexual life of the child," he nevertheless credited Freud with being among the first to stimulate interest in this area, saying that "Freud rightly insists that even in all, or nearly all, the works on the psychology of the child, this important department is ignored." In this opinion a recent author concurs with Moll. Watson writes, "it was his work that opened up this important area to psychological investigation." However, even to this day, as Watson further notes, definite controlled research on the question of frequency and scope of sexual behavior in children is lacking. A few rather extensive studies on more or less limited aspects of child sexual behavior have been carried out, but a comprehensive organized study remains for the future.

Some of the more useful studies that give us concrete data about infant behavior incidentally illustrate the limited nature of the aspects of sexuality covered and the need for more comprehensive, organized, and controlled research. Some of these studies are those of Halverson (1940) on erections in male infants, of Conn and Kanner (1947) on children's awareness of physical sex differences in the male and female, of Conn (1948) on children's awareness of the origin of babies and of the reactions of children to the discovery of sex differences (1940a), of Hattendorf (1932) on the kinds of sex questions children ask, and of Kinsey (1953) on orgasm in preadolescent children, on preadolescent heterosexual and homosexual play, and on masturbation. Although the studies to be immediately cited are more clinical than the foregoing, nevertheless they are worthy of note. Of particular interest and value are those of Bender (1937, 1941, 1952) and her coworkers on homosexuality in children and of the effects of adult sexual relations with children upon the child's subsequent behavior. All the foregoing studies, even though they are among the best we can draw upon, can be criticized from many technical points of view: too few cases, cases not randomly selected, studies not well controlled, etc. In spite of these criticisms they still remain a basic source of factual information about this period of life.

Theories About Child Sexuality

In the Freudian view, which is the broadest of all the views dealing with sexuality, there is posited an impulse which Freud (1938) designates an instinct. This instinct, he indicates, is analogous to the instinct of hunger. "The source of the instinct is an exciting process in an organ, and the immediate aim of the instinct lies in the release of this organic stimulus." He tells us the instinct is present during childhood and that it has an aim. "The sexual aim of the infantile impulse consists in the production of gratification through proper excitation of this or that selcted erogenous zone."

In this manner, the concept of childhood sexuality arises from assuming a sexual instinct present universally in the human species, which instinct has different aims during different periods of childhood development. The instinct seeks needed pleasurable satisfaction. Pleasurable satisfaction is attained by the achievement of particular aims during particular phases of childhood development, since stimulation of particular parts of the body and subsequent organic release of tension is an ultimate aim. For example, during the oral stage of the child's development the sexual instinct seeks oral satisfaction by stimulation of oral parts of the body, bringing about organic stimulation and release when the sexual instinct has achieved its aim. It is in this manner that many types of behavior in the Freudian view become sexual, as, for example, sucking and defecating.

It is for this reason that Freud's concept of sexuality is criticized as pan-sexual and too general. By such a concept of sexuality many types of human behavior, which ordinarily are not viewed as sexual, come to be so conceived. Certainly the layman seldom thinks of sucking or eating as sexual activities. But such activities can be so considered in the Freudian view. As Meyer (1948) points out, "Freud draws in a number of apparently indifferent doings as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

manifestations of infantile sexuality. Sucking fingers, a toe, the lips or the tongue, at times with rhythmic pulling of the ear or rhythmic frictions, and at times leading to a kind of orgasm and climax in sleep, is (at least in some children) a kind of autoerotism. . . ." And it is entirely true, as Seward (1946) says, that "the Freudian contention that finger sucking is equivalent to masturbation may sound to the layman extreme if not absurd because of the specific sexual eroticism usually connoted by masturbation." For the layman tends to think of sexuality as very directly involving the reproductive organs.

The views of psychologists other than Freud tend to be more in line with the thinking of the layman, for generally they write about the child's curiosity about sexual differences, masturbation, sexual information of the child, and similar topics. Thus, the view of psychologists less pan-sexual than Freud revolves around concepts of sexuality that connote, particularly, tumescence-detumescence, sexual arousal, motoric sexual reactions, and the like. Obviously, no one would apply the idea of procreation to the period of child sexuality, but the ever-recurring ideas of curiosity about sexual processes, of behaviors involving the primary and secondary sexual characters in some way, of tumescence and detumescence, and of arousal are frequently involved. Again, in order to aid in clarity of exposition, to provide a logical outline to follow, and to help to narrow one's scope so as to give precision of meaning, I will redefine the concept of childhood sexuality.

Definition of Child Sexuality

By childhood sexuality is meant the state or condition of the child with respect to the impulse that has as its aim any one or a combination of the following: (1) tumescence-detumescence, (2) erotic stimulation, (3) tension-relaxation in specific erogenous zones, or more totally.

The first aim is accomplished when there is objective, overtly observable evidence that erection is taking place in the genitalia. Of course, evidence of tumescence in male children is much easier to detect than that in the female, but female children have an analogue of male erection, the erection of the clitoris.

The second aim is accomplished when there is evidence that the responsiveness of the child's genitalia results, not from simple mechanical stimulation of the physical parts but when the impulse life of the child has acquired such direction that the child seeks specific classes of stimulation or responds, when such stimuli are present, with partial or complete tumescence, excitement, interest, or attention.

The third aim is accomplished when there is evidence of rigidity or hardness of erectile tissue (not exclusively of the sexual organs), together with subsequent loss of rigidity of the same. It is not strictly necessary that this tension-relaxation be conceived of as orgasm, although Kinsey (1953) makes a point of presenting evidence that orgastic responses have been directly observed in children younger than a year old.

Sexual Curiosity

In all probability the wonderment of the child about matters such as the nature of the difference between the male and female sexual parts, or about the origin of babies, is, as Kanner (1957) indicates, "a universal sign of legitimate inquisitiveness," part and parcel of the child's developing quest for knowledge about the world of reality. This curiosity is not an expression of some innate drive or instinct but is dependent upon specifiable circumstances that either stimulate or hinder the child's quest for knowledge. The child has curiosity about many events in his environment and included together with these is inquisitiveness about objects or events that can be more particularly termed as sexual. If the quest for knowledge is about such matters as wanting to know where babies come from, what part father plays in the birth of the child, why father has a "stick" and mother a "hole," etc., this is sexual curiosity.

Just as with any other type of enlightenment, the breadth of a child's knowledge about sexual matters increases with age. This will occur for most individuals, whether or not attempts are made to "squelch" the child's search, and as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Conn (1948) particularly has shown, "the period of socialization and logical thinking [of the child], as described by Piaget, has been found to correspond to that age interval during which the child begins to discuss sex topics," and "the scope of their sex interests, like the growth of their appetites and heights, increases with the years."

According to Hattendorf (1932), the most frequently posed questions by children of preschool age related to the wish to know about the origin of babies and the coming of a new baby, and the second most frequently posed question was about physical sex differences. Conn (1940a, 1940b, 1947, 1948) has done a series of studies dealing with various phases of the development of "sex awareness" and gives us basic information concerning the developing sexual curiosity of the child.

The studies of Hattendorf, who inquired of mothers as to what sorts of sexual questions their children asked them, and of Isaacs (1939), who made naturalistic observations of the sexual activities of children, give us some information about the sexual inquisitiveness of children. From these we learn that the preschool children of both sexes do have questions that are directly sexual, and that the ones most frequently asked are, generally, as already indicated. Other sexual matters about which children frequently are inquisitive are those relating to the process of birth, the role of father in the reproductive process, the nature of growth within the uterus, and coitus.

Conn and Kanner (1947) studied 200 children ranging in age from 4 to 14 years, whom they claim were "in the main the 'average' population of children," and attempted to answer the questions: what do children of varying ages have to say about the differences between boys and girls and when do they become aware of genitalia as organs having specific sexual functions? They found that three-fourths of the children mentioned differences in wearing apparel and that no children under 5 mentioned this particular point. A greater proportion of the children of each successive age mentioned difference in dress, but after the age of 11 the proportion of children mentioning dress began to decline rapidly as apparently, from this age on, those of the last-mentioned age began to mention genital dissimilarities at once. Conn and Kanner divided their data into two categories: those dealing with personal differences between the sexes and those dealing with interpersonal relationships. They found that the differences between the sexes that caught the attention of the children and which they mentioned spontaneously took the following order:

Out of 200 children,
150 named differences in attire,
116 named genital differences
93 named tonsorial differences,
44 named differences in urination posture,
9 made reference to the breasts and nipples

Of the 200 children, 70 per cent spontaneously mentioned genital differences on their first interview. They divided their subjects by various age groups and indicated the percentage of children in each age range who had the experience of noting genital differences between the sexes. These percentages are shown in the table below.

At all ages studied the differences between the genitalia, when noted, centered around the concepts of differences in size, shape, and "protrusion." All the children of the study knew that urination was a function of the genitalia but knowledge of the function of the genitalia in coitus was known to only 23 boys and 6 girls of the group. Of the 167 children under 11 years

	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS IN AGE GROUP		PERCENTAGE SAID TO HAVE EXPERIENCE		NUMBER SPONTANEOUSLY REPORTING EXPERIENCE	
AGE	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
4–6	23	19	70	63	12	9
7–8	47	25	77	68	all but one girl	
9–10	34	19	65	68	less than 65% of the boys, all the girls	
11–12	21	8	91	50		

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of age, 116 had seen the genitals of persons of the other sex and one-third of these children, according to them, were able to recall their attitudes and give accounts of their memories. Conn and Kanner conclude that most children, whether or not they had been informed about genital differences, ". . . responded to the acquired awareness of genital differences with unperturbed acceptance" or else ". . . had no difficulty in accepting the observed differences in a matter of fact manner. . . ." Over 61 different names were used by these 200 children for the genital organs but all designations for the genitals other than "thing," they write, had something secret and forbidden about them.

Conn (1948), in a study of 61 boys and 39 girls, reported on the ideas expressing a child's awareness of the origin of babies. He found that of the 25 children between 4 and 6 years of age, God was most frequently referred to as the source, one-third mentioned the hospital, and only two mentioned the doctor. Since no children of this age gave evidence of understanding the concept of the birth process, none mentioned the mother as having a part in it.

In the age range of 7 to 8, where 22 were studied, about one-half had been informed that doctors bring babies and that they come from hospitals. In about one-third of the cases the children had been introduced to the ideas of seeds, eggs, and the sickness of the mother at the time of the coming of the baby. Conn indicates that the acquisition of such information "causes the child of this age to begin to look to the mother's body as being the source of the baby." "Throughout this entire group [ages 7 to 8] there is an increasing emphasis and curiosity concerning the mother's role in the coming of the baby" and there is some perplexity about just what role the mother plays in the birth process. Some six children believed that the child left the mother by way of the anus and some knew that a male and female "element" was needed to "produce a baby." The children who had this more advanced knowledge were still, however, in a quandary as to just how these male and female factors come together.

The child of 9 to 11, Conn indicates, has heard his playmates, among other persons, express various theories as to the origin of babies, and although "the average child of this age has been sensitized under various conditions of shame, scornful laughter and punishment to actual or fanciful names of the genital and excretory organs" and is hesitant to repeat these names, nevertheless many notice and talk about the meaning of the enlarged abdomen and talk about the concept of genital contact. The average boy of 10, of the socioeconomic group he studied, Conn tells us "is beginning to discuss and wonder about the nature and purpose of the sex act."

Although the cases at each age level studied by Conn are few, and there is much question about representativeness of sampling and some question about the influence of or presence of pathology in the group studied, some age trends are noted in the above data. As age advances the children go from more fanciful, unrealistic concepts about the birth process to more realistic and factual ones, and apparently by the age of 10 to 11 boys, at least, have approached a correct factual explanation. The average child of 4 to 6 thinks of birth in terms of the concepts of God, while the child approaching puberty sees that both male and female are necessary to the birth process and learns that coitus is involved. Sex differences and intelligence, however, are factors related to this knowledge. Conn found that there was a difference in sex information given and that "boys were told more directly that the mother carried the baby in her body," and so quite naturally observed and talked about the large abdomen more frequently than girls. He noticed some tendency for the more intelligent children to get more "sex information," to recall more of this information, and to pay attention at an earlier age to the mother as the possible source of the baby.

Conn, in general, concludes that children are much less curious about sexual topics than has been assumed or observed by many who apparently fear bombardment with inquiries. A quotation from his study (1940b) will summarize his evaluation of the sexual curiosity of children:

> The facts speak for themselves. Parents must learn that they have been frightened by a few vociferous psychologists living in academic seclusion and by a handful of psychiatrists who have

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

been blinded by a priori theorizing into viewing with alarm the future of the child who has not been "completely" sexually enlightened. Children do not ask for such "complete" explanations. The scope of their sexual interests, like the growth of their appetites and heights, increases with the years. The sexual information that they require cannot be administered in one dose any more than can the vitamins they require.

Masturbation

If one accepts the views of psychoanalysts and the concepts deriving from Freud, masturbation is a universal phenomenon in childhood (Stekel, 1950). If sexuality is considered, following Freud, to include "all phenomena of human life related to pleasure seeking," then masturbation can be omnipresent in childhood. If the thesis is held that all stimulation by means of touch is basically sexual, then it is a logical extension of the idea to deduce that masturbation is found in the history of each and every child.

Even if one takes a more restricted view of masturbation, it is a frequently occurring activity of childhood. If one considers as masturbatory activity only those actions of the individual where his own genitalia are touched or stimulated so as to bring about at least partial erection, or some sexual arousal, masturbation is still a commonly occurring behavior. Statements about the total incidence of masturbation during childhood, as in those of Kinsey for example, are most frequently derived from data gathered from the retrospective recollections of adults. Very few direct observations have been made of children actually masturbating.

Some few cases of direct observation have been reported by Kinsey (1953), and to him these prove conclusively that masturbation can be the source of orgasm in very young children. He reports on direct observation by intelligent observers (not necessarily scientists) of some seven preadolescent girls and twenty-seven preadolescent boys under 4 years of age and states that "these data indicate that the capacity to respond to the point of orgasm is certainly present in at least some young children, both female and male."

Kinsey (1953) reports on the total incidence of masturbation, usually with the criterion of the experience of orgasm, and states that in the female sex .3 percent have masturbated to the point of orgasm by the age of 3 and 8 per cent by the age of 10. He maintains that 1 per cent of the female population has masturbated (with or without orgasm) by 3 years of age and 13 per cent by the age of 10. The approximate figure for the male sex is also 13 per cent by age 10. In the female, masturbation is the most frequent source of preadolescent orgasm, and of those females who report preadolescent orgasm, 86 per cent had their first experience through masturbation. Masturbation is much less frequently the initial source of childhood orgasm in the case of boys. Boys may experience their first orgasms by other means, usually as a result of a variety of emotional situations, such as those stimulating fear, and a variety of physical stimuli. These have been reported by Ramsey (1950). Usually these are the same types of emotional and physical stimuli that induce erections in male children. According to Kinsey (1953), no more than 68 per cent of the first orgasms in boys are due to masturbation.

In the female sex, childhood masturbation is most frequently accomplished by some manual manipulation of the genitalia and most frequently stimulation is of the clitoris. The technique next in order of use is that of accomplishing rhythmic movements of the buttocks while the child lies face down, perhaps on a bed. Quite frequently while the child is in such a position the genital organs may be rubbed or pressed against a blanket or some object, as a toy. These techniques of childhood masturbation in the female sex are surprisingly similar to the techniques of adult masturbation. The order of the frequency of their use is, also, quite similar to that found in adulthood, with the exception of vaginal insertions. Masturbating children are not as prone as are adults to use vaginal insertions as a technique of masturbation.

Manual manipulation is, too, the most frequent technique used by male children. Manual masturbation occurs, according to Kanner, most frequently "in bed before going to sleep or after waking" and "with some children, it becomes a regular routine upon retiring."

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Inspection of Sexual Parts and Sexual Play

Much of childhood sexual play appears to be prompted by curiosity about sexual anatomy. Not all the sexual play has the aims of tumescence, sexual arousal, or arousal of the cycle of tension and release, but some of the childhood sexual play can, conceivably, attain such ends. This is especially likely to result if sexual activity or contacts of children is being or has been guided by adults or older children who give the child information helping him to learn to associate the sexual responses with some type of sociosexual context rather than simply mechanical acts. An older boy, for example, might instruct a younger boy in masturbation by telling him how to manipulate his genitalia in a specific manner and indicating that certain accompanying responses and feelings are to be expected, such as an ejaculate, a pleasurable feeling, feeling of warmth, subsequent relaxation after erection, and the like. Ordinarily, however, much of the sexual play of children takes place in a context where, while manual manipulation may result, the erotic implications of the acts might be unrecognized. A game of "Doctor and Nurse," where there might be touching of the genitalia, or simulated coitus, where the genitals touch, can be without erotic implications or arousal.

Most frequently the sexual play of children appears to be with companions of approximately the same age (whether of the same or opposite sex). Some 30 per cent of the female sex, and some 40 per cent of the male sex, have been involved in childhood heterosexual play. For the boys there is a steady increase in the total incidence of childhood sex play until adolescence. For girls there is a trend to become more reticent in such play in the later years of preadolescence, even though they were so involved in the early and later years of childhood. Near adolescence girls who are active in heterosexual play tend to circulate freely among a wide variety of male partners. As Kinsey (1953) states, "with seven boys involved for every girl who is having any heterosexual play near the approach of adolescence, it is obvious that the girls who do accept contacts at that age must be having a variety of male partners."

Where heterosexual play has occurred, in 99 per cent of both boys and girls genital exhibition is involved and most of the heterosexual play starts with this form of behavior. In the case of the children who are involved in any sort of heterosexual play, genital exhibition is the only form of sex play for 40 per cent of the girls and 20 per cent of the boys. Of those children who take part in any form of heterosexual play, about 81.4 per cent of the boys and 52 per cent of the girls proceed to manual manipulation of the genitalia. Usually the manipulation is confined to mere touching and only in a small minority of the cases are the contacts truly masturbatory in type. For most of the girls who are involved in heterosexual play such contacts of all types are confined to a single experience for just a few, and in 67 per cent of the cases they are confined to a time span of one year or less. Only in 11 per cent of the cases of girls where heterosexual play is found was the behavior prolonged through five or more years during childhood.

Very infrequent types of heterosexual play are oral contacts and attempted coitus. Mouth-genital contacts have occurred in 2 per cent of the cases of girls and 8.9 per cent of the cases of boys who have had heterosexual play experience. The recollections of adults are somewhat unreliable sources of information about many types of childhood sexual behavior, and certainly when adults try to recall whether penetration occurred during attempted coitus they cannot recount dependably whether coitus or mere genital apposition resulted. If genital apposition and attempted coitus are not clearly differentiated, then where some type of heterosexual play is reported, in 17 per cent of the cases of girls and 55.3 per cent of the boys there have been attempts at coitus. When the population of male children is considered *in toto*, 22 per cent have made such attempts.

In very few cases of heterosexual play have there been vaginal insertions, probably in no more than 3 per cent of those cases that report some type of heterosexual play. In these cases it has usually been finger insertion.

Homosexual Play

Homosexual play in the female sex is reported for very few children before 3 years of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

age but there is a steady increase from about 6 per cent at the age of 5 to 33 per cent at adolescence. Approximately 60 per cent of the male sex have had homosexual play in their preadolescent years. For both sexes where any homosexual play has occurred, genital exhibition is by far the greatest in incidence, with approximately 99 per cent of the females and 99.8 per cent of the males reporting it. For one-third of the females this has been the only form of homosexual play.

For both sexes manual manipulation is the sort of homosexual play next in order of incidence and in the records of children with homosexual play, 62 per cent of the girls and 67.4 per cent of the boys report having had some such activity. Mouth-genital contacts were reported by 3 per cent of the females and 16 per cent of the males with homosexual play experience. Vaginal insertions are reported by 18 per cent of the girls, and 17 per cent of the boys admit to anal intercourse. For the girls, just as in the case of heterosexual play, the homosexual play is in the great majority of cases confined to one year of life and often to one or two such experiences. This is true in the instance of 61 per cent of the cases of girls who have had homosexual play during childhood.

Sexual Contacts with Adults

Most of the literature giving information about the incidence and frequency of sexual approaches of adults to children concentrates on the female sex. In all probability this reflects the Western cultural concern with the taboo of virginity as it relates to the female and is also indirectly an expression of the double standard of sexuality. Although there is no rational or factual reason for an increasing concern about this matter of sexual contacts of adults with children, there is still a widely held belief that all such contacts with the child are universally damaging to personality, character, future sexual adjustment, and future marital adjustment. Just as erroneous is the view of the frequency of such occurrences, which is equally exaggerated and irrational.

Kinsey (1953) presents the most extensive evidence and reports that of the 4,441 female subjects studied, 24 per cent had had experience during the period of preadolescence in which adult males had established sexual contacts with them or appeared to be making approaches. This figure of 24 per cent also includes reports of those persons who had had no actual physical contacts but who had *thought* the man might be making an approach of a sexual type. The most frequent type of contact made by the male was that of showing his genital organs, which occurred in 52 per cent of the cases that report contact with adults. In 31 per cent of the cases reporting sexual approaches the adult patted the child but did not manipulate the sex organs, but in 22 per cent of the cases there was such manipulating. Approximately four-fifths of the girls who had had sexual contacts with adults had but one experience in childhood, 15 per cent had less than six experiences, and 5 per cent had nine or more experiences before preadolescence. Where there were repeated experiences these took place most frequently with adult relatives who lived in the same household with the child.

Kinsey (1953) reports that where repetitions did occur these appeared to take place because the child was aggressive in seeking the experience. This report, which may be surprising and even shocking to many adults, is very much like the reported conclusion of Bender and her associates (1937, 1952) from a series of studies on the effects upon children of sexual contacts with adults. She studied "unselected successive admissions" of prepubertal children who were referred to the Psychiatric Division of the Bellevue Hospital because they had had sexual contacts with adults. Bender points out in her studies that the children who were observed frequently exhibited "unusually charming and striking personalities, ability to make personal contact easily, and a tendency to attract attention, especially from adults." She emphasized the fact that, where there was overt sexuality with adults, the child in many instances sought the contact and the pleasure concomitant with this. The following is from page 514 of her 1937 article:

> This study seems to indicate that these children undoubtedly do not deserve completely the cloak of innocence with which they have been endowed by moralists, social reformers and legislators. The history of the relationship in our cases usually suggested at least some cooperation of the child in the activity, and in some cases the child assumed an

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

active role in initiating the relationship. This is in agreement wth Abraham's views. It is true that the child often rationalized with excuses of fear of physical harm or the enticement of gifts, but these were obviously secondary reasons. Even in the cases in which physical force may have been applied by the adult, this did not wholly account for the frequent repetition of the practice. In most cases the relationship was not broken until it was discovered by their guardians, and in many the first reprimand did not prevent the development of similar contacts. Furthermore, the emotional placidity of most of the children would seem to indicate that they derived some fundamental satisfaction from the relationship. These children rarely acted as injured parties and often did not show any evidence of guilt, anxiety or shame. Any emotional disturbance they presented could be attributed to external restraint rather than internal guilt. Finally, a most striking feature was that these children were distinguished as unusually charming and attractive in their outward personalities. Thus, it is not remarkable that frequently we considered the possibility that the child might have been the actual seducer rather than the one innocently seduced.

General theory has propounded that children's sex contacts with adults must inevitably lead to dire consequences in adult or later life. The sexual trauma theory indicates that such contact is almost the only progenitor of mental disturbance and abnormality in the emotional life. Usually the psychological effects of adult seduction have always been presumed to be harmful. Nearly all the psychoanalysts have been in agreement on this—as for example Freud, Klein, Abraham. If theory is not presented in the sexual trauma form, at least a detrimental influence upon later personality development is usually hypothesized. On the other hand, Bender (1952), after follow-up studies, concludes that even incestuous encounters need not be as bad as they are usually presumed to be and that "modern psychiatric follow-up studies of a sizeable series of individuals who as children had known these types of sexual experiences have not disclosed any directly adverse effect of the early incidents upon later social adjustments." In her studies the incidents had run the gamut from fondling to sexual intercourse. Her first series was limited to ten girls and four boys, 5 to 12 years of age, who had had a typical sexual experience with adults, and the second group consisted of fifteen children, 4 to 12 years of age, who were grouped together on the basis of "the child's deep confusion over his sexual identity." In neither group did the results show gross maladjustment in adult life. She summarizes her conclusions as follows:

> A summary consideration of the two groups produces two tentative conclusions on the significance of these types of childhood sexual experiences.
>
> Overt sexual behavior of the several kinds described did not necessarily forecast either their retention into adult life or maladjustments specifically rooted in such experience. None of the children in the first group again needed social correction or attention because of sex activities. None of the second group developed, so far as our material could determine, into the typical adult homosexual personality.

References

Bender, Lauretta, and Blau, Abram, "The Reaction of Children to Sexual Relations with Adults." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 7;* 500-518, 1937.

Bender, Lauretta, and Paster, Samuel, "Homosexual Trends in Children." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 11;* 730-743, 1941.

Bender, Lauretta, and Grugett, Alvin E., Jr. "A Follow-up Report on Children Who Had Atypical Sexual Experience." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 22;* 825-837, 1952.

Conn, Jacob H., "Children's Awareness of the Origin of Babies." *J. Child Psychiat. 1;* 140-176, 1948.

Conn, Jacob H., "Children's Reactions to the Discovery of Genital Differences." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 10;* 747-754, 1940a.

Conn, Jacob H., "Sexual Curiosity of Children." *Amer. J. Dis. Child. 60;* 1110-1119, 1940b.

Conn, Jacob H., and Kanner, Leo, "Children's Awareness of Sex Differences." *J. Child Psychiat. 1;* 3-57, 1947.

Freud, Sigmund, *Basic Writings.* New York: Random House, 1938.

Halverson, H. M., "Genital and Sphincter Behavior of the Male Infant." *J. Genet. Psychol. 56;* 95-136, 1940.

Hattendorf, K. W., "A Study of the Questions of Young Children Concerning Sex." *J. Social Psychol. 3;* 37-65, 1932.

Isaacs, Susan, *Social Development in Young Children.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939.

Kanner, Leo, *Child Psychiatry.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1957.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Meyer, Adolph, *The Common Sense Psychiatry of Dr. Adolph Meyer.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948.

Moll, Albert, *The Sexual Life of the Child.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912.

Ramsey, Glenn V., *Factors in the Sex Life of 291 Boys.* Madison, N.J.: published by the author, 1950.

Seward, Georgene, *Sex and the Social Order.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Autoerotism.* New York: Liveright, 1950.

Watson, Robert I., *The Psychology of the Child.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959.

WILLIAM R. REEVY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Clothing and Nudism

History of Clothing

THE origin of clothing, like that of many other human practices such as burial, domestication of animals, and firemaking, was lost long before the dawn of history. There is scant evidence concerning the nature of the clothing used by our earliest ancestors. If we consider the lower Paleolithic age as the dawn of culture and Neanderthal man as the bearer of that culture, our discussion of the wearing of clothes may very well begin with that period.

Prehistoric Development of Clothing

What can be written about the use of clothing in earliest times must be based upon conjecture and inference, more largely on the former. An example of pure conjecture in this regard is the theory that clothing originated in response to climatic conditions. There is only the roughest kind of relationship and, as we shall see in connection with the discussion of the purely secondary use of clothes as protection, this conjecture has many "bare spots." It is well known that many present-day primitive people use a minimum of clothing even in very rigorous climates. The lack of clothing of the natives of Tierra del Fuego was first cited by Charles Darwin. The climate in this inhospitable land, where snow was observed to melt on the nude bodies of the natives, has been compared to that of the glacial cold of the Mousterian Neanderthaler. However, the cold of the Ice Age was probably a much more relentless cold. LaBarre (1954) believes that man's relative hairlessness and "linearity" of physique point to a tropical adaptation and that this hairless anthropoid was "caught short" by the Ice Age.

However, clothes may have a protective value on a purely magical or symbolic level as well as on a realistic one. There is a feeling of protection that causes the habitual clothes-wearer to feel a lack of it when he is without them. He finds himself "naked to his enemies" and therefore vulnerable. This feeling of vulnerability may have very ancient origins. There is evidence that clothes may have been used as a protection against the entry of malevolent magic and evil spirits into the body. Closely related to this is the psychoanalytic theory that clothes are a symbolic substitute for the mother's protection and love. Flügel (1950) cites Ernest Jones in this connection as showing that the unconscious fear of cold is derived from a fear of separation from the mother. A feeling of a need for clothes would thus be related to a "womb phantasy," *i.e.*, phantasies of an escape to the warm, enveloping, protecting home of the uterus from a cold and inhospitable world.

A little more inferential is Crawford's (1938) suggestion that, because an awl of chipped flint and a semicircular knife, which still survives among leatherworkers, have been found near the remains of Mousterian man, these imply the use of "a kind of covering but little removed from clothing." Crawford uses the intriguing phrase "Ice, the Schoolmaster," the implications of which are obvious. Man undoubtedly had a lot to learn beyond the development of magic in order to survive. However, fortunately man has often done the right thing for the wrong reasons.

The consistent finding of evidence of the use of ocherous clays even in lower Paleolithic times is pertinent to our subject. Authorities agree that the primary functions of clothing

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

were those of decoration and symbolic magical practice, even in regard to protection. It may be inferred that the painting of domestic objects and of bones in the lower Paleolithic era went along with the painting of bodies for decorative and magical purposes, as has been the case among many primitive peoples of recent times.

It is only in upper Paleolithic times and with the ascendancy of Cro-Magnon man that we find definite evidence of the wearing of clothing. Not only do we discover excellent bone and ivory needles with eyes, which are the tools needed for fine and careful sewing and suggest tailored garments, but we find actual though rare representations of clothed figures. On page 34, Volume I, of *A History of Technology* is a picture of an upper Paleolithic carving in ivory of a female figure in tailored clothing resembling that of an Eskimo.

Linton (1955) mentions that a picture has come to light from upper Paleolithic times that shows a man's head and shoulders in profile with the shoulders covered with some sort of brown garment, presumably a fur robe or parka. Commenting on the rarity of representations of clothed human beings compared to nude ones, he suggests that "perhaps, like the premissionary Eskimo, they followed the sensible procedure of stripping whenever they came into the warmth of a cave or a house." This statement contains a suggestion of an early juxtaposition of clothing and nudity.

Textile-making and the Development of Sexual Differentiation

The earliest evidence of textile-making and weaving comes from Neolithic sites dating from about 5000 B.C. in Egypt and Iraq. With the development of weaving, long lengths of textile could be fashioned to clothe the human figure in loosely hung garments. With this development, we may see the *Anlagen* of the dichotomy in clothing that has persisted down to the present time and has become associated, at least in the Western world, with sex difference.

The history of sex differences in clothing is also shrouded in the obscurity of history. Flügel points out that, among modern peoples at any rate, some sex distinctions in dress are to be found "both among savages and civilized peoples." As he puts it, "There seems to be no escape from the view that the fundamental purpose of adopting a distinctive dress for the two sexes is to stimulate the sexual instinct." Among primitive and civilized people some sort of distinction is nearly always found. A discussion of sex distinction in the dress of modern (Western) man involves some very interesting historical data into which we make an excursion before discussing more purely psychological considerations.

As far as Western clothes are concerned, three tendencies can be discerned to come down through the ages—the arctic or northern type of dress, the southern type of dress, and a primitive type coexisting, preexisting, and presumably leading into the southern type. There are intermediate forms. The primitive type is still seen among many peoples in various parts of the world.

There is no evidence that the primitive type was a forerunner of the northern type of dress, as it was of the southern or tropical type. This distinction is recognized by several authorities (Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte,* quoted by Frederick Starr, 1895; and C. H. Stratz, *Die Frauenkleidung und ihre natürliche Entwicklung,* cited by J. C. Flügel, 1950) and is important for an understanding of one of the main influences on Western clothing that has come down to the present time.

The northern type of dress was largely of animal materials and was tailored, consisting of a close-fitting jacket and a tight pair of trousers. It was probably to make this type of garment that the upper Paleolithic and Neolithic awls and needles were used. According to theory, clothing began with wrapping the skins of animals that had been killed in the hunt around the hunter or warrior. These warriors with their skin garments appeared generations later at the gates of Rome after fighting the Roman legions in many parts of the world. The exposure of the Roman soldiers to this type of dress was the beginning of the coming together of two types of dress—the northern and the southern.

Another juxtaposition of clothing and nudity with reference to the classical world is exemplified by the Greek word and Greek concept

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

"gymnastic," namely, the practice of physical culture in the nude state and with no sexual significance.

The southern type of dress was made of vegetable fiber and was loose and flowing, consisting usually of two pieces, a loose, wide-sleeved jacket and a loose and flowing skirt or trousers. The most ancient fabrics so far discovered belonged to predynastic Egypt, dating back to 8000 B.C., and seem to have been made of flax. Dress of this type was used in ancient Egypt, by Greeks and Romans, Chinese, Japanese, and Persians. According to theory, these clothes developed out of the ornamental girdles of the neck and waist of a more primitive type of dress that can still be seen in many parts of the world.

Most authorities agree that adornment and the decorative and symbolic function of clothing had priority over the protective function. They also consider that the concealment function, or modesty role, of dress was secondary and subsequent and not involved as an original motive for wearing clothes.

Psychology of Clothing

Any discussion of the psychology of clothing, about which much has been written, must consider a *multiplicity of motivational factors* —traditional, social, economic, physiological, and psychological—that involve many elements such as status, sex, and even protective symbolism to produce a kaleidoscopic picture of dress and of attitudes toward the wearing of clothes. The best discussion of the subject is by Flügel. We can hardly do justice in this article to all the factors involved, or to their interaction. We can consider only the more important aspects as they relate to the mainstream of present-day Western culture and especially to the subject of sex in that culture.

The juxtaposition of clothing and nudity is a relationship that dates from ancient times and subserves many unconscious needs and objectives. It involved various forms of bodily exposure including the opposite of nudity, genital exhibitionism, which will be discussed below.

There seems to be no doubt of the primacy of the adornment theme in dress, nor that this theme was often motivated by the desire to call attention to sex differences, to secondary sexual characteristics, and to sexual prowess—in short, of the fact that dress has subserved the function of sexual arousal, of calling attention to and emphasizing sex—and still does. Even in modern times in Western culture, the chief functions that seem to be subserved by clothes are protection, maintenance of status, and emphasis on sex difference. It is sometimes somewhat easier to recognize this in primitive peoples, among whom trophies and articles of dress are often worn to indicate sex distinction and status. But modern Western fashions, particularly those followed for formal dress, clearly differentiate between males and females and between individuals of higher and lower status.

It is interesting to note that with the conquest of the ancient world by the northern barbarians and the taking over of their type of dress by the Roman males during their military service, a marked accentuation of sex difference in clothes resulted.

A further development occurred at about the same time. A great increase in modesty took place at the collapse of the Greco-Roman civilization. This increase—due probably for the most part to the influence of Christianity with its body-concealing Semitic traditions—was doubtlessly reinforced by the customs and point of view of northern invaders coming from colder climates. In this way the concealment function of clothes was added to that of sex distinction. As Havelock Ellis (1936) expresses it, "One of the greatest sex allurements would be lost and the extreme importance of clothes would disappear at once if the two sexes were to dress alike; such identity of dress, has, however, never come about among any people."

Modesty and Clothing

In this connection a few words need to be said about the modesty-preserving function of dress. If clothing were worn because of instinctive modesty, two or three things, it would seem, should be true concerning it. First, there should be no naked tribes. Yet there are naked tribes even today, and only a few years ago there were many more. Second, if shame were innate, modest dress should be the same the world over; in other words, there should be the same concept of what constitutes modest dress.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

This is far from true, as one authority after another emphasizes. There are few points on this subject about which there is such unanimity of opinion, all kinds of variations being alluded to, such as the modesty concerning the Chinese woman's little foot, the buttocks of some of the inhabitants of Central Africa, and the faces and backs of the head of Arab women. These variations in the part of the body emphasized by the demands of modesty in one people with indifference to the part emphasized by other people certainly casts doubt on the concept of an innate sense of shame relative to the modesty function of clothes.

Modesty relative to the genitals and the alluring quality of partial concealment arrived on the scene of the Western world at about the same time as the breakdown of the Greco-Roman civilization and the ascendancy of the Judeo-Christian influence. Christianity upheld a rigorous opposition between body and soul and taught that attention devoted to the body was prejudicial to the salvation of the soul. The Judeo-Christian emphasis on concealment played an important role in the development of a sense of modesty. One of the easiest ways to divert thoughts from the body is to hide it. But the increase in the amount and complication of garments itself provided the possibility of a new outlet for the exhibitionistic urges that were thus repressed. Concealment and display went hand in hand and have been companions ever since. Even ornamental dress worn largely for status and distinction may promote a feeling of shame if inadvertently left off at the wrong time. Furthermore, some authorities point out the vagaries of the sense of shame, such as shame elicited by an inadvertent covering of what is usually revealed or a wearing of otherwise proper garments at the wrong time.

The tradition of physical education in the nude, which was part of the gymnastic (*gymnos* = naked) body culture of Greece and Rome, survived for a time in the custom of nude bathing with the sexes commingling. Medieval bathing establishments became erotic resorts, which resulted in their being frowned upon by the puritans of the medieval Church. Communal nude bathing has survived in central and northern Europe to this day, largely with the sexes segregated. There are stories of communal co-sexual bathing in Scandinavia and in Russia, where it suffers somewhat under the handicap of being considered old-fashioned and not part of the trend of the modern world. In spite of a possible Communist wish to think of it otherwise, in this connection the spread of prudishness followed Christianity and Western capitalism and imperialism around the world.

Linton (1955) discusses, as have many other authorities, the untoward influence of the Christian missionaries in the South Pacific and elsewhere. He mentions the spread of disease caused by the missionaries' insistence that the natives in the South Pacific keep their bodies constantly covered. It seems that bark cloth was well adapted for tropical clothing since it was wind-proof but had no warmth, and it had the advantage of being plentiful and easily made into clothing. "The natives never bothered to clean it or repair it, when it became torn or dirty it was simply thrown away. Since the natives had never learned to wash or mend clothes, it took them a long time to adapt to European garments which were at first worn until they fell to pieces. There was a great decline in cleanliness with resulting skin diseases and other infections."

Modesty and Display

The most significant methods of sex distinctions are those that depend upon the relative importance of the two great motives of modesty and display. Among ourselves at present the female sex is more decorative than the male. Among primitive people (and for many years in Western culture) the opposite was true. With them, as with most mammals and birds, the male is more ornamental than the female. As we shall see, the decorativeness of the present-day female has an interesting history. Certainly, "modesty" has been more frequently seen among women and probably arises in a good many cases out of the various taboos that affect the female sex at certain times, such as at menstruation or childbirth. The factor of concealment of the absence of a penis may also play a role. This is suggested by the complete absence of female genital exhibitionism and by the degree of importance attached to the display of female pubic hair. This latter is felt by many people, including postal authorities

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

who rule on the obscenity of nudist photographs. The peculiar tenacity of women to hide what is not there is an interesting item in this connection. Clinically, the onset of genital modesty in the female often seems to begin with the growth of pubic hair, even before the onset of menstruation. According to classical Freudian psychoanalytic theory, this would suggest the possible reactivation of an infantile penis envy at the time of early puberty and a disinclination to reveal an absence of something that is present in others.

If, as seems the case among many primitive peoples, men are more inclined to decoration—certainly in connection with trophies and ornaments of war, and with hunting and sex prowess—and women are more inclined toward modesty—and if certain traces of these attitudes are still to be found in contemporary Western culture—the question naturally arises as to what influences have brought about so very different a state of affairs at the present day—namely, that women's dress is so much more ornamental than men's.

Flügel offers some interesting theories in this connection. He points out that from the fall of the Roman Empire to the end of the eighteenth century there was little to choose between the decorativeness of the two sexes except perhaps that, whatever style of dress was in vogue, the skirt was always associated with a certain dignity that was lacking in the bifurcated nether garments of men. Thus, the clergy, the judiciary, and scholars have worn robes down to the present day.

Flügel comments that woman's unconscious struggle for monopoly of beauty in dress is an important social movement and, as we shall see later, certain historical events, notably the French Revolution, contributed to woman's final displacement of the male as the more decorative sex.

Man continued to stake all his attractiveness upon his clothing, except for certain definitely aberrant genital exhibitionists whose attempts to reverse this trend are usually singularly unsuccessful. On the other hand, women made use of the double weapon of exposure and decoration. The psychoanalytic reason for this distinction is probably that the displacement of exhibitionism from the body onto clothes went further in man than in woman.

It has been pointed out by psychoanalysts that in women the whole body is sexualized, whereas in men the libido is more definitely concentrated upon the genital zone. Again the evidence supplied by male genital exhibitionists supports this position. The greater importance of scopophilia and visual sexual stimulation in the male, which has been pointed out by Kinsey's studies, would play a role in reinforcing the difference of the sexes in this connection. Men respond much more than women to visual sexual stimuli. The exposure of any part of the female body works more erotically than exposure of any corresponding part of the male. In view of all these considerations, it is not surprising that women should be at once the more modest and the more exhibitionistic sex.

A curious corollary arises out of this, which Flügel discusses. He theorizes that, because woman's sexuality is more diffuse, she can exercise a great deal of unconscious sexual attraction, whereas with man, with his more concentrated sexual organization, the ultimate genital aim of the whole sexual process is nearer to consciousness. He states (1950:109)

> . . . in witnessing female exposure, man is often more acutely conscious than woman herself of its sexual intention. Men may therefore (rightly from their own standpoint) accuse women of being immodest, and women (also rightly from their standpoint) may reply either that sexuality was seen where none was present (*i.e.* consciously recognized) or that they—the women—have a more "natural" and "healthy" attitude to the body (*i.e.* that they can enjoy the pleasures of exposure without apprehending any concomitant sexual desire).
>
> Both sexes have some right upon their side in this dispute. On the one hand, the men have a clearer view of the ultimate biological end of all sexuality, including the decorations and exposures of female dress. On the other hand, the women are undoubtedly right in implying that there is a certain reciprocity between genital sexuality and those other "component instincts" (to use again the psychoanalytical term) which are more especially operative in the relatively harmless pleasures of exposure. The women's argument about their own "natural" and "healthy" attitude is very much the same as that used by the supporters of "nude culture," who are never tired of maintaining that nakedness tends powerfully to diminish "sexuality" (*i.e.* the more directly genital impulses of sexuality). The—by now extensive—experience of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

"Friends of Nature" would seem to show that this contention is correct, the chief reason probably being that the increased pleasures of exhibitionism and of skin and muscle erotism have drained off a certain quantity of sexual energy which might otherwise have taken a purely genital channel.

Women have used another defense against the male charge of incitation with immodesty. They reply that men have made them so, and that it is only in response to an insistent male demand that women are induced to expose their persons. This means that women are refusing to accept the part of the guilty temptress that men, in an endeavor to protect their own sex guilt, are ever ready to thrust upon them. As part of their emancipation, women are objecting to playing the traditional role of scapegoat to men's sex guilts and ambivalences.

"Great Masculine Renunciation"

Flügel further speaks of the "Great Masculine Renunciation" in connection with the sudden reduction of male sartorial decorativeness that took place at the end of the eighteenth century. At that time there occurred one of the most extraordinary turns of events in the whole history of clothing and dress—a turn of events under which we are still living. Up to that time there was little to choose between the splendor and decorativeness of men's and women's clothes, whether in style, ornamentation, materials, or colors. Then quite suddenly —a matter of some fifty years or less—Western man abandoned his claim to be considered beautiful. Henceforth he aimed at being useful, strong, and silent.

Flügel discusses the causes of this "Great Masculine Renunciation" in terms of the psychological concomitants of the political and social changes that took place at the end of the eighteenth century in the form of the manifold consequences of the upheaval of the French Revolution. The emphasis on rank and wealth fell away. The brotherhood-of-man ideal of the new social order demanded clothing that expressed the common humanity of all men, which could be accomplished by means of a greater *uniformity* of dress than had obtained under the *ancien régime*.

The respectability of the ideal of work that came about with the rise of the bourgoisie demanded a greater *simplification* of dress to a general approximation of plebeian standards. The ideals of the Revolution became progressively consolidated, with each passing decade taking over class after class until they became accepted even by the aristocracies. Man's important activities went on in the workshop and office and not in the mansion and drawing room.

The process of the democratization of clothes is still going on. Within our lifetime, following two world wars, it has affected women's as well as men's clothes. Slacks, shorts, blue jeans, and even "fly fronts" have been added to women's armamentarium of clothing as part of their "emancipation" to masculine ideals of work, uniformity, simplicity, utility, duty, silence, and strength. There are no doubt many other factors involved, as we have already pointed out—a multiplicity of motivations all interacting to produce the complex picture of women's present-day clothing.

However, women still cling to decoration and *décolletage*, ornamentation and revelation, concealment and allurement, in their more "social" dress. The wonder, of course, is why the factors that affected men's clothing in the first place did not similarly affect women's costume, and how men have been able to bear the sacrifice (of being nondecorative) that the new order imposed on them. Flügel propounds these questions and professes to have no answers for them. He says, "To answer these questions fully would require a deeper knowledge of certain fundamental psychological and sociological processes than we at present possess."

Two observations may be of some help in this connection. One comes from Kinsey's finding of the prepotency of visual sexual stimuli in males as against females. This interesting and significant distinction may be physiological in origin and may be underlined by the sexual situation that obtains. On the other hand, it is a finding that confirms and generalizes the psychoanalytic observation of the greater degree of scoptophilia in males so well brought out by Fenichel (1945). This can be discerned in part in the expression of the genital exhibitionist formula "I wish to show you what I look for in you." Clinically, scoptophilia and genital exhibitionism are closely related.

Man's scoptophilia and greater dependence on visual sexual stimulation may very well have

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

played important roles in keeping women in the role of the "observed one," with her emphasis on decoration and *décolletage*. Something in her self-esteem is satisfied by this role and it has kept her from following man in the "Great Masculine Renunciation." Powerful sociological and economic forces have acted to keep women in this position. Women may have maintained the tendency to partial concealment and partial display in order more fully to exploit male scoptophilia—to "keep the price up" on their chief commodity. Other more directly economic forces are those that stand to profit from the allure of partial concealment, such as the powerful garment industry and, in more modern times, the potent forces of advertising, movies, and TV, which depend so much on the sex allurement provided by provocative pictures of pretty girls dressed with emphasis on sex by partial concealment.

The second observation is Flügel's emphasis on the phallic character of man's dress as a protection against unconscious fears of castration. Men associate "the choking collar and the clogging coat" as symbols of virility and respectability. Furthermore, there may be guilt attached to the idea of abandoning the traditional male costume, as the stiff coat and stiff tight collar are symbols of moral restraint to keep the ever-restless male on the narrow path of virtue and duty. Thus, the sexual restlessness of the male would be an important source of his need for tight and stiff clothing to help him adhere to the ideal of work and duty set by the "Great Masculine Renunciation."

Transvestism

An interesting phenomenon that relates to phallicism and to the sex difference in dress may be discussed at this point. Transvestism, or eonism as Havelock Ellis called it, does not necessarily coincide with active homosexuality and may be a phenomenon almost entirely related to the field of clothing. According to Flügel, psychoanalytic studies suggest that in transvestism the phallic symbolism of clothes is of great importance. Fenichel suggested that there are two chief stages in the psychological development of the male transvestite: (1) an unconscious refusal to accept the lack of a penis in women, and (2) an unconscious identification of the self with the imaginary penis-possessing woman. Clinically, it is found that dressing in female clothing acts as an anxiety-allaying mechanism in many transvestite males.

Less evidence is at hand for the appearance of the same phenomenon in females, as it blends in a continuum with nonclinical and day-to-day appearance in the dress of modern woman. Here sociological evidence may be invoked. As noted above, this tendency may be connected with the increasing democratization of clothes, as well as with individual refusal to accept the lack of a penis and the utilization of the phallic symbolism of male clothing. As a continuation of the democratization of clothes it may also tie in with a tendency to minimize sex allurement and a rebellion against a period when sex differences (in the Victorian era) reached an all-time maximum.

Nudism

The beginnings of the nudist movement also coincide with the rebellion against Victorianism, which became increasingly manifest during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Many factors are undoubtedly involved in the appearance and spread of this interesting development in dress reform.

History

Modern nudism made its appearance as an organized movement in Germany shortly before World War I, stemming from many sources. The mainspring of modern nudism was probably a romantic back-to-nature rebellion against industrialization, with a neo-Grecian emphasis on body culture. Thus, its appearance in a highly industrialized country such as Germany, where a certain amount of romanticism has been a traditional element of the culture, is not surprising. As early as 1905 Richard Ungewitter urged back-to-nature living and a book on nudism by this remarkable man appeared in that year.

However, one aspect of the growth of modern nudism after World War I bears testimony to the probability that in one way at least the nudist movement represents an extension of the democratization of clothes that had been

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

going on for many years, as discussed above. As intimated by Carlyle in *Sartor Resartus*, communal nudism is the ultimate in equalization. This possibility is supported by the welcome given to nudism after World War I as a progressive movement by worker groups, fostered by Socialist governments of many municipalities of Germany. An extreme uniformity and simplicity in dress and nonconformity in the philosophy of clothes accompanied nonconformity in social and political thought.

Another reason that is often given for the spread of nudism in Germany after World War I is that no country suffered quite so severely as did Germany in the lowering of the national physique due to starvation living during that war and immediately thereafter. The German people, especially the youth, were acutely aware of this and, soon after the war was over, bands of *Wandervögel* or hikers (youths and maidens) roamed the countryside, dedicating themselves to a free, natural way of life, traveling light, and bathing in streams unclothed.

Finally, it may also be thought that the prurient prudishness of the times, although not so strong in Germany as it was in Anglo-Saxon countries, was strong enough to produce a counter-agitation for certain reforms in sex mores. Germany was situated at the crossroads of Europe and was, before Hitler, the site of origin of many experiments in social and cultural reform.

Aims

The main aim of the nudist movement was, in addition to the democratization of man, that of dignifying and demystifying the human body and reintegrating the sex organs into the rest of the body. Desexualization, or playing down of genital sex, has been from the beginning one of the major aims of nudism. Nudists never tire of pointing out that the complete and unabashed practice of nudism has this effect. The standards of sex decorum in nudist camps is extremely high. Very few permit the use of alcoholic beverages. Nudists present many statistics showing that there is a greater percentage of sexually normal people among nudists than among the general population. According to these statistics, divorce, sexual misbehavior, sex offenses, and juvenile delinquency are much less frequent among nudists than among the population at large.

It can be readily understood, in view of the tremendous influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition and the prevalence of the body taboo, why, even with these lofty aims, nudists have encountered misunderstanding, intolerance, and persecution. Because their aims are so readily misunderstood, they have been exploited by an ever-ready sensation-mongering press, using such terms as "love colony" and "nudity cult." The term "colony" is not in good usage among nudists because the connotation is of a group of people living a life apart from the rest of the community—a kind of naked world. According to the leading exponents of the nudist movement, nothing is further from their aims.

Their aim appears to be in the direction of providing ordinary people who do not have private estates or other such facilities with a chance to have a vacation from clothes and the by-products of industrialization. Nudists point out that occasional social nudity provides a positive incentive for body care because people become more conscious of physical fitness. There is no question that there is in nudism a strong "back to nature" or "naturist" tendency that fits into a philosophy of physical fitness through a utilization of natural means such as sunlight, fresh air, and proper diet. Rejection of overrefined and overcooked and chemicalized foods is often found among nudists, as well as, among some, a promotion of vegetarianism.

The aspirations of nudism seem to fall into three main categories. One is the permissibility of the pleasure and convenience of going nude where nudity is the natural thing to do, as in bathing. Nudists do not believe in dress merely for the purpose of concealment. The second category of nudist aims seems to fall into the area of promotion of physical fitness by the use of natural means, welcoming also the psychological concomitants of the practice. The third category of nudist goals is the promotion of naturalness and the fostering of emotional health in certain areas as a psychological and sociological result of the acceptance of social nudism by those who now and then participate in a nudist experience. This latter aspect of nudism will be discussed at some length below.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Historically, nudist groups with these general aims multiplied all over Germany during the 1920's. However, it was only during the early thirties that the movement spread to Anglo-Saxon countries such as Great Britain and the United States.

The Spread of Nudism

In general, nudism has had more rough going in English-speaking countries than on the continent of Europe. This has been reflected even in the designations used. In Germany the term *Nacktkultur* was superseded by such terms as *Freiekörperkultur*, *Lichtkultur*, or *Lichtfreunde*. In France such terms as *amis de vivre* and *naturistes* have been popular. In English, with terms such as "free body culture" and "gymnosophy" sounding awkward, the term "nudism" has become generally used by both the exponents of nudism and, with an element of stigmatization, by nonnudists. There is no more euphemistic term in general use in English.

During the latter years of the twenties many Americans, English, and other Europeans visited German nudist camps, notably Klingberg Freilicht Park, the workers' Koch Schule, and a workers' camp or club of the Socialist party, the Freiluftbund. Dozens of nudist groups sprang up all over Germany, most major cities having several clubs.

Anglo-Saxon visitors were surprised to find that nude bathing on the fine white beaches of the North Sea island of Sylt was authorized by the government of Schleswig-Holstein. Even more astonishing to Anglo-Saxon visitors was the fact that two public swimming pools in Berlin, the Stadtbad and the fashionable Lunabad, were turned over at specific hours and days to nudists. For American visitors, such official recognition, indeed authorization, of *Nacktkultur* by municipalities and the state was the most extraordinary feature of the movement in Germany.

The movement spread rapidly during the twenties into many adjacent European countries such as Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia, where unorganized nude bathing had been going on for years. Even predominantly Roman Catholic countries such as France and Austria acquired nudist groups under various names.

However, Roman Catholicism has been a leader in upholding the Judeo-Christian tradition of concealment and has in many places actively opposed the spread of nudism, largely through a misunderstanding of its aims, which as a matter of fact include the promotion of propriety of relations between the sexes. As some of its critics have pointed out, there is a kind of puritanism among nudists with their emphasis on propriety, sobriety, minimization of sex, and rejection of obscenity and pruriency, the big difference being in what is considered obscene. The nudists insist that the unclothed human body is not obscene but that only prurient attitudes would tend to make it so. *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. They point out that to them there is something obscene about emphasizing sex by concealment, especially concealment by implication. They would consider obscene putting a brassiere on a little girl as part of her bathing suit, or a nudist magazine that can be sold on newsstands only if the cover lady's nipples are crossed out with pen and ink. This the nudists would insist is obscene.

As will be seen, controversy as to the purity or obscenity of nudism has raged for many years, with the nudists mustering many rational arguments to support their point of view. What the nudists seem to fail to appreciate is that rationality and consistency play only a small role in this matter and that irrationality and unconscious motivation reign supreme. Few people on both sides, including experts writing pontifically on the subject, are free from such motivations or are amenable to reasoning.

Nudism has made slow progress, especially in Roman Catholic and Anglo-Saxon countries. The first English book on nudism was published in Great Britain by Maurice Parmelee in 1927 under the title *Nudity and Modern Life* or *The New Gymnosophy*. An attempt to publish an American edition was discouraged because of rumblings from a United States district prosecutor warning that the publishers would be liable to criminal prosecution. (This was before some liberalizing decisions were made relative to literary "obscenity," such as those concerning James Joyce's *Ulysses*.) The new book had a preface by Havelock Ellis and contained some clear and unmistakable photographs of undressed men and women. It is noteworthy that Dean Inge of St. Paul's, who was consulted

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

about the morality of publishing it, recommended that it be published with the pictures. He not only defended the morality of the book but made pertinent remarks on the conventional standards of modesty. The juxtaposition of a United States attorney and Dean Inge, neither of whom could be called a nudist, indicates pointedly the controversial nature of the whole subject.

Frances and Mason Merrill (1931, 1932), two Americans who visited German nudist camps during the late twenties, and in 1931 brought out the first book on nudism published in the United States that is still an excellent source, quote figures on the number of German nudists as of 1931 ranging from 200,000 to 3,000,000. The latter figure may be considered a little high and the former a little low, depending on whom one considers to be a nudist. Statistics concerning nudists are very difficult to come by, even at the present time, as we shall see below, largely because there is still so much of the esoteric in the practice of nudism, some of which may be entirely informal and *en famille*.

Nudism in the United States

The first American nudist group met on Labor Day, 1929, in New York State under the leadership of Kurt Bartel. The group met later in the year in an indoor gymnasium in New York City and was raided by the police. In contrast to Germany before Hitler, nudism has made rather slow progress in the United States (even though Benjamin Franklin and Henry Thoreau were early apostles of nudism in America), encountering considerable opposition and persecution, and inevitable journalistic ridicule. Journalists have not tired of sensation-mongering on the subject. In view of the role played by journalistic sensationalism in our culture, this is not surprising, although nonetheless handicapping to the spread of nudism as an organized movement.

Because of the ridicule and actual persecution of individuals belonging to nudist organizations, statistics are completely unreliable. Estimations as to the number of nudists in the United States, as of this writing, vary from 15,000 to 200,000. One authority states that there are about 15,000 dues-paying members. How much domestic nudism and informal adult nudism occurs and has been promoted by the very existence of a nudist movement is unknown. This factor can, of course, operate in both directions. Even Kinsey does not help us very much in this connection. He has some statistics in his book on female sexuality concerning the occurrence of nudity in marital coitus. The figures are on decade of birth of the female and educational status. If they mean anything relative to the attitude toward nudity they indicate that there has been a marked rise in nude marital coitus during the first three decades of the twentieth century and a liberalization of the attitude toward nudity during the years of the rise of nudism in the Western world. They also indicate that there is a rough positive correlation between acceptance of nudity and education. The higher the educational level, the more liberal the attitude toward nudity. This ties in with the acceptance of nudism among more educated people, as noted below.

Kinsey says that "it seems reasonable to conclude that the avoidance of nudity during coitus is a perversion of what is, in a biological sense, normal sexuality." Many nudists would not only heartily endorse this point of view but would extend the statement to include the pointed avoidance of nudity in many other life situations among perversions of sexual normality.

Nudism received a distinct setback in Germany with the rise of Hitler. Because of the association of so many nudist groups with other liberal causes, all but a very few nudist parks were closed and official sanction of nudism was withheld. Since the war nudism has come back in Germany, but not with the exuberance of growth that characterized the movement during the twenties and early thirties. On the other hand, nudism has since World War II shown a slow but steady rise in Anglo-Saxon countries, even if judged only by the number of nudist groups and nudist camps. In the August, 1933, issue of *The Nudist*, which is labeled "Official Publication, International Nudist Conference," there were 21 nudist groups in eight states listed in a directory. In November, 1958 there were three "official" nudist magazines and several others of dubious standing. A perusal of the current issues of these magazines in search of something statistical to report revealed that there were 125 groups in 36 states.

There are two national nudist organizations to which the individual nudist groups belong,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

with some overlapping and some local groups without any affiliation. The splitting of the American Sunbathing Association in 1951 into the parent organization and a smaller, dissident organization, the National Nudist Council, occurred along administrative and organizational, not ideological, lines.

The growth of nudism has been slowed somewhat by the structure and policies of the nudist organizations. It is not easy to try out nudism in a casual and informal manner. Visiting nudist camps is always by recommendation and invitation only. Application for membership must be made in advance and must be supported by evidence of a sincere interest in nudism. Since application is largely by recommendation and nudist membership is largely secret, getting to know an avowed nudist is not an easy matter for most people. To paraphrase a well-known dictum, "Even your best friends won't tell you —that they are nudists."

Many nudist groups are limited to family membership only and do not admit unmarried adults. Single unattached males, particularly, are met with considerable scrutiny and may find many camps closed to them. Such circumspection has handicapped the spread of nudism. Nudists have had to face the dilemma of trying to further their growth while maintaining a certain degree of discretion and secrecy to protect individual members from ridicule and persecution, as well as promulgating rigid rules to maintain respectability. In the main they have considered respectability more important than proselytizing. Respect of confidences and discretion has been particularly important, since so many of the members are in business, in executive positions, and in professions and belong to the middle class. Nudism has not, as it did in Germany, attracted the working classes any more than socialism has.

Laws Relating to Nudism

The growth of nudism in the United States has been accompanied by an uneven but steady liberalization of laws relative to the practice of nudism. In this way the emphasis on privacy, propriety, and sobriety among recognized nudists may have "paid off." There has been a gradual though uneven growth of tolerance reflected by a greater degree of acceptance of the legality of photographs of the nude body. More decisions have been rendered favorable to nudists and more attempts to pass antinudist laws have been defeated in recent years. The one notorious exception was the passing of an antinudist law in New York State as far back as 1935. Apparently the same forces and the same attitudes that led to the pillorying of Bertrand Russell as a corruptor of youth in 1940, accusing him among other things of being an advocate of nudism, succeeded in 1935 in rushing an antinudist law through the New York State Legislature. New York is one of three states that have antinudist laws. An excellent account of the way in which this law was put through the state legislature and the governor induced to sign it can be found in Shaw (1938). In this book other similarly reactionary legal restrictions are also discussed from a nudist point of view. The chapter on "Comstock and the Post Office Ban" is particularly interesting.

The best discussion of post office censorship in relation to nudism appears in a chapter by that title in Huntington (1958), an excellent book that discusses the subject in a comprehensive manner and contains much statistical data not usually obtained elsewhere.

The chief antagonist of bona-fide nudist publications has been the Post Office Department of the United States, one of the main objectives of which in this connection, for more than a quarter of a century, was the prohibition of the oldest nudist publication from the use of the mails on the ground of "obscenity." The postal authorities brought so many actions throughout the years of their struggle against the publishers that there was scarcely a month when one or more cases against nudist books or periodicals were not pending in federal courts. An analysis of the reasons for this outstanding zeal on the part of the postal authorities lies in the realm of clinical investigation beyond the scope of this article. It must be remembered that when the term "postal authorities" is used, as with other governmental agencies, it means individuals who, in matters like this, can hide their prejudices, irrationalities, and unconscious motivations behind the anonymity of a governmental agency. The emotion behind this zeal can be adduced from a résumé in Huntington

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

(1958: 174-175) of the many actions that finally resulted in a victory for the nudists:

The legal history of nudism would not be complete without reference to the victories before the Supreme Court of the United States. The first of these was in connection with the famous Schweinhaut decision rendered in the District Court where twenty-seven consecutive issues of *Sunshine and Health* and seven consecutive issues of *Sun* magazine were before the Court. These issues had been taken home over the week-end by Judge Schweinhaut and carefully studied. The Post Office was heard in oral argument and brief; the magazine publishers presented their case entirely by printed brief. This favorable decision was appealed by the Post Office Department to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and when the court failed to sustain the appeal, the Post Office sought a Writ of Certiorari by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court refused to grant the Writ of Certiorari and the Schweinhaut decision became the law of the land, and still stands as a complete vindication of our contention as to the decency of nudist publications. It was this victory before Judge Schweinhaut that led the editor of *Sunshine and Health* to write an article entitled "Rejoicing in Vindication" which appears as chapter 21 in the present volume.

However, the Post Office was not satisfied and immediately picked up later issues of both *Sunshine and Health* and *Sun*. This case went against the publishers through the lower courts and each time was appealed to a higher court, in the last instance being appealed to the Supreme Court, which rendered a decision completely in favor of the publishers. As these two cases now stand, the first victory before Judge Schweinhaut was allowed to stand without being disturbed in any wise by the Supreme Court, and in the latest case the Supreme Court accepted the request for Certiorari and reversed the lower court decisions. These favorable decisions by the United States Supreme Court terminated a twenty-five years' fight with the postal authorities in many municipal, state and federal courts. Their influence will be felt not only in nearly every state of the Union but internationally as well.

Even with these reversals the postal authorities are still not content. In their campaign against pictures with exposed male genitals and female pubic hair they have forced at least one nudist publication to put out two forms of the same edition of the same periodical, one with unretouched photos for acknowledged members of nudist clubs only and one with retouched photos (with the pubic hair smudged out) for general distribution.

Studies on Psychology of Nudism

In spite of (or possibly because of) the fact that nudism is such a controversial subject and because it has been considered outside the pale of serious study, there are relatively few studies of nudism from a psychological or sociological point of view. That this should be so cannot be without significance. That none of the more recent professional psychological publications contains any studies of an unusual social phenomenon of the proportions of the nudist movement indicates the extent to which irrational attitudes and unconscious motivations influence even workers in the fields of psychology, education, and sociology, to say nothing of psychiatry. It appears to be a matter of expressing disapproval by ignoring and pretending not to notice. A few isolated individuals in the fields mentioned, such as the late Professor Howard Crosby Warren, head of the Psychology Department at Princeton, and the late Professor Prescott Lecky of the Columbia Psychology Department, have expressed approval of nudist ideals, but for the most part there has been popular derision or professional silence.

Flügel has a few favorable words to say on the aspirations of social nudism and a great deal more to say on the controversial subject of domestic nudism or nudism *en famille*. In characteristic fairness, Flügel does not hesitate to quote William Reich as one of the leading psychoanalytic opponents of social and domestic nudism.

In July, 1939, a group of psychologists, psychiatrists, educators, and a psychoanalyst accepted an invitation to visit a nudist camp and hold a conference on the psychological, sociological, and educational aspects of social nudism. This material was privately published in photo-offset form. Understandably but unfortunately the authors of the eight papers presented were designated by initials only. The proceedings of this conference, with the authors anonymous, is one of the few professional studies of communal nudism. Some of the words of the psychoanalyst may be of interest here:

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

On the evidence [I see] here, my expectation would be that nudist camps are more conventional in sexual conduct than are most vacation resorts. I think one effect of social nudism is to battle against what I may call the age-old psychological enemy of modern mankind—the isolation of sex. If you were in psychotherapy, you would see very clearly that at the bottom of most nervous disorders is a very distorted and very painful attitude toward the other sex. In strong language, you can almost say that for many men women are mostly a big vagina with something attached to it, or a big trap in which they can fall and be swallowed. Men are to many women just aggressive penises with something behind. It is unbelievable how few people are really able to conceive of a member of the other sex as another human being. This is where the problem of empathy comes in.

It seems to me that one of the automatic effects of social nudism is that the sexual organs are *reintegrated* in the human body. For most people these organs have taken on such an exaggerated importance that the rest of the body doesn't count any more. So I should imagine that the most important psychological effect of social nudism on the adult should be a very important stimulus to reintegrate the sexual organs so as to make sex more acceptable.

Although there are few studies on social nudism, there is a little more in the literature on the subject of domestic nudism. The reaction of some orthodox Freudian psychoanalysts toward domestic nudism is negative. They have in mind studies, such as those of J. Sadger, "Die Lehre von Geschlechtsverirrungen," quoted by Flügel, indicating that in fetishism the fetish is often a phallic symbol representing the imaginary penis of the mother—the observed absence of which has had much to do with the development of the "castration complex," which is at the bottom of the fetishism. (One would like to have some confirmatory evidence that the incidence of fetishism and other sexual deviations is greater among nudists than among the general population.) The castration anxiety of the young male child would, according to such psychoanalytic opinion, be evoked by the sight of penisless female members of the household. Some psychoanalysts would also be concerned as to the effect the sight of a well-developed adult penis might have on a little boy whose own penis is comparatively small. Certain psychoanalysts would be concerned as to the pathogenesis of certain psychosexual disturbances such as genital exhibitionism arising out of an aggravation of castration anxiety by the simple sight of penisless females and the aggravation of penis envy and its sequelae by the sight of well-developed male genitals by a penisless little girl.

The subject is a controversial one. Some younger psychoanalysts such as Harry Joseph (1954) have come out very positively in popular literature against domestic nudism, or nudism *en famille,* warning parents not only against allowing children to see the parents of the opposite sex nude but against permitting children to see parents of the same sex nude. (Here again one would like to see some confirmatory evidence that the incidence of sex problems is greater among nudists than in the general population.) This extreme view is not shared by many other authors on the subject, including such popular writers on pediatric psychiatry as Benjamin Spock, who emphasizes the "at-easeness" of the parents in what they do, regardless of how they handle family nudity, as being of primary importance.

Psychoanalytically oriented nudists reply that attempting to keep from children the knowledge of sex differences by concealment is a naïve and futile gesture and that the emotional emphasis with which this is usually done, viz., going to extraordinary lengths to maintain sexual modesty when revelation would be the simple natural concomitant of a domestic activity, serves only to intensify the castration anxiety and penis envy. "If my parents make such a fuss about this, it must be significant." They would point out that there is ample evidence that parental tensions are passed on to young children in this manner. Furthermore, contend these critics of what they consider a naïve interpretation of psychoanalytic theory, in view of the well-known proclivity of children to phantasize, hiding from them something about which they are bound to have a vague knowledge and a tremendous curiosity is an almost sure way to stimulate a phantasy that is whipped up by castration anxiety and penis envy into something out of all proportion to the importance of the item in question.

Flügel, who is a well-known psychoanalytic authority, takes a more moderate position than

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

some of his colleagues and recognizes that the subject is controversial, containing many uncertainties not to be settled by dogmatic pronouncements. He states (1950:200):

A consideration of the clothing of children might reasonably be held to demand a statement as to the attitude we should adopt towards nakedness in relation to children. Our general principle points clearly to the desirability of perfect frankness in this respect. With regard to children's own nakedness, this will probably be freely admitted in the more enlightened educational circles. But it would seem that in the lower social classes of England an exaggerated sense of shame is often inculcated, and young children (especially girls) will often suffer great embarrassment if they have to undress for medical inspection. The idea is even prevalent that modesty can only be adequately safeguarded by means of a plethora of undergarments (Macaulay).

As regards the question of whether adults (and especially parents) should show themselves naked to children, there is less agreement. In certain more "advanced" circles this is done on principle, but a query as to its advisability has come from a rather unexpected quarter, namely, from the psychoanalysts, who have been much struck with the great effects that appear to be aroused in children by the appearance of the adult genitals (particularly effects connected with the castration complex). It is admitted that the evidence so far available is far from conclusive; nevertheless, Zulliger, in a recent review of the subject says, "My personal and provisional view is that it is better that children should not see their parents naked." In the opinion of the present writer he does not give due weight to the fact that in ordinary households it is in any case difficult to prevent accidental exposures before children. It would seem likely also that such special precautions as might be necessary to ensure that there is no such accident might very likely do more harm than the evil that they were intended to prevent. Altogether it would seem desirable to await further evidence before we agree to such a departure from the general lines of education suggested by psychoanalysis. However, it is undoubtedly true that the castration complex is of the greatest importance and that everything that is reasonably possible should be done to prevent its exaggerated development (to some extent it is probably inevitable). As Zulliger also points out, adults should bear in mind how difficult it is to be unbiased in this matter, and how liable they are to gratify their own exhibitionism under the pretext of bringing up their children "naturally."

Another psychoanalyst (Reich) also argues against "nude education" on the general ground that it logically implies a very different state of public opinion on sex questions than that which now exists. This argument is in a form that would apply to any departure from conventional taste and morals; if itself logically applied, it would abolish all experiments in education that imply such a departure. The true way out of the difficulty surely lies in the direction of teaching the illogicalities and inconsistencies of human institutions as themselves a part of reality. If, for instance, in the present case, it is decided to bring up children to regard nakedness as natural and ethical, this attitude should be supplemented by the information that nakedness is not everywhere looked upon in the same light. The problem here is, it would seem, exactly parallel to, say, that in the case of agnosticism.

An interesting article on nudism entitled "Nudism and Negroes" came out in a popular Negro magazine, *Ebony*, in August, 1951. In this article an interracial trend in American nudism is reported on, as well as are other aspects of social nudism. This author quotes Havelock Ellis as stating, "If mankind wanted to encourage sexual immorality, it could have devised nothing better calculated to that end than to have insisted upon the universal adoption of clothing."

Trends in puritanical America seem to bear out Havelock Ellis' contention. That phenomenon on the American scene, the movie sex queen who thrives by titillation, is nurtured in a soil that is artificially fertilized by the overemphasis on sex brought about in large part by the creators of obscenity laws and the zealots who for political or personal reasons call for their enforcement.

A case in point is the popularization by Anthony Comstock of the picture "September Morn." The little-known story about this picture is told by Harry Reichenbach (1931). The book is unfortunately out of print and difficult to come by but it tells a story that should be more widely known. Reichenbach, one of the first "publicity men," states:

I applied for work at a small art shop that had printed a lithograph of a nude girl standing in a quiet pool. The picture sold at ten cents apiece but nobody would buy it. I could earn my month's rent if I had an idea for disposing of the two thou-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sand copies in stock. It occurred to me to introduce the immodest young maiden to Anthony Comstock, head of the Anti-Vice Society and Arch-angel of virtue. At first he refused to jump at the opportunity to be shocked. I telephoned him several times, protesting against a large display of the picture which I myself had installed in the window of the art shop. Then I arranged for other people to protest and at last I visited him personally. "This picture is an outrage!" I cried. "It's undermining the morals of our city's youth!" I made him come with me and see for himself.

When we arrived in front of the store window, a group of youngsters I had hired especially for this performance at fifty cents apiece, stood pointing at the picture, uttering expressions of unholy glee and making grimaces too sophisticated for their years. Comstock swallowed the scene and almost choked. "Remove that picture!" he fumed, and when the shopkeeper refused, the Anti-Vice Society appealed to the courts. This brought the picture into the newspapers and into fame. Overnight, the lithograph that had been rejected as a brewer's calendar, became a vital national issue. Songs were written about it, actors wise-cracked at it, reformers denounced it, and seven million men and women bought copies of it at a dollar apiece, framed it and hung it on the walls of their homes. The name of the picture was "September Morn." There was no more immorality or suggestiveness to it than sister's photograph as a baby in the family album. This was my first job in New York. It paid me forty-five dollars and enabled me for one more month to sleep on a desk.

The enforcement of obscenity laws often has an opposite effect, such as the skyrocket selling of a book because some benighted community has seen fit to ban it—yet another example of allurement by concealment. Similarly, an artificial shortage of a commodity is created so some smart market operator can make a "killing." And the obscenity zealots such as Anthony Comstock and many a district attorney in the United States are the more or less unwitting dupes of the interaction of such factors. This is also reflected in trends in American advertising. Probably only in a pruriently prudish culture like that in America or Latin America does the purveying of such a divergent variety of products including beer and automobiles depend so much on pictures of pretty girls clothed for provocative concealment and often in "sexy" poses. The effect of this kind of hypocritical prudishness and concealment-for-effect maneuver has far-reaching ramifications, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this article.

References

Beaglehole, Ernest, *Social Changes in the South Pacific.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957.

Crawford, M. D. C., *The Conquest of Culture.* New York: Greenberg Pub., 1938.

Davies, John Langdon, *The Future of Nakedness.* London: Noel Douglas, 1929.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Fenichel, Otto, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1945.

Flügel, J. C., *The Psychology of Clothes.* In Ernest Jones (ed.), *International Psycho-Analytical Library.* London: Hogarth Press, and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1950.

Gay, Jan, *On Going Naked.* New York: Holborn House, 1932.

Hirning, L. Clovis, "Genital Exhibitionism: An Interpretative Study." *J. Clin. Psychopath. 8;* 1-24, 1947.

Huntington, Henry S., *Defense of Nudism.* New York: Robert M. McBride, 1958.

Jensen, Oliver, *The Revolt of American Women.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1952.

Joseph, Harry, and Zern, Gordon, *The Emotional Problems of Children*—A Guide to Parents. New York: Crown, 1954.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. D., Martin, C. E., and Gebhard, P. H., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. D., Martin, C. E., and Gebhard, P. H., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

LaBarre, Weston, *The Human Animal.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Linton, Ralph, *The Tree of Culture.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955.

Merrill, Frances, and Merrill, Mason, *Among the Nudists.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1931.

Merrill, Frances, and Merrill, Mason, *Nudism Comes to America.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1932.

Nipson, Herbert, "Nudism and Negroes." *Ebony Magazine,* August, 1951.

The Nudist Magazine. New York: Outdoor Publishing Co., August, 1933.

Parmelee, Maurice, *The New Gymnosophy.* New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1927.

Psychological Symposium in a Nudist Camp. Privately printed, 1939.

Reich, Wilhelm, "Wohin führt die Nackterziehung?" *Ztschr. f. Psychoanalyt. Padagog. 3;* 44, 1928.

Reichenbach, Harry, *Phantom Fame.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1931.

Russell, Bertrand, *Why I Am Not a Christian.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1957.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Scott, George R., *The Common Sense of Nudism.* London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1934.

Shaw, Elton, *The Body Taboo.* Washington, D. C.: Shaw Publishing Co., 1938.

Singer, Holmyard, and Hall, *A History of Technology.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Solaire Universelle Nudisme, Magazine. Mays Landing, N. J.: Sunshine Pub. Co., Nov.–Dec., 1958.

Starr, Frederick, *Some First Steps in Human Progress.* New York: Chautauqua-Century Press, 1895.

Welby, William, *The Naked Truth.* London: Thorsone Publishers, 1950.

Welby, William, *It's Only Natural. The Philosophy of Nudism.* London: Thorsone Publishers.

L. CLOVIS HIRNING

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Coitus

Definition

COITUS, according to English and English's recent *Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms* (1958), may be defined as "the introduction of the male sex organ into the body of another, generally with orgasm." Coition is the process in general and coitus is the specific act. The words are derived from the Latin, *coitio*, made up of *co-*, together, and *ire*, to go. Technically, therefore, coitus does not consist merely of penile-vaginal copulation, but of any coming together of two sex partners, so that the genitals of one are sufficiently stimulated by the body of the other.

The one main exception to this rule would be sexual excitement and release obtained through one individual's bringing her (or his) partner to climax by manual manipulation of the partner's genitals. Although, in the most technical use of the term, this might be considered a form of hand-genital coitus, in practice it is invariably given the name of masturbation and is not thought of as constituting a form of coitus. On the other hand, the active insertion of a male's penis into his partner's mouth or anus, or even between his partner's thighs, external vulva, breasts, or armpits, is commonly referred to as oral coitus, anal coitus, femoral coitus, etc.

When used without a modifier, the term coitus almost invariably means penile-vaginal copulation; and it is sometimes distinguished, as I have noted in *The Art and Science of Love* (1960a) and several other books (A. Ellis, 1954, 1958, 1960b), from noncoital or extracoital sex relations—by which is meant all other forms of interpersonal sex stimulation other than penile-vaginal intercourse. It would perhaps be more accurate to call these forms of stimulation extravaginal sex relations, since many modes of interhuman contact, such as oral-genital or anal-genital relations, are actually coital (in the strict sense of the term) without being penile-vaginal.

There are surprisingly few respectable synonymns in the English language for penile-vaginal coitus, the main ones being such terms as *sexual intercourse, copulation, sex relations, sexual congress,* and more euphemistic designations, such as *act of love*. Only one of these terms, *copulate,* can be used as an active verb —"I copulate," or "he copulated." And even this word has its limitations, and is generally used in an indirect form. Thus, one does not copulate somebody else but copulates *with* this other person. And one copulates with someone else largely in medical texts rather than in more popular literature—where, until very recently, one invariably had sexual intercourse with or participated in an act of love with one's sex partner. Norman Arlington (1960) has for the past decade tried to revive the old active English verb *swive* and thereby to allow one to say, with respectability, "I would like to swive her," or "I swived him last night." To date, he has had virtually no success in this attempt to reanimate respectable coital terminology.

Attitudes toward Coitus

Attitudes toward coitus, and hence to some extent toward the breadth of coital practices, significantly differ throughout the world and sometimes radically differ from one community

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

(such as Staten Island, New York City) to a neighboring one (such as Manhattan, New York City). They also importantly clash in relation to whether the participant in coitus is male or female. Thus, whereas most peoples of the world, especially Oriental peoples, believe that penile-vaginal copulation as well as various extravaginal forms of coitus are delightful and proper for unmarried and married males, many of these same groups feel that young unmarried females should be almost completely abstinent and that married women should be severely restricted, even in their husband's beds, in their coital practices.

Even regarding male participation in coitus, many existing societies, especially contemporary American society, create and perpetuate hypocritical standards concerning the value of coital relations, with the result that the average person in these communities views coitus as nasty *and* tasty, vicious *and* delicious. Consequently, as I point out in my *Folklore of Sex* (1960b), most modern Americans are completely muddled in their sex views, feelings, and acts, hardly knowing sex "right" from sex "wrong," and engaging in coital acts which they feel they should not perform but which they would feel even more uncomfortable about not performing.

This is particularly true in regard to oral coitus, anal coitus, and other forms of extravaginal copulation. In Western civilization, largely as a result of Judeo-Christian teachings, extravaginal coitus, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, has mainly been looked upon with horror and has been considered, even when it is completely heterosexually oriented, perverted or deviated. Relatively enlightened modern authorities such as Allen (1949) and Karpman (1956) state or imply that sex acts that are entirely nonprocreative are deviated; and Freud (1924-1950; 1938) and his more orthodox followers (Abraham, 1950; Fenichel, 1945) refer to infant sexuality as being "polymorphous perverse" and to oralism and analism in adults as being deviated survivals of or fixations upon so-called pregenital sex instincts.

As a result of the Judeo-Christian condemnation of nonprocreative sex acts, which has somehow survived even in much of the presumably "scientific" sex and psychological literature, relatively few Westerners feel completely comfortable with nonvaginal forms of intercourse. As Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953) have shown, the practice of extravaginal sex behavior, particularly under the somewhat toned-down name of *petting*, is an almost universal phenomenon in modern America. But, according to the same source and to considerable clinical evidence, American females admit to the practice of oral-genital relations only about half as often as do American males; and only about 50 per cent of American males admit to engaging in heterosexual oral relations of any sort. The incidences of male and female practices of anal-genital relations, although not at present statistically known, would appear to be considerably lower than those of oral-genital coitus.

On the other hand, extravaginal modes of coitus are frequently looked upon with much more equanimity and delight among peoples of the Orient and the South Seas. The famous Hindu treatise on love, Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*, is perhaps the only sex manual ever written that has a special chapter on *auparishtaka*, or mouth congress. It lists and describes in detail eight different forms of oral-genital contact, including "the nominal congress; biting the sides; pressing outside; pressing inside; kissing; rubbing; sucking a mangoe fruit and swallowing up." Although this chapter is largely concerned with oral-genital relations involving two males, it also notes that "the mouth of a woman is clean for kissing and such like things at the time of sexual intercourse. Vatsyayana moreover thinks that in all these things connected with love, "everybody should act according to the custom of his country, and his own inclination." Other sources—such as Burton (1885-1888), Edwardes (1959), and Forberg (1884)—also confirm the acceptability of oral and anal intercourse, both heterosexually and homosexually, among the Moslems of the Near and Far East.

Ford and Beach (1951), in their study of 190 contemporary societies in the world, note that oral-genital relations are in good repute and are widely practiced in five specific cultures—among the Aranda, Ponapeans, Trobriand Islanders, Trukese, and Wogeo. Inter-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

estingly enough, these are all Oceanic peoples and the last four are denizens of the South Seas.

It has also been shown that in most parts of the world, and notably in Western countries where extravaginal modes of copulation are officially frowned upon, innumerable prostitutes and houses of prostitution would hardly stay in business if they did not cater to the oral, anal, and other nonvaginal demands of their clients (Benjamin and Ellis, 1954). Published case-history material as well as objective studies of human sex behavior would also tend to indicate that extravaginal coitus, although still in some disrepute especially among the less educated classes of Americans, is far more widely practiced than it might on the surface appear to be (Dickinson and Beam, 1931; Hamilton, 1929; Strakosch, 1934).

Obviously, therefore, although the official and publicized attitudes toward various nonvaginal forms of coitus are frequently highly negative in certain regions of the world, the less publicized desires and actions of the people of these same regions are often considerably more favorable toward these coital variants. And where the term *coitus* is generally assumed to mean penile-vaginal copulation and little or nothing else, it actually subsumes what Brian Heald (personal communication) has aptly called a wide-ranging "coital complex"—which includes many more sex modes and manners than may have been dreamed of in any Horatio's philosophy.

In the final analysis, almost any form of coitus that may be imagined and employed is part of some kind of an interpersonal relationship between the individuals who are coitally engaged. As such, it includes, at the very minimum, all the varied aspects of interhuman sex play, rather than merely the act of penetration itself and its immediate aftermath. It seems rather senseless to follow the convention of making a neat and arbitrary division between sexual foreplay, coitus, and afterplay since these are all parts of a single (if not always too well unified and integrated) act. And just as there can be considerable difference between one act of intromission and another, so can there be wide variation between one sexual approach or aftermath and another. The coital complex, therefore, properly includes the entire sex act, from the first tentative kisses and caresses to the final climax and lying restfully in each other's arms.

Since man is a psychological as well as a physiological being, coitus in the wide-ranging sense also includes what people say to each other before, during, and after intromission; how they feel about each other and their sexual relationship; what place their sex acts have in their general scheme of living; and a host of other interpersonal and intrapersonal factors. The coital complex also involves growth and development: since human sex-love participations, like all other aspects of living, grow, change, improve or deteriorate, and finally come to an end. In more ways than one, then, coitus may take on a temporal and spatial quality and is not likely to remain strictly static or one-dimensional. Certainly, the more emotionally sound and creative a male and female are, the more unrestricted, imaginative, and continually developing are their coital relations likely to be.

The Coital Complex and Sex Deviation

As has been previously noted in this article, many peoples of the world, especially almost all those who have been seriously influenced by Judeo-Christian ideologies, define as deviational or perverted sex behavior human participation in any sex acts that are not strictly penile-vaginal, or that do not at least terminate with "normal" penile-vaginal coitus. According to this way of thinking, oral, anal, heterosexually masturbatory, and other nonvaginal acts are perfectly proper when they are engaged in as forms of sexual foreplay; but when they are carried on up to and including actual orgasm, without any penile-vaginal copulation actually having taken place, they are deviated or perverted acts (Van de Velde, 1926). In an extreme, and somewhat ludicrous, form this doctrine has been even further extended by such writers as D. H. Lawrence (1959) and Bergler (1956), who state or imply that even penile-vaginal copulation, when it does not result in simultaneous mutual orgasm between a male and female partner, is a serious perversion of human sexuality.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Defining nonvaginal methods of coitus as sexual perversions is unscientific and invalid for several reasons, among which may be listed the following:

1. This concept of perversion *is* merely definitional and, as such, cannot very well be supported or invalidated by clinical or experimental evidence.

2. It is largely based on the dogmatic value judgment that the only valid motive for human sex relations is procreation, which may have made sense when the ancient Hebrews first promulgated it several thousand years ago but makes little sense in the overpopulated world of today.

3. If logically reduced to its own inherent absurdity, the procreative standard of sex deviation would imply that penile-vaginal intercourse itself is a perversion when the participants employ any method of contraception, including coitus interruptus or the so-called rhythm method of birth control.

4. Any standard of sexual perversion makes sense only when it presents evidence that the acts it labels as being deviant are in some way abnormal, unnatural, or inimical to mental or physical health. But extravaginal sex relations, except when they are carried on in an exclusive fixated, fetishistic, or obsessive-compulsive manner, are hardly statistically abnormal (since about half the population even in areas where they are banned or disapproved of seem to engage in them); they are in no way, other than by arbitrary definition, unnatural (since humans and other mammals spontaneously discover and practice them without specific teaching); and there is no evidence whatever that they are mentally or physically harmful when they are carried to the point of orgasm. In fact, in the light of the facts that they are less likely to lead to venereal infection and to unwanted pregnancy, that they are more likely (especially in the case of females) to result in satisfying orgasm, and that they can be engaged in under many circumstances (such as in automobiles) where penile-vaginal coitus might be impractical, there is every reason to believe that nonvaginal sex acts are frequently more productive of mental and physical well-being than is so-called normal coitus.

It is true that in many jurisdictions, including many American states and Great Britain, statutes exist that legally proscribe and severely penalize extravaginal relations between unmarried persons or between husbands and wives (Haire, 1952; Kinsey, 1948, 1953; Sherwin, 1949, 1951). But "sexual deviation" and sex crimes are by no means synonymous, and there seems to be no sane reason why most of our existing statutes against "sodomy," which include proscriptions against heterosexual nonvaginal relations, should remain on the books in this age.

It is also true that in some instances extravaginal acts are exclusively employed by sexual deviants—by fixed homosexuals, for example—who, out of dire fear of penile-vaginal copulation or extreme (conscious or unconscious) hostility against females, may rigidly or obsessively-compulsively stick to nonvaginal sexual behavior. By the same token, however, some highly heterosexual individuals fearfully and obsessively-compulsively remain fixated exclusively on one particular position of penile-vaginal copulation (such as the face-to-face, male-surmounting-female position); and there is every reason to believe that, from a psychological standpoint, these sexually compulsive individuals are almost as perverted as are the exclusive participants in nonvaginal acts.

In other words, it is not any given act of human sexuality that constitutes sex perversion but the psychological motive for which and the consequent inflexible or disorganized manner in which the act is performed (Ellis, 1958, 1960a; Guze, 1959).

Frequency of Coitus

It is difficult to obtain accurate figures showing the frequency of coitus in any region, particularly since coitus may refer, as we have seen, to strictly penile-vaginal copulation or it may include various other modes of sex activity. Probably the best figures we have in this connection are those of Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953), who use the term *total outlet* to describe male or female orgasm received from any source. The Kinsey researchers found that the average American male has a total outlet of about three orgasms a week before marriage, and the average unmarried female who is sexu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ally active has a total outlet of about 0.4 orgasms a week. After marriage, the average American male still has a mean frequency of about three orgasms a week up to the age of 35, and the average married female who is sexually active has a mean frequency of about two orgasms a week up to the age of 35. Since these figures, especially in the case of unmarried individuals, include masturbatory as well as coital outlets, they must be reduced by about one-third to one-half if we are to estimate coital frequencies.

Recent investigations of Kirkendall (1958) indicate that, especially in the case of the male, and very probably in regard to the female as well, frequency of sex outlet by no means necessarily mirrors the underlying capacity of most individuals. Apparently, many human beings have sex capacities far beyond their usual performances; so that there is every reason to believe that a person's average coital frequency depends as much or more on the availablity of suitable and desirable partners as it does on his or her inherent sexual urges.

In connection with frequency, the question of sexual "excess" often arises. When is coitus "excessive"? There can be no general answer to this question. The frequency of penile-vaginal copulation and/or other forms of coitus should normally vary widely according to the physical and psychological make-up of different individuals; and there is exceptionally little danger (as is also true in regard to masturbation) that any person can have coitus to excess.

From a physical standpoint, it is almost impossible for a male to have "excessive" or "weakening" intercourse because he is simply not able to obtain and maintain an erection an "excessive" number of times during any one period. The female may have intercourse more often than she desires; but if she does have it on this "excessive" basis, it seems to do little or no physical harm—unless she goes to unusual extremes, as in the case of some prostitutes who have ten or more clients a day.

The main physical injuries that may result from "excessive" copulation are (1) loss of sleep on the part of those who engage in it for considerable parts of the night, and (2) occasional irritation of one or both partner's genitals from overly powerful or prolonged friction. These disadvantages can normally be compensated for by intelligent attention to sleep schedules and to adequate coital lubrication. In general, coital frequency may be largely a matter of personal choice and should be expected to range, with different couples, all the way from a few dozen to a few hundred copulations a year. Anything within this range is perfectly normal in most instances—as long as the couple concerned thinks that it is.

Usually, frequency of intercourse steadily but slowly decreases with the age of the individual. According to the Kinsey figures, teenage couples are likely to have coitus about three times a week, 30-year-old couples about twice a week, and 50-year-old couples about once a week. A small percentage of individuals, however, have coital relations five or more times a week until they are well on in years; and another small percentage even during their younger years have it only once every two or three weeks.

Kinds and Positions of Coitus

Coital relations may be classified in several ways. First of all, as noted previously in this article, they may be categorized as to the mode of contact between the partners' bodies. Thus, the male's penis may have coital contact with a female's vagina, external vulva, anus, mouth, thighs, stomach, breasts, armpits. And, if we are to extend the use of the term coitus to the female's interpenetration with the male (rather than just the latter's penile interpenetration with the body of the former) we may say that the female's vagina may engage in coital relations with the male's penis, tongue, hand, elbow, toes, etc.; while her external vulva and clitoris may engage in contact with the male's penis, hand, foot, knee, arm, lips, tongue, etc. To employ the more usual terminology, coital relations may consist of "regular" intercourse, fellation or irrumation, cunnilinctus, anal intercourse, analinctus, femoral intercourse, etc.

Penile-vaginal intercourse may itself be categorized in several ways. Thus, there is full entry of the penis into the vagina; partial entry; coitus interruptus, in which the male withdraws his penis from the vagina before having his orgasm; coitus reservatus, in which the male and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

female have prolonged intercourse with the male never achieving any climax; Zugassent's discovery, in which neither the male nor the female have a climax in coitus; and various other modes of penile-vaginal congress that may be dreamed of or performed.

Many positions of penile-vaginal copulation have been invented and described in detail in ancient and modern sex manuals (A. Ellis, 1960a; Thornton and Thornton, 1939; Van de Velde, 1926; and Vatsyayana). Theoretically, there are hundreds of different copulative positions that may thus be delineated but, for all practical purposes, there are only about a half-dozen major penile-vaginal coital techniques, which may be briefly described as follows:

Face to Face, Man on Top

The man lies on top of the woman, but not directly on her, supporting the weight of his own body on his hands or elbows. She spreads her legs and flexes her knees or raises her feet, sometimes placing them around her partner's waist or on his shoulders. If necessary, her buttocks may be raised by putting a pillow under them. Variations on this position may include (a) the woman's keeping her legs apart and flat after entry has been achieved; (b) keeping them between the man's knees; (c) putting one of her legs between his legs; (d) bending her thighs back toward her chest; (e) raising one of her legs while keeping the other flat; and (g) wrapping one or both her legs around her partner's.

Some of the chief advantages of the face-to-face, man-on-top position are: It makes for easy entry if the woman's thighs are parted and raised; it allows the male to set the pace and to slow or hasten his own orgasm; it facilitates great intimacy between the two partners; the male can sometimes continue intercourse after he has had an orgasm; it is convenient for couples who enjoy the male's making vigorous pelvic thrusts; and it is a good position for impregnation, since after intercourse the woman can keep her knees raised and prevent the sperm from leaving her vagina.

Some of the chief disadvantages of this position are: It tends to restrict the female's movements and thrusts; it sometimes leads to too deep penetration; it is often too stimulating for the male and induces him to achieve quick climax; it is not easy for the male to resort to manual friction on the woman's clitoris in this position.

Face to Face, Woman on Top

In this position the male lies on his back and the woman squats over him and guides his penis into her vagina; or she sits down in an astride position on his erect penis and loins; or the husband and wife achieve penetration in some other position and then gently roll around until the woman is on top. Once entry has been effected, the woman can keep squatting, or can sit astride, or straighten out her legs and place them between or outside her partner's. The man can lie prone, or raise himself on his hands or elbows, or raise his knees on the side of or behind his wife.

Advantages of this position include: The woman often has maximum freedom of action; the quick-triggered male, by being relatively passive, can often last longer; the woman can regulate the depth of penetration and prevent any pain or injury to herself; the woman may achieve deep penetration if she desires it; the woman may be greatly aroused by her own pelvic thrusts; the male may easily caress the woman during intercourse.

Disadvantages of this position include: The male's freedom of movement may be impaired; the position is too acrobatic for many women; vaginal-penile penetration may be too deep and uncomfortable; the man's penis may keep slipping out of the vagina as copulation proceeds; the position is a poor one for impregnation.

Face to Face, Side by Side

In this position the partners lie side by side, facing each other. They may both have their lower legs on the bed and the woman's upper leg over both the man's legs; or the woman's lower leg may rest on the man's lower leg and his upper leg may rest between her legs, so that they are interlocked. As Hirsch (1951) points out, the "side" positions are not exactly what their name implies—as the man is often largely on his back and the woman, resting on him, is partly supported on his chest; or else the wife may be largely on her back, supported by a pillow.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Advantages of the face-to-face, side-by-side position are: It is usually restful for both partners; it is particularly helpful when one or both partners is fatigued, ill, invalided, or old; it enables an easily excitable male to regulate his thrusts and last longer in coitus; it gives both partners relative freedom of movement; it enables the female to make sure that penetration is not too deep if she is vaginally sensitive; it is comfortable for coitus that occurs during the last months of a woman's pregnancy.

Disadvantages of this position include: It is not easy for some individuals to achieve entry in the side positions; it is not comfortable for certain individuals; it is not sufficiently exciting for those individuals who require deep pelvic thrusts; in the interlocking position coital movements may be difficult unless the partners put painful pressures on various other parts of their bodies.

Rear Entry, Man's Face to Woman's Back

In the rear entry (or averse) positions, there are several main possibilities: (a) The man may lie on his side behind the woman (she, too, being on her side), with her buttocks somewhat above his penis and her body slightly curved inwardly, her legs bent at her hips. The man enters the woman's vagina between her legs and his scrotum presses against her buttocks. After intromission she may press her thighs together, providing additional friction for the penis and preventing it from slipping out of her vagina. (b) The woman may kneel on her hands and knees, with her head and breast almost on the bed or sofa, with the man kneeling behind her. (c) The woman may lie on her stomach with her pelvis raised and the man lie on top of her. (d) The man may sit on the edge of a bed or chair, and the woman, with her back to him, sit down on his penis and his lap (or on the lower part of his stomach). The man opens his thighs somewhat and leans back while the woman opens her thighs as wide as possible and leans forward.

Advantage of the rear-entry positions include: The male may be able to feel the woman's gluteal region with his legs, scrotum, and pubic areas and this may be stimulating to him and her; the male can easily put his hands around the woman during copulation and play with her breasts or clitoris; the rear-entry position with both partners lying on their sides may be very restful and enable the man to insert his penis only to the degree that he and his partner desire; the female's vagina may be foreshortened, so that penile-vaginal friction is enhanced if she has a wide vagina or her mate a small penis; the position is often advantageous for impregnation or for intercourse during the last stages of pregnancy.

Disadvantages of the rear-entry positions include: Entry is often difficult, especially in the side position; the male's penis may keep falling out of the vagina; the penis does not contact the clitoris during intercourse; lack of face-to face intimacy is found to be undesirable by some partners.

Sitting Positions

There are several major sitting positions of coitus, including these: (a) The man sits on a chair or on the edge of a bed and the woman sits on his lap, facing him and with her legs astride his. With his legs apart and the female's around his waist, the male can pull her toward and away from him and raise and lower her pelvis, thus effecting copulatory movements. (b) If the chair or bed that the partners are using is suitably high, the man can sit on it while the woman, facing him with her legs somewhat apart, can stand. He can pull her hips back and forth to him, in between his spread thighs. (c) The man can squat between a woman's thighs, while she is lying on her back facing him, with her legs on his hips. He can then make pelvic thrusts or pull her pelvis back and forth. Or the woman can squat between the man's thighs, while he is lying on his back with his legs apart, and she can move her pelvis in a circular fashion, making churning movements around his penis (Haire, 1952; Malinowski, 1929; Robinson, 1936). (d) The man can sit on a bed or chair, while the woman bends over, in a doubled-up position, with her back to him. He can then, using the rear-entry position, pull her pelvis back and forth over his penis.

Some advantages of the sitting positions may be: In the face-to-face sitting position both partners may have maximum freedom of move-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ment with their hands and very close bodily contact may be achieved, with considerable freedom of movement still being maintained; by leaning backward in this position, the woman may also be able to achieve excellent clitoral contact and stimulation during coitus; it is often quite restful and the male can sometimes retard his orgasm by pulling the female to and from himself, rather than by using sharp pelvic thrusts.

Disadvantages of the sitting positions include: Sexual thrusting may not be sufficiently vigorous for either or both partners; penetration may be too deep; impregnation may be impeded; the standing-sitting positions tend to be tiring, especially for the male.

Standing Positions

If the woman has long enough legs or the man sufficiently short ones, both partners may sometimes stand and face each other and thus have intercourse. Or the woman can lie with her legs dangling over the edge of a table or bed while the man stands between her legs. Or the man can stand while the woman, with her arms around his neck, clasps his hips between her thighs.

Some advantages of the standing or standing-lying positions include: They may be varied and exciting at times because they are not routine; they usually leave one or both partners' hands free for caresses; they can be combined with dancing, taking showers together, and similar pursuits.

Major disadvantages of the standing or standing-lying positions are: Entry may be quite difficult and sustained intercourse may become uncomfortable after a while; it is not easy for either of the partners to control his or her orgasm in most of the standing positions; there may not be a sufficient amount of pelvic thrusting and parrying when either or both partners are standing; the positions are unfavorable for impregnation and for intercourse during the last stages of a woman's pregnancy.

In addition to the various positions of penile-vaginal coitus, there are also, of course, many different positions for extravaginal coitus. Such positions are virtually never discussed in detail in any of the popular sex manuals (with the exception of my recent book, *The Art and Science of Love,* 1960). One such position, however, has become both famous and infamous as a symbol of the most licentious form of intersexual behavior—and that, of course, is the notorious *soixante-neuf* or *sixty-nine* position, in which the male and female partners practice fellation and cunnilinctus simultaneously. Other and less publicized extravaginal positions consist largely of variations on the penile-vaginal copulative positions described above.

Modern Trends in Coitus

As previously noted, some of the Mid-Eastern, Far Eastern, and Oceanic peoples of the world have not only been remarkably liberal in regard to coitus, but have also taken an unusually permissive attitude toward many forms of extravaginal coital relations. This has not by any means been the universal rule, since many Eastern cultures are just as prim as we are about limiting their residents to penile-vaginal copulation, and some of these cultures (such as the Trobriand Islanders as described by Malinowski, 1929) even encourage a single, limited form of vaginal-penile congress and look upon all other forms as being at least slightly outrageous. Nonetheless, Western attitudes toward the coital complex have not always been adhered to by more permissive societies.

As we enter the closing phases of the twentieth century, a curious semireversal of the Eastern and Western attitudes toward coitus seems to be taking place. At least among the highly educated, intelligent, and widely read classes of English-speaking society, an unusually liberal attitude toward extravaginal coital relations has been and is still spreading: so that it may be confidently predicted that by the close of the present century an individual in these classes will be considered neurotically inhibited and to some degree sexually deviated if he does not at times spontaneously and joyfully engage in all forms of heterosexual coitus, vaginal as well as nonvaginal.

This new attitude toward the coital complex would appear to be, from a psychological standpoint, exceptionally sound and wholesome. For sexual deviation largely consists of sexual atti-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tudes and behavior that are overly rigid, phobic, fetishistic, and obsessive-compulsive; and sexual health is mainly involved with flexibility, spontaneity, and freedom of preference. A male, moreover, is not a fine lover, and certainly not a better person, just because he is able to perfect a long-lasting and varied technique of penile-vaginal intromission, nor is a woman a desirable bedmate or ultrafeminine just because she is well able to wriggle in copulatory delight. Much more finesse, subtlety, loving-kindness, and general sexual adeptness than this is required to make a truly excellent sex-love partner. And unless coitus is seen as an almost infinitely complex, varied, and wide-ranging series of activities rather than a single, rather monotonous, sadly constricted ritual, maximum sexual joy and emotional health are not ever likely to be achieved.

References

Abraham, Karl, *Collected Papers.* London: Hogarth, 1950.

Allen, Clifford, *The Sexual Perversions and Abnormalities.* London: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Arlington, Norman, *The Modern Courtesan.* In press.

Benjamin, Harry, and Ellis, Albert, "An Objective Examination of Prostitution." *Internat. J. Sexology 8;* 99-105, 1954.

Bergler, Edmund, *Neurotic Counterfeit-Sex.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1956.

Burton, Robert, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night.* (17 vols.). London: Burton Club, 1885-1888.

Dickinson, R. L., and Beam, L., *A Thousand Marriages.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1931.

Dickinson, R. L., *Human Sex Anatomy.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1933.

Edwardes, Allen, *The Jewel in the Lotus.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1959.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *The Art and Science of Love.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960a.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Grove Press, 1960b.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

English, Horace B., and English, Ava C., *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1958.

Fenichel, O., *Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1945.

Forberg, F. K., *Manual of Classical Erotology.* Brussels: Carrington, 1884.

Ford, C. S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Freud, Sigmund, *Basic Writings.* New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1938.

Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers.* London: Hogarth, 1924-1950.

Guze, Henry, "What is Sexually Normal?" Paper delivered at the Second Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, Nov. 11, 1959.

Haire, Norman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Sexual Knowledge.* London: Encyclopedia Press, 1952.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage.* New York: Boni, 1929.

Hirsch, Edwin W., *How to Improve Your Sexual Relations.* Chicago: Zeco, 1951.

Karpman, Benjamin, *The Sexual Offender and His Offenses.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1956.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kirkendall, Lester, "Toward a Clarification of the Concept of Male Sex Drive." *Marr. Fam. Living 20;* 367-372, 1958.

Lawrence, D. H., *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* New York: Grove Press, 1959.

Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia.* New York: Halcyon House, 1929.

Robinson, Victor (ed.), *Encyclopedia Sexualis.* New York: Dingwall-Rock, 1936.

Sherwin, Robert V., *Sex and the Statutory Law.* New York: Oceana Pub., 1949.

Sherwin, Robert V., "Sex Expression and the Law. II. Sodomy: a Medico-Legal Enigma." *Internat. J. Sexology 5;* 3-13, 1951.

Strakosch, F. M., *Factors in the Sex Life of 400 Psychopathic Women.* Utica, N.Y.: State Hospitals Press, 1934.

Thornton, Henry, and Thornton, Freda, *How to Achieve Sex Happiness in Marriage.* New York: Vanguard Press, 1939.

Van de Velde, T. H., *Ideal Marriage.* New York: Covici Friede, 1926.

Vatsyayana, *The Kama Sutra.* Paris: Librairie Astra, no date.

ALBERT ELLIS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Contraception

Definition

CONTRACEPTION includes all methods that permit intercourse between fertile partners without producing impregnation. It is a temporary measure permitting the planning of pregnancy or—to use Margaret Sanger's expression—birth control. The definition does not include abstinence or abortion. Sterilization and castration, generally irreversible procedures, also fall into a different category.

The main criteria for a contraceptive are effectiveness, acceptability, and harmlessness.

Effectiveness

To obtain a true statistical picture of contraceptive effectiveness, it is not enough merely to compare the number of accidental pregnancies in a group of couples who use contraceptives with the number of pregnancies in a group of nonusers of the same size. We base our evaluation of various contraceptive methods upon the length of time during which groups of couples were exposed to pregnancy, deducting weeks or months of nonexposure due to separation, illness, or pregnancy. Then the number of accidental pregnancies is prorated to 100 years of exposure. It is established that couples using no contraceptives at all have a pregnancy rate of 60 to 100 per 100 exposure years. If users of a contraceptive, for instance, the diaphragm-jelly method, show a pregnancy rate of 10 per 100 years of exposure, and if the rate for nonusers within the same population group is 100, we assume that 90 out of 100 pregnancies were prevented, and that the preventive method—in our example the diaphragm-jelly method—has an effectiveness of 90 per cent.

Using this formula, devised by Pearl, we are able to compare the effectiveness of the most commonly used methods. (See Tietze's table at the end of this article.)

In the past, a distinction was made between patient-failure and method-failure; today we consider every unplanned pregnancy a failure in couples using contraception.

Motivation and Acceptability

The effectiveness of contraceptive methods is highly influenced by motivation. A method may have a high rate of success with couples of strong determination, yet may fail when used by less determined couples. Another cause of failure may be an emotional desire for pregnancy that is not consciously wanted or advisable. Such an ambivalence in one or both marital partners often defeats the effectiveness of contraception.

Another factor influencing the effectiveness of a contraceptive method is its acceptability. If the contraceptive interferes with the sexual enjoyment of either partner, as is often the case with mechanical devices, it will not be widely used, no matter how excellent its safety record is. Contraceptives requiring preparations shortly before the sex act, such as the condom, all chemical devices, and the diaphragm, are frequently rejected as disturbing the mood. The diaphragm may be inserted several hours before intercourse whenever there is a possibility of cohabitation, but even so the psychological connection between contraceptive measure and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

coitus persists. Another cause of nonacceptability is the failure on the part of the female user to learn the technique of some methods. Unusually tense or apprehensive women may find it impossible to insert or remove the diaphragm; others experience the same difficulty with the firm cervical cap. As the cap can be left *in situ* throughout the menstrual cycle, these women may call on their physician for removal and/or insertion. After receiving instructions from the physician, the husband may sometimes be able to give technical assistance with both diaphragm and cap.

The prescribing physician should be thoroughly familiar with *every* contraceptive technique, for he must be flexible in deciding the method best satisfying the needs of each couple. With all psychological insight, the method of his first choice might not work out. Only experience by trial and error will determine which method is best for each individual couple.

Alternative Use and Combination of Methods

Use of contraceptives may be found more acceptable if recommendations are made for the alternative use of various methods. If, for instance, the husband is reluctant to use a condom and the wife finds the diaphragm objectionable, the compromise of alternating male and female contraceptives may solve the problem. Other couples may find alternating mechanical techniques with the rhythm method more acceptable.

If conception occurs in spite of consistent and correct use of a contraceptive method, as happens in young couples with high fertility and with great sexual activity, additional protection becomes necessary. This may be provided by a combination of methods above and beyond the commonly used combinations of mechanical and chemical contraceptives; for instance, condom and diaphragm plus jelly may be recommended; a more expensive, particularly potent, chemical may be substituted for the cream or jelly, in conjunction with a mechanical device; or couples using mechanical-chemical techniques may in addition practice abstinence during the fertile period.

Such accumulative measures represent increasing mechanization of the sex act, depriving it of its natural spontaneity. Consequently, acceptance of these combinations is low; they should not be recommended to other than very fertile, highly motivated couples who are educated and intelligent, or as a last alternative to sterilization.

Methods Used by the Male

The two most common contraceptives are male techniques: coitus interruptus or withdrawal, and coitus condomatus or use of a sheath during intercourse.

Withdrawal

Withdrawal, mentioned in the Bible as Onan's sin, is probably the oldest of all contraceptive measures. It requires neither preparations nor a medical prescription, but it is effective only if used with great exactitude. The sex act must be interrupted before ejaculation takes place, which necessitates strong will power, especially for the man. When successive cohabitations take place, thorough cleansing before re-entry is essential to avoid transfer of sperm adherent to the male organ and to the vaginal opening. But in spite of all precautions, the withdrawal method often fails; pregnancies may be caused by the preorgastic secretion from the penis which, as Abraham Stone has shown, contains spermatozoa in 25 per cent of males.

It is said that over the years coitus interruptus may cause serious physical harm, such as prostatic hypertrophy. Although there is no proof for this claim, it is certain that the method often produces psychological disturbances such as lack of female orgasm or male impotence, which may lead to marital maladjustment. Switching to a different contraceptive technique usually cures these ills.

The Indianapolis study of contraceptive effectiveness—a general population study—considered the most comprehensive survey in the field, showed that the withdrawal method has a pregnancy rate of only 10 per 100 years of exposure. A study based on interviews with 3,000 women from all over England established a pregnancy rate of 8 per 100 years of exposure for the withdrawal method.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

In spite of certain shortcomings, the withdrawal technique must be credited with a degree of safety comparable to that achieved by some of the approved mechanical methods.

Condom

The condom is the most widely used mechanical method of contraception. Before World War II, one single German concern sold 24 million condoms per year; the daily production of the big American manufacturers was reported as one and a half million.

Some sort of condom was probably known in antiquity. In the sixteenth century, a device resembling a linen condom was recommended by Fallopius for antisyphilitic protection. Nowadays, cecal condoms, made of animal intestines, are used, but most condoms are made of rubber.

There are a number of safety rules for the condom. Unless the condom is dated and made by a reliable manufacturer it must be tested before use by air insufflation; after use, inflation with water is advisable in order to detect a possible leak. If the condom breaks or slips off during intercourse, an immediate soap-water douche is necessary; as a safeguard in case of a break, contraceptive jelly (not vaseline) may be put inside the condom.

A good rubber condom can be used several times; after each use it is washed and dried (by hand or with a special drying device) and sprinkled with talcum powder.

In spite of its popularity, the condom is often objectionable to men as well as to women because it interferes with the pleasure of the sex act. As our statistics consist mainly of people who reject the condom, it is difficult to compare its acceptability with that of the best female mechanical devices. In safety, the condom equals the records of the diaphragm and the cap.

Methods Used by the Female

Douches

Douching, widely used, is just as widely mistaken for a contraceptive. Actually, it is of value only as an ancillary precaution to other pregnancy-preventing procedures. Unpublished reports from the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau show that in fertile couples spermatozoa may enter the cervical canal minutes after unprotected intercourse. No douche will dislodge them from there. When a diaphragm is removed prematurely, a cervical cap gets displaced, or a condom breaks or slips off during intercourse, the douche, if applied in time, will immobilize the spermatozoa and remove them mechanically from the vagina.

Douche water of body temperature and ordinary toilet soap or soap powder should be used. The woman should be in supine position, lying on the bed or in the bathtub, elevating the douche bag not higher than the rim of the tub, to control the pressure; too much pressure may drive the water through the uterus and the Fallopian tubes into the peritoneal cavity and cause serious accidents.

Intrauterine and Transuterine Contraceptives

A number of contraceptive devices have been used in the past, especially the so-called stem pessaries, which resemble a collar button. The shaftlike part of the stem pessary reaches through the cervical canal into the uterine cavity, while the bottom part adheres to the cervix and occludes its opening. These contraceptive devices may cause serious infections and are therefore no longer acceptable. Graefenberg's intrauterine ring, first considered harmless, also causes infections, even when used with thorough aseptic precautions; an additional hazard of the ring is that it may be expelled unnoticed. For these reasons, none of these devices is recommended.

Vaginal Diaphragm

The diaphragm is the most frequently prescribed contraceptive method in this country. The modern diaphragm consists of a spring (flat or spiral) and a rubber membrane. In England and Germany it is called a pessary or cap. In order to avoid confusion we shall define the diaphragm as a contraceptive vaginal device, the pessary as an instrument for support of the vaginal walls, and the cap as a cervical contraceptive.

Casanova is said to have used a lemon half as a vaginal contraceptive, the acidity of the juice providing chemical protection. In 1838 the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

German physician Wilde invented a contraceptive "pessary" made of resin. The modern diaphragm was invented by the German physician Mensinga. It was first described in 1881 as an "occlusive pessary" and consisted of a hollow rubber hemisphere, the rim of which was extended by a watch spring. Mensinga warned that contact with fat or oil would damage the rubber; he prescribed five different sizes ranging from 67½ to 77½ mm. in diameter. The diaphragm that we use today differs only in minor details from Mensinga's.

More than thirty years elapsed before a limited number of physicians started to put the diaphragm to use. Among them was Aletta Jacobs, who ran the world's first birth control clinic in Holland. There, in 1915, Margaret Sanger became acquainted with the diaphragm method through the Dutch physician Rutgers; this may account for the name "Dutch cap" or "Dutch pessary" which is still sometimes used for the diaphragm.

The diaphragm must fit correctly. An individual examination is essential for the selection of the right size, which is usually determined by fitting rings. The anatomy must be explained to the patient, preferably on a pelvic model, and she must be carefully instructed in the technique. She should practice insertion and removal at home and return for at least one more visit to have her technique checked by the physician before she starts to use the diaphragm. In rare cases, women need a special instrument to facilitate insertion.

The diaphragm spring attaches itself to the vaginal walls. Between the tightly fitting diaphragm and the vagina, there is always a microscopic space that is sealed by a spermicidal chemical, without which the diaphragm must not be used. This is spread in a thin layer on the inside and outside of the diaphragm; if the woman has sufficient natural lubrication, cream is used—otherwise, jelly. No oily substance should be used as it would damage the caoutchouc. Some physicians recommend the use of additional jelly or cream if cohabitation occurs more than four hours after the diaphragm is inserted; in my opinion this is unnecessary.

The diaphragm should be left *in situ* for 8 to 10 hours, but not more than 24 hours; during this time the spermatozoa are immobilized by vaginal secretions and by the spermicidal chemical. If the diaphragm is removed earlier, and only then, a soap-water douche must be applied.

The diaphragm must never be boiled; it is washed with water and soap, dried with a towel, and powdered with talcum. The high quality of the rubber in this country permits use of the diaphragm for one year. Some women wear it longer, but this is not safe because of the deterioration of rubber by age.

In cases of extreme vaginism or pronounced vaginal prolapse, use of the diaphragm is contraindicated.

Cervical Cap

Cervical caps are made of various materials; a widely used variety is of soft rubber, the Prorace cap of Mary Stopes in England. The Dumas and Mizpah caps are similar. Like the vaginal diaphragm, these rubber devices must be removed after 24 hours; they are not safer than the diaphragm and insertion and removal are more difficult. In the past, caps were also made of resin, celluloid, and metals, including gold, silver, and platinum. All these materials have been abandoned; today we use a cap made of lucite, a firm plastic material. This cap can be worn for two years without showing deterioration, and it causes no irritation.

Like the diaphragm, the cap, which is generally manufactured in three different sizes, must be fitted by a physician. Its shape resembles a cone; it has a narrow rim that adheres to the vaginal walls and also facilitates removal. The cap should not fit as tightly as the diaphragm, a small space remaining between cervix and cap. Before insertion, a small quantity of contraceptive cream is filled into the cap.

In contrast to the diaphragm, the cap can safely be left in position throughout the menstrual cycle, but has to be taken out just before menstruation occurs and reinserted after it ends. Women fitted with a cap are protected while it is in place and thus are spared the necessity of introducing contraceptives before each coitus. Because the cap frees the couple from the immediate preparation for contraceptives, it makes it possible to disassociate contraception from the sex act, which is its most

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

important advantage over the diaphragm. We have also found the cap useful in crowded areas, where lack of privacy often creates a problem for the user of a diaphragm.

The cap sometimes develops a disagreeable odor, which can be eliminatd by douching. This symptom can be avoided by removing the cap every few days, a procedure advisable for women who have no difficulties with the technique. Sometimes the male partner feels the cap as disturbing; in such cases, a different contraceptive method should be prescribed. Cervical erosions or deep lacerations are contraindications for the cap.

Chemical Contraceptives

Chemical contraceptives are tablets, jellies, gels, and creams. The chemical must be inserted shortly before intercourse. In dissolving, some tablets develop a foam that covers the cervical os, thereby preventing ascent of the spermatozoa. But tablets dissolve and are effective only in the presence of a sufficient amount of natural vaginal lubrication. They are therefore not too reliable.

Suppositories, as well as jellies or creams, used alone, without mechanical devices, have been recommended as "simplified" contraceptive methods. In the writer's opinion, they are simpler or more convenient only inasmuch as they can be applied without medical instruction. This makes them useful in underdeveloped countries where physicians and nurses are scarce. However, the injection of cream or jelly by means of a syringe, or the insertion of a suppository—precoital manipulations associated with chemical contraceptives—present the same psychological problem as the diaphragm.

Oral Contraceptives

Many researchers are now working on oral contraceptives. They act by (1) suppression of ovulation or spermatogenesis, (2) prevention of fertilization, or (3) prevention of implantation of the fertilized ovum in the uterus—this latter method provoking what might be called "very early abortion."

Gregory Pincus and associates have recently developed oral contraceptive tablets that contain synthetic hormones. At this time they appear the most promising of this group. These "steroids" are chemically related to the hormone progesterone. When taken daily from the fifth to the twenty-fifth day of the cycle, they suppress ovulation and thereby prevent conception. These ovulation-suppressing hormones have already been used in field trials. The tablets were first given to a small group of infertile women, some of whom conceived shortly after the tablets were discontinued. This beneficial effect was unexpected; it was considered definite proof that the suppression of ovulation produced by the steroids is only temporary.

These steroids were tested in Puerto Rico, in 1956. The test was started with 125 and gradually extended to 560 women. Of these, 247 discontinued the tablets after a while, but at the end of the first two years 313 women were still taking them. Actually, not one woman, among those who had taken the steroids regularly, conceived; those who became pregnant admitted that they had either used the medication irregularly or stopped it. The pregnancy rate in this group of 560 women was 7 per 100 years of exposure, a rate of protection equaling the best mechanical methods. However, 18 per cent of the women had side effects, such as headaches, loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, and breast enlargement, and had to stop the medication.

Another field trial with this preparation was recently undertaken in California; there the pregnancy rate was 9. As many as one-third of the women in this sampling had to discontinue the tablets because of the side effects.

Other methods of oral contraception are still in the stage of laboratory testing. No final conclusions can be drawn as yet as to whether oral contraceptives are harmful or not. We do not know what effect the suppression of ovulation for months and years may have on the general endocrine system. According to Pincus and associates, women under steroid medication show a decrease of certain adrenal hormone secretions. At present, oral contraception costs about $10.00 per cycle, a prohibitive price that will, of course, be decreased if and when the tablets are mass-produced. For all these reasons, oral contraception cannot be recommended for general use at present.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The Safe Period, or Rhythm Method

The rhythm method restricts intercourse to the period of physiological sterility in the woman's cycle. Conception occurs when an ovum, or egg, is fertilized by a sperm cell. As a rule, the ovary expels only one ovum per cycle, a process known as ovulation; this ovum stays alive not longer than 24 to 48 hours, and there is evidence that the sperm cells also remain fertile for only about 48 hours after entering the uterus and tubes. Hence, conception is possible during only a few days of each cycle; if intercourse is avoided during this fertile period, i.e., during ovulation time, conception should be impossible.

The difficulty with this method is determining the exact date of ovulation. We owe most available data to the thorough research done by Ogino (1932) in Japan and Knaus (1953) in Austria. Independently, both authors discovered that ovulation occurs in midcycle, not around menstruation time, as had been assumed; that, irrespective of the cycle length, the ten days preceding menstruation are infertile and constitute a "safe period"; and that there is another "safe period" at the beginning of the cycle. This part of the "safe period" is very short, however, especially when the cycle is short, as for instance in women who menstruate every twenty-one days. For this reason some clinicians recommend only the ten days preceding menstruation as the "safe period."

But the fact that very few women menstruate with absolute regularity complicates the determination of even these last ten cycle days. The cycle of 50 per cent of women varies in length over ten days and more, according to Ogino. Couples who intend to use the rhythm method therefore need medical advice for exact determination of the safe period. The woman must keep an accurate record of the menstrual cycles for three to six months (for one full year, according to Knaus), *before* applying the rhythm method.

One of the methods by which the physician can determine ovulation time is the temperature record. During an entire cycle the woman writes down her temperature every morning before arising; the chart will show that on one day around midcycle the temperature drops, followed by a rise the next day and several days thereafter (see figure).

There is considerable evidence that the time of the temperature dip coincides with ovulation time. Another medical method is the cervical enzyme test, based on the fact that the cervical glands secrete glucose during ovulation time. The presence of glucose is easily detected by touching the cervix with an enzyme paper, a simple office procedure. It was first believed that by inserting an enzyme tampon into the vagina, the woman could do the test herself. However, a vaginal enzyme test is of no value as the vagina produces glucose throughout the entire cycle and not during ovulation time only, as does the cervix.

One of the few available clinical investigations of the rhythm method, from the Free Hospital in Brookline, Mass., reports a pregnancy rate of 14 per 100 years of exposure. Tietze and associates (1951), who compiled the data, conclude that "the rhythm method offers a satisfactory degree of protection against unwanted pregnancy to rigorously selected and carefully instructed wives who, with their husbands, are intelligent and strongly motivated. For others

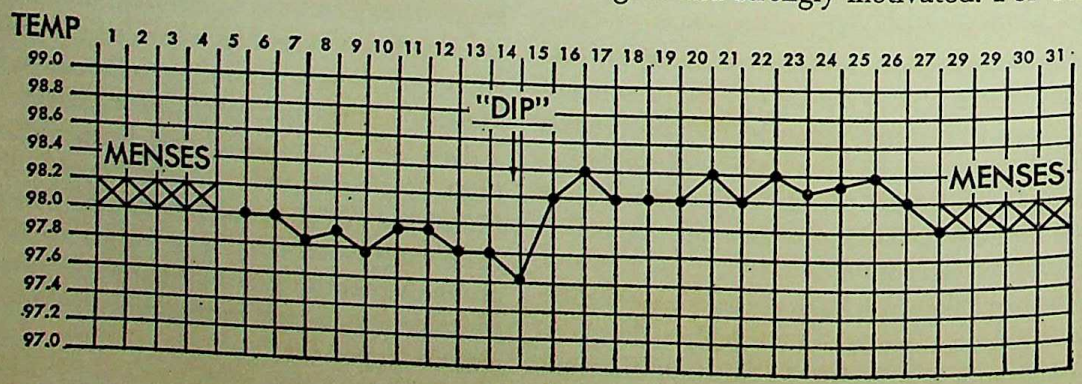


FIG. 1

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 1. CLINICAL EFFECTIVENESS OF CONTRACEPTION
(YEARS OF EXPOSURE, NUMBER OF ACCIDENTAL PREGNANCIES, AND PREGNANCY RATE PER 100 YEARS OF EXPOSURE, FOR VARIOUS METHODS)

METHOD AND AUTHOR(S)	LOCALITY	NUMBER OF COUPLES	AVERAGE OBSERVATION (MONTHS)	YEARS OF EXPOSURE	ACCIDENTAL PREGNANCIES	PREGNANCY RATE
Cervical cap						
Tietze *et al.* (1953)	New York City	143	31	368	28	8
Condom (sheath)						
Tietze & Gamble (1944)	North Carolina	387	20	649	72	11
Diaphragm-and-Jelly						
Dewees & Beebe (1938)	Philadelphia	662	23	1,292	80	6
von Friesen (1957)	Sweden	246	14	280	23	8
Beebe & Overton (1942)	Nashville	380	11	361	32	9
Stix (1939)	Cincinnati	1,579	21	2,819	248	9
Stix & Notestein (1940)	New York City	867	10	742	68	9
Stix (1941)	South Carolina	709	12	685	87	13
Tietze & Alleyne (1959)	Barbados	541	11	503	87	17
Beebe & Belaval (1942)	Puerto Rico	188	10	150	43	29
Foam Tablets						
Koya (1958)[a]	Japan	74	18	108	14	13
Finkelstein (1957)[a]	Baltimore	120	12	111	54	49
Jelly (cream, gel) alone						
Finkelstein *et al.* (1952)[a]	Baltimore	291	15	354	39	11
Finkelstein *et al.* (1954)[a]	Baltimore	371	14	431	83	19
Seibels (1944)	South Carolina	346	17	484	152	31
Beebe (1942)	West Virginia	1,108	10	938	354	38
Periodic continence (safe period)						
Tietze *et al.* (1951)	Boston	409	18	606	87	14
Suppositories						
Madsen *et al.* (1952)	Denmark	183	14	221	17	8
Eastman & Seibels (1949)[a]	Baltimore	333	13	212	57	27

[a] Recomputed from original data. For some of these studies, the average period of observation exceeds average exposure by the number of months omitted from the computation of the pregnancy rate.

and for those to whom pregnancy would be dangerous, the effectiveness of the method is not considered adequate."

In comparing the effectiveness of the rhythm with other contraceptive techniques (see table 1), we must realize that the exposure time in rhythm couples is curtailed by abstinence during one-third to one-half of each cycle; therefore, 100 years of exposure time in couples using the rhythm is actually not equivalent to the same length of exposure time in users of other contraceptive methods.

"Continence, either periodic or continuous, is the only form of birth control not in itself morally objectionable," says Father Kelly (1958). The rhythm method, the only contraceptive technique permissible for Roman Catholics, is used only rarely by non-Catholics. It might, however, become valuable as an alternative to other techniques, if we learn how to use it more accurately. More clinical investigation and additional research are needed to improve this method.

Several facts emerge from a study of the table:

1. Although accidental pregnancies occur with every contraceptive method, even the least effective method offers some degree of protection.

2. Sometimes a method shows different degrees of effectiveness in different studies. This is due partly to differences in methodology and partly to differences in the population using the method (clinic or private patients, people

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

in rural or metropolitan areas, or in underdeveloped countries).

3. The table shows a rather high protective value for the rhythm method. Unfortunately, the presently available surveys are not sufficient to evaluate this technique properly.

References

Dickinson, Robert L., and Bryant, Louise S., *Control of Conception.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1932.

Fraenkel, Ludwig, *Die Empfaengnisverhuetung* (The Prevention of Conception). Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1932.

Haire, Norman, *Birth Control Methods.* London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938.

Hartman, Carl G., *Time of Ovulation in Women. A Study on the Fertile Period in the Menstrual Cycle.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1936.

Himes, Norman E., *A Medical History of Contraception.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1936.

Himes, Norman E., and Stone, Abraham, *Practical Birth Control Methods.* New York: Modern Age Books, Inc., 1938.

Hoellein, Emil, *Gegen den Gebaerzwang* (Against Compulsory Birth). Berlin-Charlottenburg: Published by the author, 1928.

Kelly, Gerald, S.J., *Medico-Moral Problems.* St. Louis, Mo.: The Catholic Hospital Association, 1958.

Knaus, Hermann, *Die Physiologie der Zeugung des Menschen* (Physiology of Reproduction in the Human). Vienna: Wilhelm Maudrich, 1953.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "Contraceptive Methods Requiring Medical Assistance." Paper read at Sexual Reform Congress of World League for Sexual Reform. London, 1929.

Lehfeldt, Hans, *Das Buch der Ehe* (The Marriage Book). Berlin: Aufklaerungs-Buecherei-Verlag, 1930.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "The Physical and Psychological Aspects of Contraception." In M. Sanger and H. M. Stone, *The Practice of Contraception.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1931, pp. 27, 130, and 141-149.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "The Firm Cervical Cap." *J. Contraception 2;* 106, 1937; and *J. Sex Educ. 1;* 132-148, 1949.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "Experience with the Cervical Cap in Barbados." In Winfield Best and Frederick S. Jaffe, *Simple Methods of Contraception.* New York: Planned Parenthood Federation of America, 1957.

Lehfeldt, Hans, "Wilful Exposure to Unwanted Pregnancy (WEUP). Psychological Explanation for Patient Failures in Contraception." Paper read at Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood. New Delhi: February, 1959.

Murphy, John P., and Laux, John D., *The Rhythm Way to Family Happiness.* (rev. ed.) New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1960.

Ogino, K., "Ueber den Konzeptionstermin des Weibes und seine Anwendung in der Praxis (Time of Conception in Women and Its Application in Practice)." *Zentralbl. f. Gynaek. 56;* 721-732, 1932.

Pincus, Gregory *et al.*, "Fertility Control with Oral Medication." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 75;* 1333-1346, 1958.

Pommerenke, W. T., "Phenomena Correlated with Ovulation as Guides to the Appraisal of the So-called 'Safe Period.'" *Proc. Third Internat. Conf. Planned Parenthood.* Bombay: The Family Planning Association of India, 1952.

Sanger, Margaret, *My Fight for Birth Control.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931.

Sanger, Margaret, and Stone, Hannah M. (eds.), *The Practice of Contraception.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1931.

Stone, Hannah M., and Stone, Abraham, *A Marriage Manual.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1952.

Tietze, Christopher, "The Clinical Effectiveness of Contraception." *Proc. Third Internat. Conf. Planned Parenthood.* Bombay: The Family Planning Association of India, 1952.

Tietze, Christopher, *The Clinical Effectiveness of Contraceptive Methods* (preliminary ed.). New York: National Committee on Maternal Health, 1958.

Tietze, Christopher, Lehfeldt, Hans, and Liebmann, H. G., "The Effectiveness of the Cervical Cap as a Contraceptive Method." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 66;* 904-908, 1953.

Tietze, Christopher, Poliakoff, Samuel R., and Rock, John, "The Clinical Effectiveness of the Rhythm Method of Contraception." *Fertil. & Steril. 2;* 444-450, 1951.

Westoff, Charles F. *et al.*, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility; the Use, Effectiveness, and Acceptability of Methods of Fertility Control." *Milbank Mem. Fund Quart. 31;* (3), 291-357, 1953.

HANS LEHFELDT

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Courtship and Mate-Selection

Definitions

COURTSHIP denotes the interaction between a man and a woman characterized by one or both of the following conditions: (a) one or both of the parties may express an *attitude* of love toward the other; (b) one or both may be seeking to bring about a *goal-state* involving the other. The goal-state usually involves one or more of the following: (1) establishing oneself in the affections of the other, i.e., causing the other to "fall in love" with oneself, (2) sex relations with the other, (3) marriage to the other. Generally it is assumed that the two persons involved in a courtship are not married, and, *a fortiori,* not married to each other, but advice-givers do sometimes counsel a person to court a spouse. In this case the goal-state would have to involve (1) and/or (2). Occasionally one of the parties to the courtship seeks the goal-state on behalf of a third party, as when John Alden wooed Priscilla in behalf of Captain Miles Standish.

Mate-selection is the process whereby nubile men and women acquire spouses. Mates may be acquired by mutual volition of the principals, by arrangement, or by capture. Sumner and Keller (1929) remark that in the last case the woman has no customary rights but is wholly "the possession of the captor." Thus they conclude that marriage by capture is "really no marriage at all." *Mutual volition* is the practice familiar in middle-class America whereby the prospective bride and groom choose each other with little or no necessity to obtain permission from their kinsmen or from others. Usually it is assumed that mate-selection on the basis of mutual volition is premised on a pre-existing mutual love. *Arranged marriage* refers to mate-selection resulting from negotiation between the family of the bride and the family of the groom. Frequently such negotiations are highly formalized and involve one or two go-betweens and the transfer of property (dowry or bride-price). It seems probable that arranged marriages have been the custom in most societies throughout history. Traditional China and rural Ireland are examples of this procedure. A special form of arranged marriage occurs in a patrilineal and patrilocal society when a family with one or more daughters but no son adopts a son as groom for a daughter.

The word courtship comes from the practice of courtly love in the medieval courts of western Europe. At that time it was generally thought that love between husband and wife was not possible because of the functional nature of the marital relationship. Courtly love was a more or less clandestine relationship between a man and a woman of high rank who were not married to each other.

In American society we use *dating, courtship,* and *engagement* to denote varying degrees of commitment in the premarital social interaction of men and women. Dating implies no commitment concerning marriage; engagement implies that both parties have agreed to marry each other. From the above definition of courtship it is seen that there is one sense in which this term may represent an intermediate level since it may imply an intent on the part of one or both parties to make a commitment to marry.

In a society in which mate-selection is based

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

on mutual love, as in modern America, the dating-courtship-engagement sequence has the functional value of fostering premarital interaction between the sexes and thus of allowing young men and women to find persons within their fields of eligibles (explained below) with whom they are emotionally compatible. Waller (1937) has leveled objection against this line of reasoning, however, on the ground that the selection of partners for dates and the nature of dating activities do not conduce to the sound selection of marriage partners.

The Field of Eligible Spouse Candidates

Let us understand a differentiated society to be a society containing a relatively high number of social strata and specialized occupations. The people of such a society may also be highly diversified with respect to religious affiliation, ethnic background, and extent of formal education. In general it appears that social class, occupation, religious affiliation, etc., are variables that polarize interaction with the result that people interact most with people like themselves with respect to these variables, e.g., that upper-class people tend to associate more with other upper-class people than with people from lower classes, and Baptists tend to associate more with other Baptists than with non-Baptists. Thus it is argued that, to the extent that society is differentiated with respect to these variables, patterns of differential association develop whereby people tend to have associates who resemble themselves with respect to these variables.

Where mate-selection takes place on the basis of mutual volition, one ordinarily selects a mate from one's associates. From the argument of the preceding paragraph it should follow that where mate-selection takes place on the basis of mutual volition, homogamy should prevail, i.e., mates should tend to resemble each other with respect to such variables of social differentiation as social class and religious affiliation. Thus we speak of these variables as functioning to provide each normal, adult, participating member of a society with a field of eligible spouse candidates (eligible because of similarity in such valued social characteristics as social class) or more briefly as a *field of eligibles.*

Enough studies have been done on mate-selection in American society to corroborate the argument in the foregoing paragraph. There is considerable evidence that American marriages are more likely to occur between people who are similar rather than dissimilar with respect to the following social characteristics: *age,* e.g., a young person tends to marry someone who is also young; *race,* e.g., a Negro tends to marry another Negro; *religious affiliation,* e.g., it is probable that a Baptist will marry another Baptist and even more probable that he will marry another Protestant; *ethnic origin,* e.g., an American of Italian extraction is more likely to marry someone also of Italian extraction than of, say, Swedish extraction; *location of previous residence* (also known as *residential propinquity*), e.g., a young man is more likely to marry a girl living within a couple of blocks than one who lives on the opposite side of the country; *socioeconomic status,* e.g., an upper-class person is likely to choose a mate from his own stratum; *extent of formal education,* e.g., a college-trained person is likely to marry someone who has also had some college education; and *previous marital status,* e.g., a man marrying for the first time is more likely to marry a girl who has never been married before than one who has been widowed or divorced. In general, if a person selects a mate outside his or her field of eligibles, the marriage is socially disapproved and is regarded as a *mésalliance.*

Another way of accounting for the tendency toward homogamy is in terms of ethnocentrism (or group-conceit). There seems to be a virtually universal disposition for peoples to dislike and to distrust those who differ from themselves in race, religion, and cultural background. Ethnocentrism is expressed in feelings and gestures of disapproval about a marriage between a member of one's own group and a person from a markedly different group who, therefore, presents markedly different social characteristics.

There is, however, a countervailing force to ethnocentrism and its pressure toward homog-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri Funding: IKS

amy: the incest taboo. Every society has some form of incest taboo, and related to the incest taboo in each society will be found a prohibition against marriages between people in certain kinship relationships to each other. The prohibited degrees of kinship vary from one society to another and may extend to all known blood relatives. The result of the incest taboo is to foster heterogamy (marriage between people who are unlike). As Linton Freeman has pointed out, every society has some conception of preferential mating that is a resultant of the two conflicting pressures: ethnocentrism and the incest taboo. In any society the field of eligibles is defined by the relative strengths of these two principles.

The general argument to this point has been that within societies and segments of societies there are societal principles that define in general the field of eligibles for every normal, fully participating adult. There remains the question as to how selection goes on *within* the field of eligibles. How does man *A* happen to get wife *X* rather than *Y* or *Z* when all three women are within his field of eligibles?

The first step in trying to answer this question is to note the kind of selective process: is it a process of mutual volition or one of arranged marriage? If it is the former, then we look at the bride and groom to find an answer to our question. If it is the latter, we look to the parents of the bride and groom, to those who stand *in loco parentis,* or more generally to their respective families. If husband and wife are choosing each other, we should expect that the criteria of selection will be relevant to the expectations these two people have as to what they will get or hope to get out of the marriage. If it is the two families who are choosing, it is reasonable to anticipate a somewhat different set of criteria.

The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection

Under some conditions love is defined as the most important criterion for the selection of a mate from the field of eligibles. Winch (1958) has argued that love is likely to be the chief consideration where (a) choice is on the basis of mutual volition, (b) the marital relationship is culturally defined as a rich potential source of emotional gratification, and (c) there are institutionalized provisions for premarital interaction between men and women in order to provide the opportunity for testing out personalities of a variety of potential mates.

In this context love is defined as: the positive emotion experienced by one person (the person loving, or the lover) in an interpersonal relationship in which the second person (the person loved, or the love-object) either (1) satisfies certain important needs of the first or (2) manifests or appears (to the first) to manifest personal attributes (e.g., beauty, skills, or status) highly prized by the first, or both.

Thus love is stated in terms of the needs of the individual, and selection of a love-object is contingent upon the complementariness of the need-patterns of the two individuals, or more formally: In mate-selection each individual seeks within his or her field of eligibles for that person who gives the greatest promise of providing him or her with maximum need-gratification.

At this juncture it is useful to distinguish between an individual's values, interests, and tastes on the one hand and his drives or emotional needs on the other. It is the writer's view that love is most likely to occur between a man and a woman who are (a) in each other's field of eligibles, and (b) who have similar values, interests, and tastes, but (c) whose emotional need-patterns are *complementary* rather than similar.

Point (a) concerning the field of eligibles has already been discussed. As regards (b) it seems clear that similarity provides a basis for the interaction of the couple, whereas difference removes such a basis. Thus, if a man and a woman share an interest in religion or in athletics, attendance at church services or at football games provides them with a basis and a context for interaction.

With respect to certain emotional needs (c), however, Winch has concluded that attraction is based on complementariness rather than on similarity. He has derived this general conclusion from a rather intensive study of twenty-five young married couples. He has hypothesized

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

that there are two kinds of emotional need with respect to which complementary mate-selection takes place: (a) a highly nurturant and a highly receptive person seem attracted to each other; and (b) a highly dominant and a highly submissive person seem mutually attracted.

Arranged Marriage

It appears that mate-selection on the basis of love tends to take place generally where the family, as a societal institution, is weak relative to other societal institutions. More particularly, the relative weakness of the American family is reflected in the fact that other institutions in American society have relatively great capacity to control goals that motivate the individual and thus to control the life organization of the individual. On the other hand, in a society where the family is relatively strong, much of the individual's behavior is dictated by familial considerations. Traditional China was such a society. When a son in a family of the traditional Chinese peasantry obtained a wife, the significance of the event was interpreted as: (a) the son's mother was getting a helper; (b) the young man's family was establishing a friendly relationship with the family of the new daughter-in-law; and (c) the young man's family was being supplied with a means for carrying on the family line. Note that the attractiveness of the young woman in her husband's eyes does not appear in this list of considerations. It is reasonable, therefore, that rather than the son, who was so little involved, the parents and especially the mother should select the daughter-in-law; that the marriage was made in the names of the parents who took a daughter-in-law rather than in the name of a son who took a wife; and that at the time of the wedding the bride and groom might be total strangers to each other. In this setting, as in so many others around the globe and throughout history, the selection of a spouse has been regarded as a matter of too great importance to the families to be left to the discretion of the young man and woman who are inexperienced and whose choice might be influenced by emotion rather than by sound reason.

Summary

Courtship is interaction between a man and a woman which may or may not be oriented to eventual marriage. Mate-selection is a process that may or may not involve the active participation of the prospective marital couple. As a resultant of ethnocentrism and the incest taboo, a field of eligible spouse candidates is defined for each person in any society. If the family as a societal institution is weak, selection of a mate from the field of eligibles is likely to be done by mutual volition; if the family is strong, by arrangement. If selection from the field of eligibles is on the basis of mutual volition, it is likely that love will be the basis of choice. Love has the best chance to flourish as a basis for mate-selection where there is an extensive basis for premarital interaction between the sexes. Such a basis exists when the couple shares a large number of common values, interests, and tastes. It is in this context that courtship will appear as a prelude to marriage. Love is defined in terms of complementary needs. In particular it is hypothesized that nurturance-receptivity and/or assertiveness-submissiveness are dimensions of complementary needs along which marital choices are made.

References

Arensberg, C. M., and Kimball, S. T., *Family and Community in Ireland.* Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1940.

Burgess, Ernest W., and Wallin, Paul, *Engagement and Marriage.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

de Rougemont, D., *Love in the Western World.* New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957.

Goodsell, Willystine, *A History of Marriage and the Family.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Hsu, F. L. K., "The Family in Modern China." In Ruth Anshen (ed.), *The Family: Its Function and Destiny.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Kelly, E. Lowell, "Personality Factors in Assortative Mating." *Psychol. Bull. 37;* 576, 1940.

LeMasters, E. E., *Modern Courtship and Marriage.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957.

Levy, M. J., Jr., *The Family Revolution in Modern China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society.* New York: Liveright, 1947.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

Merrill, F. E., *Courtship and Marriage.* New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1949.

Popenoe, Paul, "Mate Selection." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 2;* 735-743, 1937.

Richardson, Helen M., "Studies of Mental Resemblance." *Psychol. Bull. 36;* 104-120, 1939.

Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society,* Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

Waller, W., "The Rating and Mating Complex." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 2;* 727-734, 1937.

Winch, R. F., *The Modern Family.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1952.

Winch, R. F., *Mate-Selection: A Study of Complementary Needs.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Winch, R. F., and McGinnis, Robert (eds.), *Marriage and the Family.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1953.

Young, Kimball, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1954.

ROBERT F. WINCH

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Culture and Sex

CULTURE and sex is one of the broadest possible topics: since it includes a study of sexual attitudes and behavior in all possible regions, and often of several sub-communities within a given region. There will be no attempt within this present article to cover this subject in anything near its entirety, for several good reasons. First of all, the topic is too big for anything but a summary presentation in a single article of the present size. Secondly, many of the aspects of sex and culture are covered in various other articles in this Encyclopedia, especially those relating to sex in various individual regions and cultures. Thirdly, many of the salient details regarding comparisons of sex behavior in different past and present world cultures have been covered by the writer and Dr. Frank A. Beach in *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (1951).

Keeping the foregoing limitations in mind, it is still possible to give a summary view of some of the more important aspects of culture and sex. Human sex behavior finds expression within the context of culture, the patterned ways of living that characterize social life. These life-patterns are the heritage from thousands upon thousands of generations of experience in existing and surviving. They represent what the ancestors of each society have learned about how to live and reproduce. It is within this setting that each individual is born and matures and within this atmosphere that his activities take place.

Comparative Cultural Patterns

In order to obtain some view of the relationship between sex and culture it is necessary to move outside the frame of reference provided by American society alone. Unless this is done it will be impossible to find a base line, a concept of human nature divorced from the particular culture patterns that characterize our own people. We might otherwise assume, for instance, that social life everywhere would involve strict monogamy, a ban on childhood sexual activities, a repudiation of homosexuality, and a disapproving attitude toward marriage between first cousins. Through the comparison of a number of societies a quite different picture emerges. Under different social conditions a man may be urged to acquire many wives, children may be expected to imitate their elders in sexual activities, the homosexual may be trained for his part from childhood and become a respected and powerful member of the community, and a man's cross-cousin (his first cousin: the child of either his father's sister or his mother's brother) may be the preferred mate.

This is not to suggest that all is completely relative and that there are no limits set to the behavior of the members of a society save traditional and arbitrary codes and attitudes. On the contrary, a comparative study of the relationship between culture and sex reveals an extraordinary set of uniformities that have been independently learned by those human societies that are surviving today. Human beings are much alike everywhere and human societies have much in common with each other. People everywhere have a common heritage from organic evolution, the same basic urges and emotions, the same capabilities for learning and behaving. Societies have a comparable heritage from societal evolution, the ways of living

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

and surviving that have been learned, modified, and incorporated into their traditional lifeways.

Nor is there the implication that behavior which may be approved in some other society, but not in our own, is to be recommended for an American. The fact that a number of societies find it congenial for their children to cohabit for several years before marriage does not imply that parents in our society could take such an attitude lightheartedly. Our society has a structure and culture that is not congenial to such behavior and all sorts of complications would arise were parents suddenly to modify their moral codes in this or other respects. But it does indicate that there is nothing inherent in people which preordains their adaptability to some forms of behavior. Under some conditions one pattern may be more "natural" than another, which in turn may be more "natural" when conditions change. On the other hand, there do seem to be some forms of behavior that have been generally discovered for one reason or another to be dangerous to group welfare or otherwise unsuitable for adoption.

Incest Prohibitions

For the most part, humans live in family groups, consisting of mother, father, and offspring. There are many societies that permit a man to have more than one wife if he can afford to do so, but in most of these relatively few men actually have several wives for any great length of time. The individual is thus, generally speaking, born as the member of a nuclear family group. He belongs to other groups as well, kin and local, but with respect to sexual activities the family is of primary importance.

The maturing individual in any society learns sooner or later that sexual relations with members of his family are forbidden. The prohibition against primary incest is apparently everywhere a part of the social atmosphere for at least the majority of the population. Intercourse between daughter and father, son and mother, brother and sister is everywhere forbidden. In addition, every society extends the incest prohibition to other relatives. For some the extension is not very broad and may include only secondary relatives, such as one's father's sister or mother's sister. Some forbid sexual relations between first cousins, as we tend to do. Others extend the incest prohibition much more broadly and may, in effect, exclude as sex partners all but relatively few members of the community.

Incestuous relations do occur in many societies, apparently, but for the majority of the population at least they are always forbidden and detected offenders are usually severely punished. In a few societies, such as the ancient Egyptians, royal families insist upon brother-sister marriage. But examples of this are rare and quite exceptional.

It is clear that the incest prohibition and its extensions are a heritage from learning experience and not the reflection of some inborn revulsion for near relatives. Reported phantasies and dreams in our own and in other societies clearly reveal that erotic attraction between members of the primary family is a common occurrence. Moreover, incestuous relations do occasionally occur and it is very probable that they would occur far more often were there not strong prohibitions against such behavior.

The origins of the prohibition against primary incest are lost in history, but apparently this was a lesson learned very soon after man's appearance as a distinct species. It is not difficult to imagine how the lesson was learned. Young boys and girls are for a long time at the mercy of their parents and a boy competing with his father for the same sex object would not stand much of a chance. A daughter would in similar fashion find it difficult to compete successfully with her mother for the affections of her father. The forbidding of relationships between brother and sister could readily arise as an extension of the controls imposed upon daughter-father and son-mother incest.

Whatever the origins of incest prohibitions may have been, they now characterize all human societies. They serve at least two useful functions. First, they tend to cut down on competition within the family unit, on jealousies that might interfere with the functioning of this most important social group. Second, they insure that mating will take place outside the family, thus widening the circle of people who will band together in cooperative effort and in face of danger. The incest prohibition may or may not have biological adaptive value. Not

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

enough is known about the matter to make a definitive statement. The functional significance of the incest prohibition and its extensions has been carefully analyzed by Murdock and the results of his study have been published (1949) under the title of *Social Structure*.

Bestiality

In addition to the prohibition against incest, primary and extended, societies generally exert controls over potential sex partners in other ways. As in our own society, most peoples either threaten with punishment or ridicule individuals who seek sexual satisfaction through relationships with lower animals. This is not, however, universally the case. Indeed, for a few societies, bestiality is required of growing boys in the conviction that otherwise they will not mature properly. But these are exceptions to a general feeling that sexual relations with lower animals, if not wrong, are at best inadequate and a last resort.

Homosexuality

In our own society social pressures are levied against homosexuality for both men and women. Differentially, more pressure is exerted against male homosexuality and the legal codes of many states carry severe penalties for convicted male homosexuals. This is not the case for females, very few states providing legal penalties for detected homosexual relations between women. But generally speaking, female homosexuality meets with disapproval and social censure in most sections of the United States. Despite these pressures, however, relationships between members of the same sex do occur in our society.

Some other societies share with us prohibitions against homosexuality. Some of these peoples mete out the death penalty to overt homosexuals of either sex. In most of these societies, however, persons who seek sexual satisfaction with members of the same sex are derided and ridiculed rather than physically punished. Pressures against homosexuality are generally brought to bear early in life and continue through childhood and into adolescence.

There are a number of societies that consider homosexual activities of one sort or another both normal and socially acceptable. Under these conditions homosexual behavior, among men in particular, appears to be common and frequent. In some instances all the men and boys in the society engage in anal intercourse and are considered abnormal if they hesitate to do so. In other instances only a few individuals in the society adopt a feminine role and may even by this means achieve a prestige in the community they did not enjoy previously.

The most common form of homosexuality in socially approved form is that of the *berdache* or *transvestite*. The berdache is a male who adopts the feminine role in the society, dressing and acting like a woman and having sexual relations with male partners. Less commonly, women may dress and act like men, seeking to play the male role with female sex partners. Of particular interest is the fact that in societies where homosexuality is not disapproved of such activities do take place and more often than not the individuals exhibiting such behavior indulge in heterosexual relations as well.

Masturbation

In addition to forbidding sexual relations with members of the same sex, American society generally condemns self-stimulation of the genitals. Most adults in our society consider the deliberate excitation of one's own genitals as a perversion on a par with homosexual relations and seek to prevent such activity on the part of their children. Despite these pressures levied against the practice, self-stimulation of the genitals does take place commonly among boys and girls in our society. Apparently, for most children, such activities tend to disappear in adolescence and are replaced by heterosexual relationships.

Generally speaking, most societies look down upon self-stimulation among adults, regarding this as an inferior form of sexual activity. Many societies, however, do not extend this feeling to comparable activities on the part of youngsters. In these societies children of both sexes finger their own genitals early in life. In these same societies other forms of sexual activity are permitted children. Under these conditions heterosexual play tends to replace self-stimulation as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

they approach puberty. Indeed, in many of these societies the emphasis on the part of the adults is in the direction of encouraging children to play at being man and wife in all respects. They apparently conclude that early practice in sexual relations between young boys and girls is a part of their education for adult life. It will be remembered, however, that in societies where such freedom for children exists there are still the restrictions imposed by the incest prohibition and the local variation of its extensions. Youngsters are in no society permitted complete promiscuity in their sex relations.

Premarital Intercourse and Adultery

In addition to restricting sexual activity in terms of incest, bestiality, homosexuality, and self-stimulation, American society tends to forbid all sexual intercourse except that between a married couple. Premarital intercourse and adultery are both prohibited. Both premarital and extramarital liaisons are, nevertheless, known to be quite frequent in our society, particularly during late adolescence prior to marriage and on the part of married men.

With respect to premarital sexual relations there are many societies that take a much more lenient attitude than we do. For some people adolescents are expected to indulge in sexual intercourse prior to marriage, providing only that they observe the incest regulations. It is interesting to note that under these conditions relatively few pregnancies seem to occur. This may be explained at least in part by the phenomenon of adolescent sterility. Though a girl has passed the menarche she may not yet be ovulating or may be incapable of carrying a fetus to term. In some societies a girl must prove that she is sexually mature and can bear a child before she is permitted to marry.

In other societies a more restrictive attitude toward premarital sex relations prevails. In most of these it is the girl whose activities seem to be of the greatest concern. Generally, a double standard of sex behavior is imposed, placing the greater burden upon the girl. However, there are a few societies where it is the male who is singled out for control and who takes the blame for transgression. In some few societies the restrictions imposed upon adolescents are more severe than in our own. But it appears that the actual control of heterosexual activities prior to marriage is very difficult to achieve in any society, and violations of the prohibition, if it exists, are not uncommon.

With respect to extramarital sex relations, a large number of other societies share much the same attitude as most Americans. For the most part it is the married woman who is particularly forbidden to engage in sex relations with anyone except her husband, but in some the mated man is equally restricted. However, not all societies forbid all extramarital sex relations. For some peoples it is customary for a host to lend his wife to his guest during the latter's visit. In others, men who are related to one another may exchange wives for a period of time. For quite a few societies there are periods of ceremonial license, which may be religious in nature, during which the normal ban on extramarital affairs is lifted.

In connection with the cultural attitude toward extramarital sexual relations it should be noted that a great many societies permit a man to take more than one wife if he can afford to do so. Quite frequently the custom is for a man to take as his secondary wife the younger sister of his first wife, a practice known as sororal polygyny. In such societies extramarital liaisons between siblings-in-law may be permitted even though a man cannot afford to support additional wives. There are a few societies that are polyandrous, i.e., permit a woman to have more than one husband. In such societies it is generally expected that the married woman will have sexual affairs with her husband's brothers.

In broad perspective it appears that though certain extramarital affairs may be permitted and even encouraged they are always fairly well controlled. Even in the case of wife-lending and wife-exchange the husband is always aware of what is happening and his formal permission is obtained. In the case of ceremonial license formal rules apply, specifying just when and where the temporary lapse of normal restrictions will occur. The control over extramarital affairs would seem to have adaptive value in reducing friction between members of the group that might arise out of open and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

excessive sexual competition. On the other hand, it also appears that a certain amount of extramarital intercourse generally takes place in every society. This in turn may also have some value. Pregnancies may be brought about in this manner among women whose marriage with their husband is for one reason or another a sterile one. Indeed, there are some societies who explicitly make an exception of the general ban on extramarital affairs if a wife fails, after a period of married life, to conceive. She is then permitted to take a lover in hopes that this will bring to the married couple a much-wanted offspring.

Controls Relating to Bereavement, Privacy, and Special Occasions

After the death of a spouse, most societies, including our own, do not think it proper to resume sexual relations for some period of time. A decent interval is expected before either husband or wife in our society remarries. In other societies the period may be only a few days or it may last a matter of years. Usually a widow is expected to abstain from intercourse or to refrain from remarriage for a somewhat longer time than a widower. In some societies other persons in addition to the surviving spouse are affected. These are generally relatives of the deceased and are expected to abstain from sexual activities for a number of days.

Within marriage there are social controls exercised over sexual activities. Generally speaking, it is considered proper in most societies for intercourse to take place between husband and wife in comparative privacy. For some this may mean only within the family, the children not being excluded from observing their parents' sexual activities. For others privacy means the exclusion of the children, and parents either wait until the youngsters are asleep or take other precautions to ensure the desired privacy.

In addition, social controls are generally imposed that govern the occasions when sexual intercourse may take place. It is of interest to note that in some societies the person who is ill is expected to abstain from sexual activities. In a few cases the relatives of an ill person are likewise expected to be continent during the period of his illness. There are other occasions, too, that may carry with them a social admonition to abstain from intercourse. Many peoples who depend upon hunting or fishing for their livelihood may require the persons involved to be continent. Other activities frequently accompanied by admonitions against sexual relations include preparing for a long journey, gardening, pottery making, canoe building, and engaging in warfare.

Menstruation and Pregnancy

Very widespread is the attitude that a man should not have sexual intercourse with his wife (or any woman) when she is menstruating. Only a very few societies consider the menstruating woman a fit sex partner. Most peoples regard the menstrual discharge as "unclean" and the intimate contact with it which would occur during the sex act something to be strictly avoided. In addition to the ban on intercourse, the menstruating woman may find that she must avoid certain foods, discontinue bathing, or refrain from participating in certain social activities, such as dancing. In other societies the menstruating woman is even more restricted in her activities and may be confined for her period to a special compartment in the dwelling or in a separate hut.

During pregnancy there may be restrictions imposed upon sexual intercourse. Medical men in our society apparently agree that it is not dangerous for a woman to engage in sexual activities during the early part of pregnancy, but urge caution during the later months when vigorous movements and pressure on the abdomen might have unpleasant consequences. In other societies, as well, there seems generally to be a tendency to restrict the sexual activities of the pregnant woman during the later phases of gestation. Only a few peoples encourage coitus up to the point of labor. A few other societies extend the prohibition against sexual intercourse backward in time and forbid coitus from the very beginning of recognized pregnancy.

After childbirth there is a period of five to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

six weeks during which the vaginal and cervical tissues are healing. During this period in our society the husband is generally not expected to have intercourse with his wife. For a few societies the period of abstinence is shorter, lasting only a week or two after parturition. But in most the period is as long and in many instances much longer, and for some may be as long as the entire period (two to three years) during which the mother is nursing her child.

The peoples who enforce long periods of abstinence on the mother after parturition apparently do so in the hope of avoiding another pregnancy during lactation. Many of them advance the opinion that should conception take place while the mother is lactating, her milk supply would diminish and the child would have to be prematurely weaned.

Summary

It is clear from the above comparative information that sexual activities are shaped and controlled in every society by traditional and patterned ways of life. Sexual activities are, of course, subjected to different pressures, and some societies are much more lenient than others in their permissiveness toward sexual expression, but all societies have sexual activities under some control, however minimal it may be.

There are very few societies in cross-cultural perspective that take the attitude that all sexual activities should be avoided save those that take place between man and wife in a monogamous marriage. But there are no societies that do not insist upon some extension of the primary incest prohibition, thus delimiting the number of eligible sex partners. And in all societies there are general controls exercised over extramarital relations.

The differential effects of the various ways in which societies control sexual activities on the individuals concerned is not known. This would seem to be an important area for investigation, especially since it is clear that the culture of one's society and its social structure provide the learning conditions of experience for the maturing individual. The kind of person an individual becomes will depend in large measure upon the social pressures that are exerted upon him by his fellow men. Particularly in the case of sexual activities, it would seem, these pressures could be profoundly important in shaping the developing personality. Furthermore, the society in which a person lives provides the conditions for acceptable individual adjustment.

References

Beach, Frank A., *Hormones and Behavior.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1948.

Davis, Katharine B., *Factors in the Sex Life of 2,200 Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939.

Devereux, George, "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians." *Human Biol. 9;* 498-527, 1937.

Dickinson, R. L., and Beam, L., *A Thousand Marriages.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1931.

Dubois, Cora, *The People of Alor.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Grove Press, 1961.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Erikson, Erik H., *Childhood and Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1950.

Ford, Clellan S., *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Fortune, R. G., *Sorcerers of Dobu.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1932.

Gorer, Geoffrey, *Exploring English Character.* New York: Criterion Books, Inc., 1955.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage.* New York: Boni, 1929.

Henry, Jules, *Jungle People.* New York: J. J. Augustin, Inc., 1941.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Landis, Carney *et al., Sex in Development.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1940.

Linton, Ralph, "Marquesan Culture." In A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.

Mead, Margaret, *From the South Seas.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Murdock, George P., *Social Structure*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

Rivers, W. H. R., *The Todas*. London: The Macmillan Co., 1906.

Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*. London: Routledge, 1930.

Terman, Lewis M., *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938.

Westermarck, Edward, *The History of Human Marriage*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922.

Whiting, John W. M., *Becoming a Kwoma*. New York: Yale University Press, 1941.

Whiting, John W. M., and Child, Irvin L., *Child Training and Personality*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

CLELLAN S. FORD

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Dance, Sexual Dynamics in Contemporary*

THIS article discusses sex in relation to contemporary dance—by which is not meant all forms of today's dance, but only what is often called "modern" dance. No attempt will be made here to consider sex in relation to popular dance, classical ballet, folk dancing, or other modes of present-day dance.

Historical Background

Dance, as a modern art, was heralded by the American artist Isadora Duncan at the turn of the century, a time when the Western mind was being directed historically and sociologically toward the more primal aspects of the behavior of the individual. Undercurrents of man's basic nature, theretofore submerged beneath traditional veneers of taste and decorum, had begun to break through. New vistas of human background were opening to the arts and sciences, permitting a more reasonable attitude toward this basic nature and paving the way for inquiry into it.

Isadora Duncan's revelation was a matter of natural historical process. The science of psychology was being developed, and, just as the stripping away of man's external behavior patterns characterized this early period, so Isadora's disrobing symbolized the same renascence. She discarded corsets, toe shoes, disguising costume contraptions—all the inhibiting vestments that denied her the freedom to move her body to the dictates of the "soul." John Martin wrote in 1939: "This was a profound overturning, clearing away ages of accumulation of intellectual restraints and yielding the power of motion to the 'inner man,' which is what Isadora meant by the 'soul.'"

Now the dancer was permitted freedoms he had never been allowed before. He was released from costume restraints that had not only inhibited and obstructed his movement but had denied him full representation as common man. This became particularly evident in the 1930's when the male dancer often appeared in a semblance of trousers and shirt, while the female wore skirts rather than the tutu and corset or bodice. They danced in soft shoes, sandals, or were barefoot. Dancers could now appear as more direct representations of man and woman.

They were released also from the physical ritual of preordered movement patterns. The classical gesture, edited and refined, became a cliché, and individual movement style and invention were encouraged. Several movement techniques were evolved during this period from the personal movement styles of new dance artists. Dancers appearing in the company of a particular artist had to be trained in the technique of that artist, although frequently they had studied other techniques as well.

This does not imply the complete lack of individual expression prior to the 1930's. The importance of personality, however, was more greatly stressed in this new period and its significance became of direct concern. This was

* The author wishes to thank Rhoda Winter Russell, Murray Louis, and J. Allison Montague for their comments and editorial assistance with this article.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

evident in the highly individual styles of the new dancers and their remarkable variety and invention of movement.

It was inevitable that from these new interests and freedoms would develop a psychological dance drama, a dance eloquent of our sociological time and its psychodynamic concerns. Yet with all the wealth of material occurring between 1920 and 1950, no comprehensive scientific studies were made that referred specifically to the psychodynamic background of the dance. This is particularly regrettable since during this time, now in decline, the nature of the dance made it especially open to such scrutiny.

There was a considerable amount of research into kinetics from a physiological point of view. Only Rudolf Laban (after 1920), however, experimenting mainly in Germany, can be singled out for his scientific study of motion as an art. Shortly after Isadora Duncan began her explorations in dance, Laban started to experiment with a crystal icosahedron as a form surrounding man to which gestures, in the effort to find potential movement balances, were related. He categorized movement qualities and also invented a comprehensive method of movement notation. His research, however, did not carry him extensively into the psychological area.

Following Isadora Duncan's success, modern dance passed through a series of developmental episodes. In America, Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn made very substantial contributions to modern dance; and their eclectic teachings helped develop three dancers who thereafter instituted the period of the psychological dance theater: Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman. Mary Wigman of Germany was becoming the leading exponent of modern dance in Europe at this time, and Hanya Holm, who came to America in the early 1930's from Miss Wigman, developed her individual style and was recognized (along with Graham, Humphrey, and Weidman) as one of the four major American dance figures. It is the character of the work of these people and their time that is most generally referred to as modern dance.

The prime concern of the artists at the height of this period (1930–1950) was the revelation of man in his efforts to achieve consonance and to move freely from out of his own dynamic content. Their subjects dealt with the conflicts that arose within man's nature and with their resolution.

This was not a surface storytelling, as had been much of the dance that preceded the 1920's. This was a vertical semantic exploration in which deep-lying turmoils within man's inner being were brought to the surface and given esthetic communicative form through motion. It was the artistic counterpart of the social concerns that were engaging the field of psychology. Although it certainly owed some debt to psychology, dance operated fundamentally out of its own organic stimulations.

Not all the work of these dancers resulted in psychological dance theater. It all had in common, however, a search for motivational sources out of the inner nature of man. The effect of this was felt even in ballet, where the rigid classical structures were broken down and themes of contemporary concern introduced.

Along with the substantial achievements of the artists mentioned above, this new nature of material for dance attracted many practitioners who brought to it pedestrian concepts of art expression, rather than the exalted visions that qualify classical art. This, too, was a logical outcome. Dance now innocently opened a path to self-expression in the cathartic sense. To the uninitiated eye, this took on the guise and sanction of art. Thirst for individual expression led to exhibitions of personal turmoil, and the quest for individual rights and freedom often brought intense orientation to personal and political reasoning as art ends in themselves, rather than as subjects and means toward an esthetic end. This often confused the issues of art. Politics and psychology frequently got the upper hand, causing distortion to the psychodynamic content of art, particularly if one looked upon these efforts as esthetic accomplishments.

Yet dance, in the best sense and exposition of its new nature, inherited the same sexual concerns encountered in psychological exposition. Analytically speaking, the same problems of determining derivations and measuring sexual dynamics that beset the psychology of motivation are evident in the dance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri Funding: IKS

This dance period lends itself vividly to the examination of sexual content, and in so doing we reaffirm that sex as a subject, as well as inadvertent sexual intrusions and necessary sexual quantities, is incidental to, rather than the basis of, art. It is due to the accrediting of primal motivational power to these secondary sexual factors that much controversy has arisen in efforts by science to explore the arts.

General Basis of Art

To understand the more fundamental basis of dance we need to look first to art principles generally. Dance is an art; its sources and its basic characteristics are common to all art forms. The foundation of dance is art. Human motion is the medium and serves as the means of communicating the artistic idea.

Fundamentally, art is created through motivational energies that are aspects of the basic force activating man. The specific nature of this life energy and its translation into the terms of the psychodynamic nature of man is still a mystery to science. One thinks immediately of the great accomplishments of Sigmund Freud. Still, we find broad disagreement regarding the Freudian theory of this energy in man as a sexually dominated libido. Lack of scientific substantiation to this or any subsequent theory makes a precise definition of the sexual content in the practice of art in its initial arisings impossible. The obvious sexual issues as they occur in a work of art pose no great problem; the difficulties exist mainly in the diverse interpretations of motivations, derivations, symbols, phantasies, so-called sublimations, and other factors, all of which play an active part in the practice of art.

Followers of Freud are inclined to view both the artist and his product as mainly problems in pathology. Jung, on the other hand, ascribes intellectually unfathomable attributes to the artist and his work. He indicates the possibility of the artist attaining a purity from pathological influence at the time of creativity and then achieving a resonance with primordial undercurrents of life.

Freud's point of view would place art in the dominated (if not completely controlled) sexual drive. Jung's view places sexual influence in an incidental position in the artist's acts of creativity and the art product. Neo-Freudian opinion would lie somewhere between these two almost opposing theories. Still other theories put the artist in the sterile confines of the provision of mere entertainment, simple pleasure, and amusement. Actually, there are no comprehensive scientific data in this matter. Findings thus far are more in the nature of circumstantial evidence rather than proof. The jury is hung.

The teacher of art, as well as the artist, is inclined to favor the Jungian theories, viewing the Freudian analysis of art as naïve, insensitive to, and unobservant of the underlying semantics of esthetics. He argues this on the basis of experiences in work and teaching, which reveal aspects that cannot be accounted for in theories ascribing sexual beginnings to all art. These experiences are not documented; the artist's business is, after all, art and not science. Yet the artist alone is endowed with the total vision of art and his vantage point would be the more reasonable one from which to inspect the contents. At the moment, the artist finds unacceptable the interpretation of every cavity as vaginal, every elongation as phallic, and every pulsation as fornication. He points out that it is child's play to make almost every evident thing or event coincidental with sex on the basis of its shape or motion.

The Art Process

A description of the art process, insofar as it is possible to describe, may indicate likely or unlikely areas of sexual influence and their extent. To describe the artist and his function we must necessarily refer to mankind in general as a participating instrument in the universal mechanism. It is then possible to distinguish the artist in his more specialized activity.

We might conceive of man as an intricate and delicate computer capable of receiving sensations and experiences through its sensory organisms. These sensations in turn interact with primal life drives, most of which are common to all mankind, others of which have individual characteristics and intensities. The latter differences derive from genetic sources and are further qualified by relativities of man to time, space, and sociological factors. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

result is a world population of two billion individuals, no two of which are alike. Yet, generally speaking, these individual differences are not pathological. We cannot even describe them as variations until we can refer to a single genesis or primal evolutionary form.

Our human computers have an infinite variety of differences. However, these are predominantly matters of variations in degrees and relativities of basic drives and interpretations; there is an underlying stratum of experience that is more or less universally common. The heat of fire, for example, is not disputable although its intensity may have a band of variance in interpretation.

The vital questions are: When, how, and why do sensations and experiences become distorted and out of key to the universal fact? When is the well-being of mankind violated by misinterpretation or malfunction of his experiences? Under what circumstances does the reality of the outside world become distorted and cause man's mental machinery to discolor and erroneously or disproportionately compute the facts of nature?

The general process of education is meant to guide the individual through the morass, indicating known and collected data that hopefully quicken his absorption of worldly fact and bring him to a general par of life and function with his time, space, and capabilities. This process has a high percentage of *ersatz* in it in the academic sense; that is, the knowledge so gained is a distant experience rather than a fundamental one. These *ersatz* experiences begin almost immediately in childhood when the child imitates and mimics his parents. Formal education continues this, in a somewhat different vein, by pursuing a fact apart from its actual happening. History, for example, relates that an event took place; the student was not actually there. He can, therefore, only absorb facts concerning the event through his imagination. Contemporary education is attempting, however, to make the acquiring of knowledge a more fundamental experience through visual aids, field trips, etc.

The artist, on the other hand, operates out of primality of experience. His work emphasizes culture rather than education. This fact of fundamental experience is particularly apparent in the case of an innovator of art, who may serve as catalyst for a new area and invariably sets off a whole school of imitators and reflectors whose congenialities are not fundamental and usually show as such.

The artist's knowledge is necessarily fundamental rather than peripheral, and although he may devise a story or picture out of imagined sources, his basis derives from primal substances. His proximity and congeniality toward the nature of things has the quality of intense experience. His human mechanism must be refined to the highest point of efficiency within the area of his interests and endeavors.

A look at history's art masterpieces, properly interpreted, vividly refutes the idea that man simply displays his sexual, deviative, or neurotic nature in his creativity. It similarly refutes any theory of the artist as creating mere entertainment through pleasurable changing patterns of sight or sound. Nor does the artist illustrate only the external facts of nature. (The latter interpretation is a common fault of a broad segment of people whose perceptions stop at the literal visible level.)

The artist is not unlike the scientist. His exploration of nature and his adjudgment of its content derive from his hypersensitive mental mechanism, an instrument far more delicate and complex than any other known to science. The artist's summation of his experience and knowledge is then translated and reported through his media, whatever it might be: color, sound, motion, or word symbols. He cannot afford to sully this process with inept, circumstantial, or pathological intrusions. His product is adjudged as first, second, or third rate according to the vividness and depth of his revelation.

Science, too, must pass the same scrutiny. However, the two differ in this critical judgment: The artist's result is a revelation of that which is fundamentally felt or in some mysterious way known, but is either unrevealed or relatively unrealized. Science contends with the provable fact of what appeared as mystery theretofore. The results are measurable. The results of art are not.

The artist deals with mysteries not intellectually comprehensible. Yet the facilities that enable an artist to actualize his basic function

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

are exactly the same as those enabling the onlooker to perceive the artistic result. Both abilities have a common bond and affinity with basic generic natural dynamics. Whether or not artistic insights are fully explainable by science is momentarily irrelevant. They are comprehended by man simply because he is himself a product of nature and therefore brings kinship and the faculty of understanding to that heritage. Art recalls and vivifies that fact. Science is obliged to stick to the provable surface.

Looked upon in this light, one cannot reasonably assign dominant pathological attributes to art or the artist anymore than one can to the scientist and his findings. The artist, like the scientist, has his predilections. He tends to favor certain areas and remain relatively unstimulated by others. However, the really great artist is usually described in heroic proportions. The scope, intensity, and skill of interpretation of subject determine him as a small or great talent. Similarly, the art critic tends to be dominated by some areas and is relatively unperceptive or unexcited by others. The consequence of this is that evaluations rarely agree, particularly of contemporary works of art. It would seem unreasonable to expect the scientist, also uniquely schooled and directed, to evaluate and dissect art as a whole. Merely to squeeze and pigeonhole certain aspects of art into existing psychodynamic theories without comprehensive reference to the tenets, intents, and extents of art offers little illumination to the field.

Thus far it has been like the story of the hungry soldier who arrives in a village and proposes to make a soup of stones. Securing the stones and water he suggests that the villagers add various vegetables to aid the flavor. They are hoodwinked into believing that the resulting brew derives from the stones. So, too, with the theories of sex in art; it is more likely that the character of art comes from the vegetables rather than the stones. Although we have soup, we cannot call it stone soup.

In summation, then, it would seem that scientific probings into art content must first accept the initial materials of art as having identity apart from the artist's individual characteristics; that the artist, like the student or mathematician, is fundamentally concerned with things outside himself; that his predilections and abilities qualify his choice and vitality of inspection, perception, and translation; that it is likely that we will find any malfunctioning or overpowering deviative nature within the artist, if allowed to intrude upon his subject, inevitably devaluating his created work to the extent of that intrusion; that the artist is fundamentally an interpretive instrument and the malfunction of that instrument at the time of creativity is as detrimental to the result as it is in any other similar instance; that sexual contents are there by tolerance of subject and media rather than because of pathological domination; that sexual contents are as infinitely varied as subject; and finally that a work of art can be as abounding in sex as a mathematical equation or a Parisian prostitute.

In the final outcome, we may find the artist and scientist one and the same. The nearer the scientist comes to the adjudgment of universal mechanism by means of his own substantiated human instrument, the closer he comes to being an artist. There are evidences in this direction. Some pictorial graphs made to illustrate natural mechanisms have attracted the attention of esthetes. The resemblance of these graphs to modern abstract painting is quite remarkable in the art sense.

The Artist and His Deviant Background

At this point another question arises. In the eyes of society generally, the artist seems to be of a peculiar and highly deviant nature. There are two observations that may tend to refute certain conclusions made as a result of this.

Aside from the usual claptrap of smudged dungarees, berets, pony tails, and "bohemianism," there are fundamental peculiarities that often distinguish the artist. Primarily he is necessarily concerned with the basic balances of nature, which do not always coincide with the social mores of his time. Isadora Duncan's removal of corset and shoes was considered an act of vulgarity in the eyes of the society of her time. On that basis she was unquestionably a deviate. Today, however, we would hardly ascribe a pathological nature to this act. The artist must necessarily break down barriers, just as the scientist does. The artist employs his more

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

primal instrument toward this end and his behavior must of necessity be affected; otherwise he dulls the very thing that allows him his means of life.

Another aspect of this is the nature of the kind of individual attracted to art as a profession. The Kinsey-Pomeroy report seems to indicate certain sexual predilections by artists reflected in their choice of media. In the case of dance, for example, we may admit obvious narcissistic tendencies. However, it is repeatedly in evidence to the dance instructor that this tendency and any other pathological one must be sublimated to the tenets of art; otherwise there is no art. (There is evidence of high homosexual tendencies among those who choose dance as a profession. It has been the author's experience, however, that when the moment of art arises, the physical mannerisms and qualities of the homosexual completely disappear. This would substantiate theories of art arising from a source more deeply seated than the character of pathology.)

It has also been noted that deviation sharpens the wit and perception in particular areas. In the practice of art, however, this deviant energy and intensity is properly utilized toward the ends of art rather than toward personal catharsis. This is an unmistakable qualification of great art.

It would therefore appear that for whatever reason a flute player enters the profession of flautists, he must ultimately produce music and forego masturbation. His deviation may prejudice him somewhat in regard to choice, facility, and vitality, but in the end he practices art, not sex, and his deviation must be either relegated to nonperceived hideaways or translated into art energy. It is likely that the artist fundamentally practices a transformation or metamorphosis of energy, placing it in the path of art and enhancing rather than causing or interfering with it. Sexual drive may also be conceived in the nature of a catalyst; a substance that allows a thing to take place but loses its dominant identity in the process, or is cast aside as refuse after the metal is extracted. More illuminating results might occur if the concept of art and artists was reversed and the artist regarded as sublimated to art—not art to the artist.

The Artist's Emotions

In the preceding material we have approached vaguely the consideration of the art idea or *noumenom*. It is that mind-stuff made up of thoughts selected and formed, the ultimate conclusion going into a unit that becomes the basis of a particular work of art. *Noumenom* refers to the art idea prior to its appearance in concrete form or communicable character.

We have indicated that the artist's predilections or deviant character may govern his choice of subject and heighten his perception. Insofar as his predilections or deviations are caused by sexual energies, influence must be recognized to that extent. Even in this instance, however, the author has had repeated experiences which indicate that pathological turmoil unresolved within the individual often deters the formation of a *noumenom*.

Here is an example: In an elementary choreography class, students may be asked to formulate an idea for a dance. In many instances the subjects chosen turn out to be ones in which the students are strongly involved emotionally. One particular instance is that in which a young married man chooses to dance about a dream wife who is his ideal companion. The second section of the dance is to deal with a flesh-and-blood wife whose comparison to the dream version leaves something to be desired. The third section concludes the affair. Needless to say, not only is the dance left unfinished, but the portions that are finished show only the most banal surface substance. This particular approach produces similar negative results with all students. Other experiences in which direct emotional energies are used have produced equally negative results. It has been noted again and again that art requires a basis of abstraction, an objective removal from the immediate personal concern of the artist.

Poetic Basis

Sexual influences in the formation of an art *noumenom* are vague and remain scientifically undefined unless one follows the school of thought that attributes sexually characterized energy to all motivation. The formation of an artistic idea is a process no different from the creation of any other idea. It is distinguishable

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

in that it embodies a certain quality that stratifies it in the art area. This quality is often referred to in esthetics as "poetry." However, this is not the poetry of words, but that designation given to certain indefinable and mysterious factors that breathe vitality and beauty into what otherwise would be stillborn, banal, or merely interesting or entertaining. It is that which makes the difference between a wallpaper design and a painting by Van Gogh. It is the difference between spilled paint and a Jackson Pollock. It is the difference between a female basketball player and Galina Ulanova.

Some clue may be found in the manner of use, or implications by the artist, of those yet unsolved intuitions of time and space. Jung again appeases the artist somewhat with his "collective unconscious." Within this concept lies the implication that in the human is a primordial sense of all time and space, an unrealized kinship with a genesis and energy disguising itself in infinitely multitudinous forms and characters. It may be that the artist succeeds in imbuing poetic life into his work when, through his collective unconscious, he is able to judge the right variety and proportion of this time-space essence in relation to his subject and translate it into his medium. His *noumenom* embodies a matter of depth semantics and relativity, an insight into the fundamental nature of the components, a microscopic perception allowing him to equate mathematically and translate involved energies into a balanced finished product.

Perhaps the artist gives back to the world, in translated form, that quantity of energy which was primarily abstracted from it. In the meantime it has transpired through human understanding. We might accredit to the perfect act of love this same union and resonance. And if so, might we not reverse the theory and ascribe sex to art rather than art to sex; or both to the mysterious equation we call love? The artist may agree to a theory of love as the basis of his work, particularly if such a term can be divorced from the negative semantic stigma of sex and sentimental romanticism. In the creation of the art *noumenom*, the artist recognizes the necessity of his vicarious union with his subject. His identity and his intimacy with his materials allow the insight and inspire the vitality that breathe life into his art work.

We may discover that the mysteries of sexual dynamics await the solutions to the mysteries of time, space, and energy and their relative union with other factors. We may find that art and sex have more in common with these abstractions than with metaphorically erotic fables.

We come now to the artist's media, that material through which his *noumenom* takes communicative characteristic or form. These are his colors, his sound, his written word. In the case of the dancer: the human body.

Dance As a Mechanism of Communication

Dance is essentially nonverbal. It is capable of direct expression in that it need not be translated into any external language or symbol of thought. The state of the living human body is the immediate revelation of man as he exists in that particular instrument. Therefore, his thought or state of being, if allowed consciously or unconsciously to possess his body, will be immediately apparent. Even more, if one conceives thought as energy, it is the human body that is the channel for release of that energy. If it is not allowed to do so, mental indigestion results. This release may be brought about by sublimation or transformation. With the painter this transformation occurs in color; with the writer it is words. In the dancer's case it is not transformed into removed symbols—it is directly enacted.

Dance was the first of the arts, yet it remains today one of the least understood. This is not difficult to understand, for man's greatest enemy, lover, counterpart, and enigma is man himself. An individual confronted with man as a vehicle of art may bring into the picture all his own phobias, predilections, and confusions toward man more directly than he would in encountering a painting or musical composition (although he will do this to some extent here as well). So we come again to a consideration of pathology and art. We find that just as the artist must sublimate his deviant nature to ensure correct adjudgment of his art statement, so also must the onlooker to art. Otherwise he will misinform himself of the art con-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tent. This has been one of the major problems in the scientific analysis of art, one of the most notable examples being Freud's analysis of Michelangelo's "Moses."

Metakinesis

In the case of human motion as a medium of expression, communication is accomplished mainly through the metakinetic faculty. This faculty enables the onlooker to experience as his own the sensations of the person or creature being observed. It is this same faculty that translates the inanimate, external world metaphorically to man in terms of himself. In drama the word "empathy" is used somewhat in the same context. The process is readily noted in the functioning of the salivary glands in one person watching another suck a lemon.

However, metakinetically communicated sensations and feelings need to be (or are reflexively) interpreted by the recipient in terms of his own experience and orientation. Perception is often adversely influenced by blind spots, deformation of sensation and emotion, social mores, hypersensitive and insensitive areas, and personal focal forces. These all tend to cause imbalance and misinterpretation.

One complex factor in dance as a medium of art rests in the fact that the dancer's instrument of art is the same as that which he employs for the operation of his personal psychobiological energies apart from art. Unlike the musician, whose instrument is not a part of him, the dancer as a person and instrument are one.

Here occurs one of the most obvious examples refuting the possibility of any direct pathological basis in art. In the case of the dancer it is vividly apparent that this instrument will not operate properly when dominated by psychodynamic characteristics of a deviant source. The instrument becomes unbalanced and out of tune. Even if the dancer's subject happens to be purposely pathological, he must be in tune with the out-of-tune-ness of his subject. He cannot indulge in a personal imbalance at the same time without confusing his interpretation of his subject.

In effect, then, the artist as a person hovers in remote control over the artist as a performer. It is to the performer that he relinquishes not only his body, but his psychodynamic energy as well. The performer and performance are at the moment synthetic, and all substances are brought within the bounds of voluntary manipulation. The dancer becomes the source and life power of a created being who, as a newly evolved integration, temporarily tenants the being.

So we have as the source of power and motivation the art *noumenom*. This then is fed into and permeates the dancer's body. The dancer designs his motion as a vehicle, releasing, translating, and making the art idea visible through his body. If he patterns his actions uncongenially in shape, motion, time, and space, he will frustrate the release of his idea to that extent and consequently make it unintelligible. Choreography is the skill of designing the components of the dance to serve the communication of the *noumenom*.

This does not mean that there is no individual distinction possible in the performance of a dance. On the contrary, it is individual energies that often lend semantic character and give further vitality to the subject, fortifying it with all the possible individual ammunition at hand. Just as we have individual predilections and energies utilized in the positive sense in the formation of the art *noumenom*, so, too, the dancer as an interpretive artist (separate from the choreographer) lends his substance to the dance.

It is unlikely that any performing artist succeeds entirely in impersonal remote control of his material, nor is it known whether or not such success is desirable in terms of art. In any event it is likely that whatever portion of the dancer's habitual identity appears in his created role, it is a voluntary contribution intended to coalesce and substantiate that role. (In motion pictures we have become accustomed to the term "type casting," which implies reliance upon the performer's personal characteristics rather than on his skill in becoming a new entity. In this practice the illusion of a metamorphosis of being is more or less disregarded and the demands upon the performer are relegated to the act of engaging himself in a synthetic situation.)

With this complex potpourri of conscious and unconscious psychodynamic contributions to the art scheme, it is impossible to come to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

any but broadly general and theoretic conclusions about the sexual character of art and dance. The direct manifestations of sex in the physical nature, posture, and motion of the dancer offer us another area of examination.

Physical Implications of Sex

We may start with the obvious fact of fundamental structural differences between male and female. Bearing this in mind, it would seem impossible for sex to be ignored completely in any form of dance, no matter how innocent of sex the content itself might be. Yet within even the innocence of shape there rests implications of greater or less manliness or womanliness without exploitation of this fact by the individual. There are seemingly endless varieties of human shape brought about by environmental, genetic, sociological, and other backgrounds. The human body acts as housing and instrument for the psychobiological energies of the individual. Inasmuch as its shape and growth and motional facility take into account the needs of the individual, it will vary accordingly as far as it is possible for it to do so.

In addition to normal sexual appearances, the human body may also vary as to deviant characteristics, promoting or discouraging certain physical developments. Obvious examples are those of the small man who promotes his muscular development to enlarge himself. Or the breast-embarrassed female adolescent who with stooped shoulders attempts to hide her new physical developments. These are rather blatant examples of a process which in many subtle ways causes the shaping of the body as a result of even minor pathological and sexually derivative circumstances. Often the turmoil that caused the concern is mastered or eliminated, but the body continues to hold the musculature and development, showing a physical result of that turmoil, though no longer tenanted by its cause.

Certainly the genetic background again brings in sexual aspects through predilections in mating, etc., which date back practically to the primordial jelly. Consider, too, the frequently evident outcome of an individual endowed genetically with a body for which he has insufficient psychodynamic energy.

So the dancer appears in front of his spectator, supposedly a complex mass of sexual and psychodynamic history and presence. Yet again he ignores and refutes these external reasonings. For the artist is a prestidigitator of the first order. The now-you-see-it-now-you-don't technique is one of his major facilities. It is likely that, should the artist not wish you to see his sexuality, you would not see it. It is there, nevertheless, in the simple physical fact, should one's orientation require it or if one subconsciously promotes it.

So is art there. We may miss the one in the effort to pursue the other.

Sex and Motion

Motion may assume a myriad of characters. Our concern here is with those having sexual connotations. To investigate this we shall have to inspect another skill of the human body that the dancer employs and extends toward his own ends.

In describing the body as a malleable housing, reshaping itself to the needs of the individual, we find that the process of motion continues this subservience to the individual's immediate psychobiological needs. The motions are manifest first through concentrating energy in a particular part or parts of the body. This may be a subtle or violent gathering of forces, depending upon the task or thought at hand. This concentration can take on the character of directional grain or path of flow of energy. It may appear to advance, retreat, rise, fall, suspend, lock, etc.

By the relative application of this grain the artist may consciously or unconsciously invite the eye of the onlooker to a certain part of the body, the attention of the onlooker deflecting from other body sections. This does not imply that such an exploitation of a particular part of the body has a specific meaning in itself. Such a gesture or condition is rather like a word in a sentence, as vague by itself in narrative as any isolated verb or noun. Its actual statement is apparent only when surrounded by other body conditions and actions that compose the act into specific meaning. For example, the exploitation of the pelvic area is not essentially a sexual posture; the body must supply surround-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ing overtones to make it become so. The finger, wrist—or for that matter any other part of the body—may be eloquent of sex when given gestural or qualitative background so directed.

The attitude of the dancer not only toward that body part but also toward the movement itself, or the motivation behind the movement, can add weight to the sexual or nonsexual implications of the movement no matter where it may be taking place in the moving figure.

Deviations from Art Ideal

Deviations and derelictions from esthetic concepts may enlarge or distort the basic sexual contents incidental or integral to art. Within the early period of psychological dance theater (1930–1950), these imbalances were particularly evident due to preference for the subject and the personal exposure physically and psychologically that was allowed.

Remembering that this period was vitally concerned with the pains, sorrows, soul-searching passions, and violences of man—all legitimate art subjects—it is apparent that dancers with sadomasochistic tendencies were well supplied with self-expressional outlets. All the sexual over- and undertones attributable to such a state accompanied the act.

Another area of deviation concerns the masturbatory tendencies in motion; the dancer lusting upon his own action. Here the parasitic attachment to the dance act overpowers the intended expression, leaving in its stead the communication of the parasitic and/or narcissistic act rather than the art idea.

These deviations often make a confusing issue of art dance evaluation. The immediate character and intimate confessions of the performer sometimes produce a compellingly interesting exposé. Such displays in this period were often reviewed as sensitive works of art dealing with "Freudian" subject matter. With strong social focus upon sexual reasoning, critics, dancers, and teachers were sometimes deflected from the abstract and transcendent demands of art and engrossed with case histories.

Proper evaluation of the sexual contents of art can be made only from the broad vantage point of esthetics. Personal idiosyncrasies, the social climate of the moment regarding sexual attitudes and behavior, and psychological sophistication—or lack of it—in the audience play too biased a role in proper evaluation. Esthetics offers a more objective area for appraisal than those less constant areas in which personal prejudices for the various schools of psychology play a part.

Sociological Influences

In considering sociological influences upon the dance we enter a more tangible territory. Society has its effect upon the motion of man and upon the dancer as well. It qualifies the sexual content of the subject material he performs.

Within the contemporary dance period both aspects are vividly apparent. The very birth of contemporary dance through the figure of Isadora Duncan was an outcome of a sociological renascence. The same atmosphere that permitted her release from social restraints allowed the growth of dynamic psychology. It was an intramural affair occurring within the logic of historical time.

As a whole new volume of motion was released to the dancer, variation from the accustomed motional character became more apparent. The effect of the social atmosphere upon an individual's concept of beauty is a strong one. An example is the evolution of concepts that implied the weakness of the female and her dependence upon the strength of the male. Before this century, most interpretations of womanhood illustrated a standard of erotic beauty, evinced through a coy display of weakness and helplessness and the accompanying attitudes of shyness, recession, demureness, etc. What resulted was a manifestation in physical posture and movement which in effect produced the desired erotic expression. The head had a slight tilt; gestures of the arm seemed to terminate at the wrist or knuckle, de-energizing the remaining extremity; the torso had a slight slump, mincing steps in which the feet crossed over the line of travel rather than entering directly upon it—all characterized the female. The male had to hold up his counter-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

part with the appearance of strength, stiffness of spine, squareness of shoulder, firmness of grip, a straddling of his line of travel to give him a broad base as against the rather tottering one exemplified by the female. Members of both sexes denied their primal endowments of motion to a certain extent, upholding erroneous proportions according to the current criteria of erotic attraction.

All this was reflected in the dance. In romantic ballet it was exemplified by the tilt of the head, the soft unfolding arm, and the delicacy of the wrist and fingers. Ballet further emphasized these erotic concepts in its subject matter and general theatrical treatment.

With the advent of contemporary dance, there came some release from these concepts of male-female beauty and behavior. Out of an extended survey of physical kinetic mechanisms, a more purely functional technique of motion arose. The psychic and physical forces of the human organism and their relationship were more closely observed. This observation was not solely based upon scientific exploration, but rather upon expressional techniques as applied to the contemporary evolvement of art dance.

An example in point is Hanya Holm, who drew on her background in Germany and Switzerland with Mary Wigman, Rudolf Laban, and Dalcroze in the practice of specific balances of kinetic mechanism, the agreement of the psychic and physical content in realizing motion toward given points in space. It involved Jungian principles of the archetype in which the dancer, at least within his technical capacities, strives to reach the epitome of his being and to move out of that context.

In relation to Miss Holm's early work it is interesting to note that one of the major critics deplored its sexless quality. It is difficult to know whether the quality was actually sexless or whether the critic still adhered to mores demanding certain erotic mannerisms as a condition of beauty. Similarly, much of today's more "abstract" dance is also called sexless or "dehuman," a more contemporary word, and receives negative critical response when it projects nonsexually. Is this a reaction to the overt sexual themes of the late 1930's and entire 1940's in that sex is still expected to play a large part in dance, or has the great stress in our present society on psychoanalytical interpretations become the leading criterion for dance evaluation? Despite critical comments, a growing number of important dancers and choreographers, in both ballet and modern dance, are now developing themes and dance-theater ideas that indicate that sex as a specific, overt adornment of dance is an arbitrary rule rather than a basic esthetic requirement.

International Differences

Within the sociological temper we find great differences of involvement in, and reaction to, modern art dance in the various Western countries. Only Germany and America have produced contemporary dance in any quantity. England, France, and Italy have produced nothing in dance of clear-cut contemporary stamp. What is more, these countries have no great congeniality for modern dance and receive performances of this kind with only mild interest. This seems to have no particular reference, however, to abhorrence of any of the sexual frankness often evident in modern dance. Flourishing ballet companies in these countries, particularly in France, have utilized sex themes with equal frankness. It may be due in part to the abstract language of motion created by modern dance. These countries have, nevertheless, accepted and produced modern art and music, and so their disinclination to accept modern dance seems to stem from a difficulty in accepting human motion in abstract terms.

There exists considerable difference in the evolvement of dance in Germany and America. The German character comes through in metaphysical involvements, whereas the American material is characterized by more outspoken qualities. Although dance in America is by no means free of it, the aspects of self-expression and sentimentality seem more prevalent in German dance.

Sex as an overt subject has not been prominent in German dance. From the point of view of sexual content, American modern dance offers the best study. The very nature of its motional inventiveness and life was born in an era of "sex consciousness." And since art tends to reflect its time, modern dance has had tenden-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cies that were not as prevalent as in ballet, which relied heavily upon tradition.

American Modern Dance

The American modern dancer Martha Graham is unquestionably the greatest artist of the period following Isadora Duncan. In almost her entire later period she has devoted herself to dance subjects that strongly emphasized psychoanalytical involvement. "The soul in search" is a phrase that has almost become a slogan for modern dance. Her "Cave of the Heart," "Herodiade," "Deaths and Entrances," "Dark Meadow," "Errand into the Maze." "Theatre for a Voyage," and "Appalachian Spring" are all examples of this emphasis.

However, Miss Graham's dance figure or heroine is never commonplace. She is the "divine normal" often faced with sexual issues achieving unmistakable heroic conclusion. Hers is a supernatural world. It fulfills classical definition and as such her work stands within the realm of timelessness, transcending the immediate psychoanalytical concern. In this sense, Miss Graham supports Jung's classical concepts of the artist's role as mediator relating the conscious life of man to its archetypes in the "collective conscious." (The word "classical" was used to denote the highest order of merit as early as the second century A.D. It suggests the exemplary creation born out of aristocracy of being, of balance of idea, media, and narrative execution.)

The frank treatment of sex on the concert stage by such a figure as Graham, along with the highbrowism of psychoanalysis, fortified the less heroic segment of dancers who began to color the entire dance field. Reviews of dance concerts, particularly during the 1940's, sounded like social case histories. They were rife with such terms as "fetal," "phallic shapes," "umbilical cords," "fertility rites," "Freudian overtones," etc. Often such psychoanalytically focused interpretations were hung upon dances having no such overt indications. Sex and art seemed for a time almost synonymous and soon more souls were laid bare on the modern dance stage than the public could tolerate in the name of art. Our present scene finds sex virtually missing as a dominant subject and the dance field pursues new images and vehicles as a framework for art.

New Dance Manifestations

Shortly after World War II a new kind of dance began to be evident. Whether or not it should be considered a natural outgrowth and evolvement of the previous concern with psychological dance theater will be a matter for later historical analysis. Although its particular vigor is apparent in the United States, there seem to be similar occurrences in Sweden and Germany.

There is an obvious difference in subject, costume, music, and movement manner. After a few false starts, dance critics have developed a style of reportage to accommodate it, and it enjoys a continually growing audience. Its concern coincides with that of science in its exploration of the nature of energies and their transformation into primary forms. It is as if the artist produces hieroglyphics to illustrate the patterns of energy as it takes on initial character.

In dance one now no longer sees skirts and trousers. Either beautifully colored tights or fantastic costumes are used. Sometimes the human form is made more vivid or totally erased. There is rarely a literal gesture suggestive of pain, joy, fear, or anger. It is remarkably indifferent to the distinction of sex. Whereas the earlier dance revolved around a human characterization, this, if it appears at all now, is incidental rather than dominant. It has been deplored as "dehumanized" and "emotionless" and its level of abstraction is far more in the range of the musical or mathematical rather than the literal level of emotion.

The previous period of dance dealt with strong emotionalism and was dominantly in the hands of the female. This new dance level of abstraction seems to find the male choreographer in control. Where, buried in all this, the sexual deviants lie is as confusing a question as always.

To this new artist the story revolving around the fetal and the phallic, the umbilical cord and the oedipus complex, are as jejune as the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

arabesque. In some instances Zen Buddhism replaces Freud, and just as art heretofore tolerantly looked upon the self-expressionists, it now bears a new variety in the form of what are known as "beatniks." The "beatnik" has usurped the bohemian. That continuing contingent of human frailty climbs upon the bandwagon, their inadequacies and failures marked again in the guise of art.

Yet, within all this, there is still evidence, as there has been in every period of art, that, whether dancer or flautist, painter or creator of mobiles, the artist stands as a supersensitive mediator between man and the universal mysteries which both science and art continue to probe.

References

Bolitho, William, "Isadora Duncan." In Paul Magriel (ed.), *Chronicles of the American Dance.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1948.

Duncan, Isadora, *My Life.* London: Gollancz, 1924.

Ellis, Havelock, *The Dance of Life.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923.

Freud, Sigmund, *On Creativity and the Unconscious.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Horan, Robert, "The Recent Theatre of Martha Graham." In Paul Magriel (ed.), *Chronicles of the American Dance.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1948.

Jacobi, Jolande, *The Psychology of Jung.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943.

Laban, Rudolf, *The Mastery of Movement on the Stage.* London: Macdonald & Evans, 1950.

Lawrence, D. H., *Fantasia of the Unconscious.* London: 1922.

Lloyd, Margaret, *The Borzoi Book of Modern Dance.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.

Martin, John, *The Modern Dance.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1933.

Martin, John, *Introduction to the Dance.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1939.

Reviews of dance concerts published in *Dance Magazine, Dance Observer,* and *Dance News* between the years 1946-1954.

Terry, Walter, *Invitation to Dance.* New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1942.

ALWIN NIKOLAIS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Dancing, Social

THE drama of man-woman relationships, with its erotic overtones, is symbolized in social dancing. This does not mean that social dancing has always been a mere excuse for sexual intimacy, as many a religious reformer has protested. Rather, social dancing is an esthetic—and joyous—way for men and women to become closely acquainted—to live rhythmically together for an hour—without becoming more involved with each other than would permit a graceful withdrawal.

He was a poor friend to mankind who first taught that sex per se was evil. The great religious leaders, with one notable exception, never took such a point of view. They condemned any cruelty or deception that a member of one sex might practice upon another, but taught that love itself was good and beautiful. Those, however, who could not succeed at the game of love—because they lacked the inner grace and warmth—felt inferior, and, making a virtue of necessity, declared that their limited way of life was the noble one, the one that God had ordained.

Some moral extremists make even social dancing seem an evil, mainly because it brings the sexes in close proximity, which to them could be only for sensual reasons. Those who connote morality with misery think that nothing good can also be joyous. The poet W. B. Yeats declares that "the good are the merry" and in this simple sentence refutes the gloomy view of the Puritans and the Calvinists who repressed the spirit of youth for generations.

What a man is in his essence, and what a woman is in her essence, is revealed to the partner in the way they dance together. You can sometimes get better acquainted with the total self of a person of the other sex in an hour's dancing together than in an hour's conversation or work together, or in nearly any other social relationship. If a couple have a true inner harmony, he and she become "we." Like lovers in the sexual embrace, each tends to anticipate the move of the other. A loving pair dancing together experience an exquisite felicity of harmony between the sexes, of body-mind rest in motion, because each accommodates spontaneously to the inner feeling of the other.

The popularity of dancing arises from the fact that it permits this rich heterosexual exchange in socially acceptable ways. Male and female make a kind of reconnaissance of each other's physical, mental, and social being, and yet each is free of future commitment. The dancers may later return to the rhythmic attack or withdraw, according to the discoveries each has made of the other. The body, too, communicates, and talks often more wisely than the mind.

Dancing has a particular significance for youth. A valuable part of their education is learning to dance. And each young man or woman reveals his family history, his relationship to his own parents, the quality of the breeding he received at home, the minute he steps upon the dance floor. The shy, repressed child, whose parents failed to show him the love and appreciation that would enable him to feel confidence in himself, moves about with diffidence and restraint. The well-loved and accepted child, free of the inhibition of perfectionist standards, steps forth upon the dance floor with a kind of exuberant enthusiasm, with a poise that shows faith in his ability to please.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

"It is the dance that socialized man," said Havelock Ellis (1923). And indeed, as we scan man's social history, we note that those periods were most joyous and creative in which men and women danced freely together without repression or reproval. An ancient Chinese maxim quoted by Ellis in his *Dance of Life* (1923) declares: "One may judge of a king by the state of dancing during his reign."

History of Social Dancing

From man's earliest beginnings he has turned to the dance for the spontaneous release of his emotions. Joy over the harvest was expressed in the harvest dance; heroic rage in the war dance; romantic excitement in the social dance. Anthropologists who read man's early history in the behavior of present-day primitive tribes gather a wealth of information by observing their dances.

Modern civilization began with the Renaissance, its birthplace was in Italy, and in Italy, too, came the renaissance of dancing. France soon followed. In France all forms of dancing were studied and perfected. Folk dances of other nations would be polished in France until they became the graceful steps of the aristocracy.

The *Pavane* and the *Branle* are amongst the earliest of the French dances, and they were especially popular because they included the practice of kissing. The most graceful and sophisticated of the early French dances was the *Minuet*. The splendor and glory of "the great king," Louis XIV, the artificial manners which were typical of his court, and the sensuous and sensual preoccupations which infused all its activities were perfectly illustrated in the Minuet. Other early French dances were the *Gavotte*, the *Cotillion*, the *Lancers*, the *Polka*, the *Quadrille*, and finally, even the *Waltz*, which most people believe to be the product of nineteenth-century Austria.

France may have been the land where the dance was most cultivated as an art, but Spain is the country where dancing is the most natural expression of the feeling of the people. The most famous dances of Spain are the *Bolero*, the *Seguidilla*, and the *Fandango*.

Great Britain was French in culture through much of her history, and her people were therefore devotees of the French dances. There were, however, some purely native dances in England, such as the *Morris Dances*.

But England is the country which showed most strongly how the joyous enthusiasm of the people for dancing might be repressed by a harsh religious doctrine. During the regime of the Puritans, dancing almost entirely disappeared in England. With the Restoration, it became popular again, and in the reign of Queen Anne we had an era of many balls in the grand manner, guided in fact or in spirit by the dandy, Beau Nash.

Of all modern dances, the *Waltz* is undoubtedly the most widely popular. It has had a cosmopolitan history. It originated in Germany, was developed in France, but experienced its full flowering in Austria toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The whole world responded to it with enthusiasm. The Strauss Waltz is a manifestation of the joyous meeting of the sexes.

Another exhilarating dance is the *Polka*. It originated in Bohemia in a servant girl's fantasy and by the middle of the nineteenth century was the rage of Europe and America. The music of the Polka is exuberant. Those who come under its spell feel an enthusiasm for life —an intensity of joy in man-woman relationships—that shows the full capacity of the dance to release repressed feelings.

The *Barn Dance* and the *Square Dance* are typically American. They started in rural areas as a means of getting neighbors together to help build a barn. They have an especial value in that they induce general participation. Old and young, the clumsy and the adept, join in the gaiety and merriment. The square dance still persists in rural areas and even in some urban centers. The emphasis is social rather than sexual.

The *Polka-Mazurka* is popular in Austria and Hungary. The *Polonaise* and *Mazurka* are Polish dances. The *Sir Roger de Coverley* is an old English dance that is still popular at social gatherings in England and that may be danced even by an elegant crowd at the conclusion of a formal ball.

These are only a few of the great social dances of the modern world. If we could in

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

imagination see each one of them exhibited before us, we would learn much of the social history of the particular peoples who practiced them. They would reveal how the men and women of each country regarded each other, joined with each other in love, romance, or marriage. Some might show the joyous abandonment of a folk free of superstition and glad to enjoy the good earth and each other. Some would express a graceful stateliness, because the people had developed a complex code of intersexual behavior. And finally, in some we would see simple folk who released their energies in rhythmic movements, made all the more joyous because both sexes joined in them. Sex is, directly or indirectly, the prime motivating force in all social dancing.

Modern Dancing

Modern dancing may be said to have begun in the United States in 1912. Previously Americans had imitated European dancing, particularly the *Polka*, the *Viennese Waltz*, and the *Cotillion*.

In 1912, with ragtime and jazz music popular throughout the land, the first jazz dances appeared also. They were the *Turkey Trot*, *Bunny Hug*, and *Grizzly Bear*. These dances, like the jazz music to which they were danced, seemed to express the nervous, irregular motions of a machine-run civilization. But just because ours is a machine-run civilization pervaded by an almost maddening monotony, our people require the release which these jazz dances allow. The whole country was swept by enthusiasm for jazz dancing. Old and young took part in the so-called "dance craze." After a time the seemingly crude and vulgar steps were brought into a kind of dignity and order by such exponents of popular dancing as the Castles and their protégé, Arthur Murray, who standardized ballroom dancing and sold it as a social necessity all over the country.

The staple dance steps of the present generation are the *Waltz* and the *Fox Trot*, though some of the jitterbug steps, like the *Charleston*, still persist. South American dances, the *Tango*, the *Rhumba*, and the *Conga*, are growing in public favor, especially among the more sophisticated in the larger cities.

Of all modern social dances, the *Fox Trot* is the most popular. The rhythm is simple and is therefore easily and quickly learned. Yet it possesses a combination of possible steps that is varied and interesting. The dancers enjoy an easy proximity, unforced and natural and yet close and satisfying.

Some of the more conservative elements in American society were shocked by the apparent self-abandon of the new dances and spoke of them as a "psychic epidemic," a "dance craze," similar to the dance manias of the Middle Ages. But others contended that the new dances were a normal and natural revolt against Puritanism and Victorianism, and merely showed the need of our people to release their pent-up feelings.

Dr. A. A. Brill, the psychiatrist, who had translated Freud and made him popular in America, was moved to look into this "dance craze" and wrote an interesting paper for the *New York Medical Journal* (April 25, 1914), entitled "The Psychopathology of the New Dances." Before expressing his own opinion on the cause and significance of the "dance craze," Brill reviewed the opinions of certain famous writers, especially Havelock Ellis, on the sexual significance of social dancing. Here is his quotation from "An Analysis of Sexual Impulse" (1921) by Havelock Ellis:

> In civilization dancing is not merely an incitement to love, but very often a substitute for the normal gratification of the sexual instinct, procuring something of the pleasure and relief of gratified love. This may be especially seen in young women who will very often expend a prodigious amount of energy in dancing, thus procuring not fatigue but happiness and relief. It is significant that after sexual relations have begun girls generally lose much of their ardor for dancing. Even our modern orthodox dances, it is interesting to note, are of sexual origin. Thus the most popular dance of all, the *Waltz*, represents the romance of love, the seeking and the fleeing, the playful sulking and shunning, and finally, the jubilation of the wedding.

Brill quotes from other observers, too, who maintained that the object of the dance is to produce a state of sexual excitement, particularly in the male.

But for himself, Brill came to a somewhat different conclusion. He declared that the dance craze was not confined to America, but

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri Funding: IKS

was worldwide and a normal expression of the spirit of the times, and that its sexual emphasis is probably much more in the eyes of the beholders than in the minds—or bodies—of the dancers. He showed that many religious denominations have always objected to any form of dancing. The quotations from Ellis and others might seem to justify this religious objection, but by a questionnaire, Brill brought out the interesting and significant fact that while people get considerable romantic release in dancing and experience some sexual excitement, varying in degree according to the people and the way they dance, dancing is usually a wholesome activity and not an agent for promoting immorality.

To resolve the issue of whether the new dances were more erotic than the old, Dr. Brill sent the following questions to a few hundred enthusiastic dancers:

1. Did you ever become sexually excited while dancing the new dances?
2. Did you ever become sexually excited while watching the new dances?
3. Did you ever experience the same feelings while dancing or watching the old dances?

The answers that were received from 342 persons indicated that the new dances were hardly more prone to produce sexual excitement than the old ones, and that significantly enough the onlookers felt more sexual excitement than the dancers.

From the Freudian point of view, the dance is a wholesome and socially acceptable release of mental and emotional repression, all with a sexual core, as most repression is. Brill, who was, of course, an enthusiastic Freudian, declared:

> Our present dancing epidemic is fundamentally due to similar causes. It, too, is a result of repressed emotions and feelings, and judging by the nature of the manifestation it must be concluded that it is sexual repression which has broken through. Puritan prudery and Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy have for centuries acted the part of the ostrich and refused to acknowledge the existence of the sexual impulse. Ignorance was confounded with innocence, and the most important functions of the human body were not only ignored but relentlessly debased. The very thought of sex was considered evil and disgusting.
>
> To a certain extent this also held true of continental Europe, but there it never attained the extreme degree it has in this country and England. It is for this reason that Europe is much slower to take up the new dances. The women are the most eager dancers because they have been carrying the heaviest burden of our system of cultural development. The double standard of morality allows the men some sexual outlet, while feminine virtue is treated as the foolish peasant treated his valuable fur in the market. He was not content to sell it for the high prices offered by the merchants because he thought that he could make more money by tearing out the hairs from the skin and selling them singly.
>
> The continual advance in Anglo-Saxon civilization with its complex economic problems is marked by a steady increase in frigid women and old maids. Sublimation is not only carried to an enormous degree, but the women are also forced to take up academic and other work and compete with men.
>
> Religion, the emotional outlet par excellence for women, has been rapidly disappearing. There are almost as many irreligious women in England and America as men. Decadence of religion means an increase in nervous diseases. These causes have been operating for a long time, and as some adjustment had to take place England gave us the suffragette and America the new dances.

Brill concluded with this strong defense of the dance enthusiasts: "Moderate dancing, old or new style, can only do good and should be encouraged. I absolutely disagree with those who assert that it does harm, that it promotes sexuality, and so on. My own experiences (I do not dance) taught me just the opposite. The new dances offer good exercise and enjoyment to thousands of people, and serve besides as an excellent sublimation."

Among the authorities he quoted was Oskar Scheuer, whose article, "Die Erotik in Tanze," appeared in a German journal entitled *Sexualprobleme,* in January, 1911. This article inclines more toward the erotic emphasis in dancing than Brill's paper does. Scheuer declared that dancing, like singing and personal adornment, is always an erotic lure. He quoted from *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte,* a work by E. Fuchs, who in somewhat poetic language declared that dancing was and is never anything else than a stylized, rhythmically transformed eroticism: wooing, courting, hesitating, promising, fulfilling.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Scheuer illustrates this theme with descriptions of erotic dances in many lands, such as the Hula-Hula in the Polynesian Islands. He refers also to Medieval orgies of dancing and discusses the many moral reformers who cried out against all forms of social dancing as mere sexual manifestations. In conclusion Scheuer says, "Nowadays the dance is neither an orgy nor a phallic representation, but it nevertheless glides pretty often on the border land of forbidden fruit."

Today we are perhaps witnessing a final resolution of the age-old conflict between the advocates of sexual repression and those of sexual liberty, with the believers in sexual sublimation coming somewhere in between. All three are represented in criticisms of modern social dancing.

There are still some, such as Pitirim Sorokin, author of *The American Sex Revolution,* who declare that present-day Americans are sex-obsessed and that our survival as a nation may well depend upon our learning to control our sexual behavior.

Others call for more sexual freedom. The leader of these is Albert Ellis, who in his *Sex Without Guilt* declares that nothing is wrong in any sex act as long as adults who practice it together agree with and accept each other's mode of expression. To this group modern social dancing would be an altogether admirable and happy release of heterosexual feeling, and the more ardent it is the better.

Youth in particular should be allowed its dance freedom. All our outcries against the mad preoccupation of our young people with jazz, "rock 'n' roll," and so on fail to recognize the fact that youth represents the primitive period in the history of the race, that youth is full of physical energy and has a legitimate right to a release of this energy in socially acceptable forms.

A recreation authority, Jack Petrill, author of *After the Whistle Blows,* tells a significant story in *Dance Magazine* (May, 1957), of how a group of rough Detroit boys were socially tamed by being introduced to social dancing.

The time was the Prohibition Era. These youngsters, ranging in age from 15 to 18, were all tough kids who took part in bootlegging liquor from Windsor, Canada, across the river. They spent part of their days at a church playground where Petrill attempted to organize their play. They were a belligerent, cocky group of "wise guys."

Nevertheless, they responded to Petrill's invitation to participate in a social dance to be held in a church house in two weeks. The girls were to come from good Detroit families and would be chaperoned. The boys dressed up for the party and behaved in such a gracious, gentlemanly manner that the girls were delighted and impressed. Petrill says of this incident,

> To me it indicated then, as it does now, that social dancing is an essential part of any recreation program. The human being who does not respond to ballroom dancing, or for that matter, dancing in any form is rare indeed.
>
> Dancing, unlike most other recreational pursuits, is a social activity that can include the entire family. It also relieves the tension and monotony which may be built up during the working day.
>
> Important benefits are the introduction to physical contact with the opposite sex—legitimately, it permits the male to put one arm around a lady's waist, while she has one hand in his.
>
> Ballroom dancing requires many graces of etiquette—for instance, how to ask a lady to dance, the proper escort technique both going on and off the dance floor, and expressing appreciation for the dance.
>
> The points impressed in personal appearance are proper hair-grooming, use of deodorants, clean well-pressed clothing, shined shoes, etc.
>
> Dancing teaches the man to be careful of his posture, of how he puts his arm around his partner's waist, of how he holds her hand, an awareness of moving in unison—and watching that he does not step on the lady's toes. All this makes a man more considerate of other people.
>
> For boys aged 14 and 15, dancing with a girl dispels many of the fears of association with the opposite sex. A great initial personality change for the better can occur with this introduction.

Many other writers have written at length of the satisfaction in dancing for the adolescent. Dancing heads the list of forms of recreation for both boys and girls. Research indicates that in the high-school years 60 per cent of the boys and 85 per cent of the girls can dance. At Syracuse University a recent poll shows that 92 per cent of the freshman college girls knew how to dance.

Adolescents enjoy learning intricate dance steps and showing them off to their peers. An-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri Funding:IKS

other source of satisfaction is "cutting-in." This latter practice has declined because of the tendency of young people to "go steady," and, therefore, to dance with one partner throughout the evening. The adolescent who does not know how to dance loses out, no matter in what community he or she grows up.

Sometimes young people indicate deep-seated sex tendencies by the way they dance. A young psychology student humorously said of a girl with whom he danced at a fraternity party: "Her penis-envy was obvious as soon as she started dancing, for she always insisted on leading."

Many boys for their part show a weak heterosexual approach by their hesitant manner in approaching a girl in leading her off to the dance floor. Then there are the assertive young males who firmly grasp a girl's waist, and definitely lead in all dance steps.

The dance offers a valid therapy for many of the social ills of youth. It is likely that we could take the edge off their persistent rebellious feeling and reduce the amount of loose and perverse sexual behavior by providing in every town, in every neighborhood, an attractive center where young people could meet and freely enjoy dancing.

Sex in Social Dancing

How much of sex one sees in social dancing may very well depend upon the individual beholder. "Beauty," says Emerson, "is what the artist brings to the picture," and many a sociological study is what the sociologist brings to the survey. Those who have written on the subject of social dancing and sex bring into the discussion not only their own ideas and ideals, but obviously their own prejudices. Each is justified in his own way, but who will say that each has the final answer? The noted sexologists Iwan Bloch, Paolo Mantegazza, and Havelock Ellis, and the sociologist Leo Markun all discuss the sex factor in social dancing with point and emphasis.

An interesting work is Leo Markun's *Mrs. Grundy* (1930), an attempt to tell the history of that "tyrannical censor of morals," that "stickler for conventional propriety" whom all good citizens more or less feared however much they might mock at her stupidity and ignorance. Markun traces her influence as far back as the Renaissance church zealot Savonarola, who damned all public dancing; through Calvin, the Swiss moral ascetic, who wanted to impose his moral views upon all people, and who preached the wrath to come upon any who would indulge in such earthly pleasures as dancing; through Knox, the Scotch religious reformer whose eloquence on the subject of sin and damnation terrified even the pleasure-loving Mary, Queen of Scots; through the Puritans, who, first in England and then in America, banned all dancing; down through modern Victorianism, which permitted dancing, but only in a prim and restricted way. Even the worldly Byron, iconoclast and libertine, wrote critically of the Waltz as encouraging licentious behavior. In the age of Queen Victoria, Mrs. Grundy herself sat upon the throne.

The Italian Paolo Mantegazza, in *Sexual Relations of Mankind* (1932), pursues the anthropologist's interest in the amatory dances of primitive races in South America, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere. He tells how "the explorer Cook observed in Tahiti a love-dance, called *tinwrodi,* which actually consisted of sexual intercourse set to music! He who kept perfect time with the music was singularly honored and admired." The Eskimos also practiced love dances.

In all these primitive dances the male usually initiates the proceedings. The women are attracted to the most vigorous and valiant dancers. Thus it is that through the dance nature makes her selection of the fittest to survive and propagate the race.

Among the most noted of modern sexologists was the German, Iwan Bloch, heralded at the turn of the century as a great humanitarian and founder of sexual science. Bloch describes with realism the ballrooms and dancing salons of Berlin and Paris of the early twentieth century. "Here," he says, "the dance is not the principal thing—procurement and prostitution are widely diffused" (1937).

The poet of sex, as well as its best philosopher, was Havelock Ellis, to whom all life was a dance, and the dance of love the richest of its many manifestations.

In the third volume of his monumental *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1921), devoted to *An Analysis of the Sexual Impulse,* he

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

traces the history of the dance through nature, through primitive man, and into the life of modern civilized society. He describes the love dance of insects and birds, culminating in the love embrace, and expresses his surprise that creatures mentally so undeveloped should nevertheless be able to express their love life in such an endless maze of patterns of sentiment and feeling.

He then describes love dances among the primitive tribes of Australia, the Malay Islands, Africa, and North and South America. He makes these significant points regarding the love dances of primitive people: "The interesting point for us here is that singing and dancing are still regarded as a preliminary to the sexual act. The whole object of courtship, of the mutual approximation and caresses of two persons of the opposite sex is to create the state of sexual tumescence.

"It will be seen that the most usual method of attaining tumescence—a method found among the most various kinds of animals from insects and birds to man—is some form of the dance."

He quotes G. Stanley Hall, author of *Adolescence*, as declaring the famous cakewalk dance of the South to be perhaps the purest expression of this impulse to courtship antics seen in man.

Havelock Ellis carries his analysis of the sexual significance of the social dance down into periods of modern civilization. Always it is a sexual stimulant. However, it may become not only "an incitement to love and a preliminary to courtship, but it is often a substitute for the normal gratification of the sexual instinct, procuring something of the pleasure and relief of gratified love."

As civilization advances, says Ellis, the religious and martial uses of dancing fall away, but it still remains a sexual stimulant. As proof of this he cites a statistical report:

> An International Congress of Dancing Masters was held at Barcelona in 1907. In connection with this Congress, Giraudet, president of the International Academy of Dancing Masters, issued an inquiry to 3,000 teachers of dancing throughout the world in order to ascertain the frequency with which dancing led to marriage. Of over one million pupils of dancing, either married or engaged to be married, it was found that in most countries more than 50 per cent met their conjugal partners at dances.

But it is in *The Dance of Life* (1923) that Ellis portrays the art of dancing as the apotheosis of man's life and love. In the beginning dancing was a religious rite. "A savage," says Ellis, "does not preach his religion—he dances it." But to the agnostic, and yet spiritual, Ellis, "dancing throughout the world has been so essential, so fundamental a part of all vital and undegenerate religion that whenever a new religion appears, a religion of the spirit and not merely an anemic religion of the intellect, we would still have to ask of it the question of the Bantu: 'What do you dance?' "

Ellis goes on to declare that dancing is not only intimately associated with religion; it has an equally intimate association with love. It is as old as love and traces its history through all living creatures who live and love. However gross some of the primitive love dances may have been, there is always behind them the desire to express love in strength and in beauty. "In fact," says Ellis, "dancing has ever been in existence as a spontaneous custom, a social discipline. Thus it is that dancing meets us not only as love, as religion, as art, but also as morals."

References

Bloch, Iwan, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*. New York: Falstaff Press, Inc., 1937.

Brill, A. A., "The Psychopathology of the New Dances." *New York Medical Journal*, April 25, 1914.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1921.

Ellis, Havelock, *Psychology of Sex*. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1946.

Ellis, Havelock, *The Dance of Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923.

Mantegazza, Paolo, *Sexual Relations of Mankind*. New York: Falstaff Press, Inc., 1932.

Markun, Leo, *Mrs. Grundy*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930.

Petrill, Jack, "Dancing in Recreation." *Dance Magazine*, May, 1957.

Scheuer, Oskar, "Die Erotik im Tanze." *Sexualprobleme*, January, 1911.

Sorokin, Pitirim, *The American Sex Revolution*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1956.

DAVID GOODMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Demography and the Nature of the Sex Drive

TWO ESSENTIAL first steps of any science are the collection of available raw data and the winning of social recognition of its right to call those data scientific. It is therefore not surprising that the writing and publication of the Kinsey reports are milestones in the early history of the very young behavioral science of sexology. Not only are the reports characteristic, in their objectives and methodology, of the early stages of any field of work; they are also partial solutions of one of society's abiding problems of sexual behavior, the relation of theory to practice.

The second point is important. There is no "pure" behavioral science: at their best, these sciences represent the attempts by trained workers to answer the urgent questions asked of them by the societies in which they live. Their projects, their techniques, and the theory that guides them are shaped only partially by the histories of their specialties; the pressures of social need—both positive and negative—are as strong as the laws of formal development.

If this is as true of sexology as it is of the other behavioral sciences, it is probable that sexology will experience, very early in its development, that process of reconsideration of some of its fundamental presuppositions that is usually characteristic of the maturity of a science. With one—perhaps the central one—of these reconsiderations we propose to deal (however tentatively) in this article.

Although one of the first demands we make of any scientist is that he tell us—accurately and objectively—what is going on, we soon follow it with the demand that he explain why it is going on and how it relates to other phenomena. And in areas of interpersonal behavior broader than those covered by Kinsey's concept of total emissions these questions are being asked with increasing vehemence. The whole complex of man's relationships to man—of the Self and the Other, of subject and object—has become the preoccupation of today's thinkers and creators. From Kerouac to Sartre—from the emotional reaction of the Beatniks to the rigorous thought of Heidegger—the problem of man's interaction with his environment (both animate and inanimate), of the escape from his sense of isolation and insecurity, has become almost as important as the problem of his continued existence.

It is obvious that, as the closest and most hypnotic of interpersonal bonds, sexual relations (using the term in its broadest sense) have been and will be brought under this type of scrutiny. But so far that scrutiny has usually been by observers whose special interests are in other fields. Many of the younger writers of today give the impression of being *aficionados* of this form of human relationship, but neither we nor they would number them among the behavioral scientists. The brilliant discussions of Sartre are not those of a sexologist. The application of all aspects of modern thought to the problems of the nature and significance—rather than of the diverse contemporary forms—of sexual behavior has scarcely begun.

The Problems of Demography

One way to approach this unexplored territory is to consider the problems common to all

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

demographic research and faced by Kinsey *et al.* during the formulation of their procedures. A prerequisite to any demographic work is the isolation of a quantifiable—a countable—common factor in the raw complexes of behavior that are observed. We cannot amass statistics unless we can find some constant and observable unit of overt behavior whose appearance in our data can be the trigger to a check mark in our counting tables. Kinsey *et al.* were investigating *The Sexual Behavior of the American Male (Female)*, the various manifestations of the sex drive in our culture. As liberal members of that Judeo-Christian culture, two assumptions became obvious to them: that the one true end of love was genital coitus between the sexes leading to orgasm—preferably mutual; and that deviations from that end were to be expected. The application of demographic techniques within the bounds of those assumptions resulted in a monumental study of the genital activities of contemporary Americans, quantifiable in terms of total emission.

Kinsey *et al.* were fortunate in that this keystone—however weathered—of our sexual ethics is an act that lends itself readily to enumeration. Procreative genital coitus between husband and wife may be the most private of acts but it is still a statistical unit. Were our researchers to have come across a large colony of practitioners of *Karezza* (coitus in which the male does not come to orgasm) or of followers of the masturbatory practices that some native mothers perform on their baby sons their data would have been considerably more confused.

The point should not be regarded lightly. A *drive* is, of course, not an action or a series of actions, but the nature of a drive—or of a researcher's concept of a drive—is displayed by those actions he selects as being the "purest" or "simplest" observable expressions of that drive. Readers familiar with experimental psychology will remember the many ingenious tests that have been devised to reveal expressions of the invisible forces of the human psyche in observable and comparable actions. And the definition and selection of these expressive forms is the task of the experimenter and not of the subject. The fact that the typical American would agree with Kinsey's definition of the active expression of the sex drive does not make that definition correct. Kinsey, not Kilroy, does the defining.

The Specificity of Drives

A subsidiary problem is the degree of specificity of drives in general. We can note a fairly consistent trend in contemporary psychology to break down drives, instincts, basic needs, and so on into simpler and less specific units. An aspect of this development in psychology is, of course, the discussion of the role assigned to social conditioning. The development of the field theory by Lewin (1936) and its application to the problem of drives by Brown (1936, 1939) has led to some of the most cogent discussions of the nature and role of drives, summed up by the latter in his statement: "Implicit in field theory is the idea that social behavior depends on the biological nature of the individual as an integral part of groups whose characteristics are intimately connected with cultural phenomena" (1936, p. 863).

Recognition of the fact that drives are simple and broad expressions of human and animal biology and that their expressions are shaped by the social environment of the individual points to an important task before researchers into sexual behavior. It is obvious that the socially conditioned manifestations of the sex drive are dangerous guides to a full understanding of its nature (unless we can separate the conditioning from the drive), and it is also obvious that the interaction of drive and social conditioning may have major consequences upon the mental and physical health of the individual, according to the degree to which the conditioning satisfies or distorts the satisfaction of the drive. It would seem probable that the nature of the sex drive—what need it is that drives men and animals to expressions of sexual activity—and the extent to which our contemporary sexual practices and theories satisfy or distort that drive are important objects of research.

No reader of the articles in this encyclopedia needs to be told that sexual practices are infinitely varied and almost totally conditioned by the mores of the relevant culture. And it is important to realize that rebellion against these sexual mores also is directed by them; the lure of forbidden fruit is conditioned by the existing

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

taboos on fruit. For this reason it is logically impossible to count noses—or anything else—in an attempt to establish norms of sexual behavior: unless there exists or existed a society encouraging certain expressions of the sexual drive, those expressions will be comparatively few in number.

The task of a Kinsey outside time and place in formulating an observable common denominator of this infinite variety of sexual expressions is, I believe, impossible. It would take more space than is allowable in this article to prove this; the simplest approach is to give some examples of the negative criteria. The definition of the common expression of the sex drive may not presuppose genital or nongenital activity; orgasmic or nonorgasmic climax; heterosexual or homosexual partners; approximate parity of age or great disparity. There is only one observable common factor: in all cases the sexual relationship is accompanied by more or less acute emotional tension. Unless forced upon the partner—by physical power or custom—the sex act is not an emotionally neutral one. But the emotion that is present is also infinitely variable: from the least romantic to the most; from religious sobriety to conscious and "wicked" violation of moral codes; from the greatest tenderness to hostile rape; from sexual activity as a statement of divine origin to the gay triviality of a "roll in the hay." Mankind has not only expressed the sex drive in every conceivable way, he has accompanied it with every conceivable emotion.

Sexual Emotion and Sex Drive

It may very well be that the second of these two variables—the emotion accompanying or motivating the relationship—provides us with a clue to the nature of the sex drive. An emotion—the conscious inner manifestation of need—is, by definition, a reasonably specific thing. It invites inspection by the superego; it brings with it suggestions of permissible or impermissible action; it is a candidate for socialization. And an emotion—or, indeed, anything that impinges upon the consciousness—is not a drive; it is the conditioned superstructure erected upon a drive.[1] The logical conclusion would seem to be that if we are to identify the sex drive we must seek it below the level of emotion, regarding all sexual emotions and acts as partial, conditioned results of the operation of the drive within the social animal.

The Criteria of a True Drive

Considering the highly emotional nature of sexual activities, we are left with considerable problems. Perhaps an important criticism of current definitions of the sex drive may help us here. It has been pointed out that two essential criteria of a true drive are that it be universally present and that it be necessary for existence, and critics have remarked on the obvious fact that some individuals apparently do not possess a sex drive and that, whether they possess it or not, some men and women are able, because of conviction or necessity, to do without its satisfaction without important harm to themselves.

Let us then postulate the broadest possible definition of the sex drive and see whether any observable manifestations of it satisfy the conditions of universality and necessity. Let us assume that, within the human (and animal) psyche, there is *a fundamental impulse away from the solitary state.* Interestingly enough, one of the most important developments of experimental psychology has been the identification of precisely such an impulse or drive, in the demonstrated necessity of close physical con-

[1] I am here using a definition of emotion best phrased by James (1894, cited by Wenger, Jones, and Jones, 1956): Emotion is the "perception of the exciting fact." This definition, of course, runs afoul of many schools of psychological thought and their favorite definitions. But the whole trend, mentioned above and a central point in this article, to assign an increasingly important role to social conditioning and to break down drives, instincts, etc., into simpler and broader units of the dynamic aspect of the organism, necessitates an *ad hoc* approach to most definitions at this level.

Apropos of the last point, I should, perhaps, add that in this article I am accepting Hartley and Hartley's formulation, that there are physical states "variously called drives, motives and needs—physical states of imbalance within the organism which impel it to activity" (1952, p. 234) and am placing that statement in the context of Brown's work.

It is obvious that this lack of differentiation between drive, motive, and need will be regarded by some as impossibly crude, and that, when we know more about the biological nature of drives, we will be able to erect a conceptual superstructure upon them. But one cannot build a superstructure until the floors stay still, and as yet they have not done so.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tact and "mothering" or Tender Loving Care for the young of both man and animal. Unless the baby, kitten, infant rat, or similar experimental subject is given the benefit of close and loving physical comfort by a mother or mother surrogate (which does not even have to be animate, so long as there is a tactile similarity between it and the animate), the infant will suffer developmentally, in extreme cases going into that progressive and fatal lassitude and "withering away" which we know as the "marasmus" of the pediatric textbooks.[2]

It is probable that here we do have something that either is or very closely resembles a "pure" expression of a drive. And although it satisfies the broad general definition we have suggested—it is a fundamental impulse away from the solitary state—it is obviously rather far removed from the emotions of a Romeo or Juliet. But an essential part of our hypothesis is that the sex drive lies below the level of any conscious emotion, and we can expect different manifestations of it to be emotionally dissimilar.

We have, then, the high probability that at an early age, when he is experimentally manipulatable, man (and his cousins the animals) requires close, loving, tactile communication with his fellows. And it is a legitimate assumption—although it certainly has not yet been scientifically proved—that this need continues throughout life. Conditioned by appropriate social mores, psychology, and biological equipment, this need may be "perceived" as mother love, romantic love, lust, "love of mankind," and a whole continuum of other emotions. To a certain extent, but not completely, it can be satisfied on a symbolic level, and one form of expression can be transformed into another with varied degrees of freedom.[3]

The Rhythm of Conjunction

What we have in effect hypothesized is that the organism—of whatever degree of complexity and level of evolution—has in addition to the rhythm of metabolism what we may call the rhythm of conjunction. It is for the biologists to tell us whether the word "whatever" in the preceding sentence is correct; possibly a certain level of organization (and power of locomotion) is required. But certainly, if we use the term "conjunction" with sufficient breadth, it is an observable requirement of animal life. And being organic it is, by definition, a physical thing. Certain expressions of this rhythmic drive may be satisfied symbolically in the man, but sooner or later he is strongly driven to touch. In addition, it would seem apparent that orgasmic touch—coitus—is only one form of that rhythm; that before coitus is physically possible and after it has ceased to be desired, physical communion with the Other is perhaps a necessity for—certainly highly conducive to—emotional (and perhaps physical) health.

This physical communion is apparently centered around a tension state that is definitely lower than that of the climb toward orgasm. A truer satisfaction of the essential tendency expressed by this drive would seem to be provided by that emotion identified as *Agape*, "compassion," "tender loving care," and so on. This, of course, in no way implies an assumption that any of the varieties of sexual expression found in present or past societies are distortions of what we should now call the "sex" drive; it merely denies that the central biological urge that motivates human relationships is necessarily sexual in its character (as we use

[2] These experimental results have, of course, been questioned, as any work with important implications should be. The biologic nature, the degree of "essentiality," and the quantitative aspects of these findings are still unsettled. But they have been reported by enough workers, on a sufficient number and variety of experimental subjects, and under a sufficient variety of experimental conditions, for there to be little doubt that—in the broad terms used in this article—*something* is there.

[3] It should be noted that this continuum of emotions extends beyond the range of accepted meanings of the word "love." The "need for love" (usually the "need *to be* loved") in present-day society is, without a doubt, symptomatic of the ills of our society and its members, and its individual manifestations are frequently neurotic. We must not assume that neurotic manifestations of a particular perception of a drive invalidate the concept of the drive.

One way of expressing our postulate (which may be useful in helping readers to avoid bringing in that much-abused and ambiguous term, "love") is to say that we assume the "gregariousness drive" of the theoreticians to be a socially conditioned manifestation of the same "rhythm of conjunction." What is gregariousness among young men today was a very different thing in, for example, ancient Sparta. Or, to put it another way, the "impulse away from the solitary state" does not refer to bachelordom. It refers to the asocial—the *solitary*—state in all its aspects.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the word *sex*) or coital in its technique. We may guess that the "closest" physical contact is orificial and that an evolutionary development attached the tension-release mechanism of orgasm to those orifices concerned with fertilization in approximately the same way that flowers developed color and scent. It is a natural climax to certain types of animal and human contact but demonstrably not the essence of all contacts.

Some Implications

It is perfectly obvious that we are in the realm of the purely speculative. But it is interesting to note how these speculations interact with many of our current problems and interests. Our dissatisfied preoccupation with coital sex as the sole culturally encouraged expression of intimate physical contact between adults; our oft-repeated expression of the need for more "love" in our relationships and the rather obvious difficulty of giving that love a socially acceptable local habitation and a form; the increasing realization that the tension associated with heterosexual (and homosexual) intimacies is in some obscure way a violation of the essence of the relationship—these and many more of our psychological, philosophical, and ethico-moral problems would seem to relate to the problem of the nature of the sex drive.

It is evident that in this sketch of the problem and suggestion of a hypothesis no firm conclusions have been drawn, except perhaps that the subject merits further investigation. Nor are these thoughts on the inadequacy of demographic research as a defining tool meant to cast reflection on the real value of that work. Among the questions that man is asking of the behavioral scientists, that of the actual forms of his interpersonal practices is a real and important one. But he is also asking other and deeper questions about his relations with his fellows, and these cannot be answered by a statistical abstract of his current sexual behaviors.

References

Ashley, Montagu, M. F., *The Direction of Human Development.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.

Barrett, W., *Irrational Man.* New York: Doubleday, 1958.

Brown, J. F., *Psychology and the Social Order.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

——, "Individual, Group, and Social Field." *American Journal of Sociology 44;* 858-867, 1939.

Halmos, P., *Solitude and Privacy.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952.

Hartley, E. L., and Hartley, R. E., *Fundamentals of Social Psychology.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952.

Himelhoch, J., and Fava, Sylvia F., *Sexual Behavior in American Society.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955.

James, W., *Psychological Reviews 1;* 516-529, 1894 (cited in Wenger, Jones, and Jones).

Lewin, K., *Principles of Topological Psychology.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

May, R., Angel, E., and Ellenberger, H. F. (eds.), *Existence: A New Dimension in Psychiatry and Psychology.* New York: Basic Books, 1958.

Von Urban, R., *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness.* New York: Dial Press, 1949.

Watts, A. W., *Nature, Man and Woman.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1958.

Wenger, M. A., Jones, F. N., and Jones, M. H., *Physiological Psychology.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1956.

BRIAN M. HEALD

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Divorce

DIVORCE is the legal termination of a marriage. It is merely the formal recognition of a severed marital relationship. As such it may have little if anything to do with the actual relationship between the man and woman involved. In most cases—reported to be about two-thirds in one study of young divorced mothers—the "real," that is the sociological and psychological, severance of the relationship has occurred at least six months before the divorce decree is handed down. The divorce itself is usually anticlimactic and of relatively little significance, since the important psychological and sociological effects have begun at the point of separation rather than at divorce. Participants and observers often comment on the "unreality" of the legal proceedings. Friends may not even know the exact time when the divorce has been granted since they, too, recognize that the new status for the marital partners began long before the decree.

Divorces may be absolute or limited. Limited divorce is the same as legal separation: the spouses may not remarry. Sometimes divorces are not final until after a period of time. In all cases, however, the marital relationship as a functioning unit has been legally severed.

Divorce is only one way of dealing with marital unhappiness. It is not necessarily even the most common one. On the basis of a study of Chicago in the 1920's it was estimated that separated but nondivorced persons were at least as numerous as divorced persons and might have been twice as numerous. Analysis of 1940 census data showed the number of separated couples to be 5.4 per cent of the number of married couples living together, a ratio of 1 to 18 or 19. In 1955 the number of men separated or not living with wives was 1,155,000, as compared with 990,000 who were divorced; for women the figure was 2,343,000 and 1,366,000, respectively. In addition to separation as a substitute for divorce are such escapes as: engrossment in work, in sports, in fashion, in social life, in community activities, in travel, in hobbies, in alcohol, in extramarital relationships, or in children.

"Causes" of Divorce

The legal "causes" of divorce give little insight into the true situation; they reflect, rather, the mores of the time. In the period 1887-1906, the "causes" of divorce in the United States were: cruelty, 40.8 per cent, desertion, 29.6 per cent, and adultery, 16.3 per cent. In 1929, these figures were, respectively: 21.8 per cent, 38.9 per cent, and 16.3 per cent. In 1932 it was estimated that only about one-third of all divorces were granted on grounds recognized by law (20 per cent for adultery, 8 per cent for long-time desertion, 2 per cent for drunkenness, and 3 per cent for minor grounds); the remaining divorces were really divorces for incompatibility by mutual consent.

As yet, however, open recognition of incompatibility as grounds for divorce exists only in New Mexico (since 1933) and Alaska (since 1935). Increasingly, divorce is granted on the grounds of voluntary separation of, say, three to five years; this is, in effect, divorce by mutual consent: the couple divorce themselves and then ask the court to ratify their new status. It has been predicted that if this trend continues, all other grounds of divorce may become mere relics.

In most jurisdictions the theory that there must be a contest is still held: One party must enter court with clean hands; the other must be proved guilty of some offense. If there is any

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

agreement on the part of both parties that they want a divorce, they are guilty of collusion. If collusion can be proved, the divorce will not be granted.

There is a strong feeling among professional personnel connected with divorce that these legal assumptions should be reconsidered. For the sake not only of the parties themselves but also of the children, the feeling is that the emphasis should not be on the conflict aspect, in which each party vies with the other in reviling the mate, but rather on the constructive aspects. The concept of the so-called therapeutic divorce is therefore gaining ground. In some jurisdictions—notably Los Angeles, New Jersey, and Ohio—marital counseling is either recommended or mandatory for all couples applying for divorce, although counseling at this stage comes too late for most couples.

The "causes" of divorce may be said to exist in most, although not necessarily in all, marriages. One psychiatrist concluded that "the sources of marital discord are ubiquitous." Situations and conditions and behavior, which at least some courts would consider legal grounds for divorce, occur in a large proportion of marriages: Kinsey found that about half of all married men in his study had engaged in adultery; the kind of behavior that at least some courts would define as cruelty occurs from time to time in many marriages; drinking is a problem in an indeterminately large number of families. In fact, it could be said that "causes" of divorce are almost inevitably a part of the intense relationship of marriage. The enormous upsurge in the divorce rate in Moscow, which quadrupled when liberal laws were passed in 1926 sweeping away institutional props supporting marriage, suggests that "causes" are fairly widespread. Yet, despite the widespread incidence of "causes" or grounds that at least some courts will accept as justifying divorce, most couples do not make use of them. They do not apply for divorce. They select some other way to deal with their difficulties.

Factors Involved in a Decision for Divorce

Whether people will select divorce rather than some other way of dealing with marital unhappiness depends on a number of factors, namely: (1) cultural provisions, (2) social milieu, and (3) personality orientation.

Cultural Provisions

Where there are no legal or customary provisions for divorce, where there are no provisions in the social structure for a divorced person, it is obvious that divorce will not occur. Catholic cultures, for example, accept the doctrine that marriage is a sacrament and hence also the doctrine stated by the Council of Trent in 1563 that marriage is indissoluble for any reason. Functional alternatives to divorce will, to be sure, emerge in such cultures, such as the practice of annulment. In cultures that define marriage as a civil contract rather than a religious sacrament, provision will be made for divorce, although these provisions may be extremely stringent. And even when civil authorities are ready to liberalize divorce, cultural resistance may delay actual implementation for many years. (It was twenty-five years, in fact, from the time in 1912 when a Royal Commission in England recommended that five grounds for divorce, in addition to adultery, be recognized; it was not until 1937 that Parliament extended grounds to include desertion, cruelty, and insanity.)

But legal provisions constitute only one phase of the cultural milieu. In the United States, for example, omitting extremely liberal states (Nevada, Idaho, Arkansas) and illiberal states (New York, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Louisiana), and omitting the four states with more than one-third Catholic population, an analysis in 1932 found that in the remaining 37 states, where the law was essentially the same and the population predominantly Protestant, great variations in the divorce rate still occurred. Folsom (1943) concluded that whether or not divorce will be resorted to "depends very much upon cultural values which cut across economic, class and religious lines."

If the mores are punitive divorce will not readily be sought. Even if divorce is not punished by social sanctions, it can still be discouraged if no provision is made for the divorced person in the social structure, if living conditions are difficult, if jobs are unavailable, if discrimination is practiced, or if social life is truncated. In the United States cultural forces

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mitigating against divorce have been receding. Mores have changed. In a large urban community in the 1940's it was found that 70 per cent of a sample of divorced mothers reported no social discrimination because of their divorce. But there still remains a cultural lacuna in that there are few clearly defined institutional guides to postdivorce behavior. As contrasted with bereavement, for example, divorce still results in a socially ambiguous status. Divorced persons can be treated neither as single nor as married and the exact role patterns for the divorced status have not yet been fully institutionalized.

Social Milieu

Even within the same general culture, however, not everyone resorts to divorce as a way of dealing with marital unhappiness. Even if cultural provisions for divorce are adequate, divorce is not likely to be resorted to if the social structure is antipathetic. It has been found that divorce tends to "run in families." If a person's parents have been divorced the chances that his own marriage will also end in divorce are increased. Indeed, it has also been found that a person's chances for divorce increase if his friends or associates have been divorced. There seems to be, in brief, a strong group component in susceptibility to divorce.

This social component reveals itself statistically in a lower incidence of divorce among persons with high degrees of education. At mid-century, for example, the rate of divorce per 1,000 women was 3.4 for those with four or more years of college education, as contrasted with a rate of 4.9 for those with only one to three years of high school. The divorce rate of the college-educated segment of the population tends to be low.

The social component in divorce reveals itself also in the fact that people in certain occupations are relatively vulnerable to divorce. Persons in professional, semiprofessional, proprietary, and managerial occupations tend to have low "divorce-proneness"; service workers tend to have extremely high rates. Among professionals, physicians have a high rate; clergymen, a low one. People exposed by occupations to numerous and unrestricted contacts with members of the other sex tend to be vulnerable.

The social component is seen also in the fact that marriages that end in divorce are less likely to have produced children. Where there are children in divorced families, there are likely to be fewer than in intact families.

Personality Orientation

Even when the cultural and social determinants of a decision to resort to divorce have been invoked, there still remains a personal component in this decision. There are two models of this personal component: one may be called the "divorce-won't-help" model and the other the rational model.

The "divorce-won't-help" school implies that seeking divorce is itself a neurotic symptom and that nothing but psychoanalytic reorientation will solve the problem. Divorce and remarriage will only mean playing the same old tune over on a new instrument. The difficulty resides in the neurotic personality, not in the marital situation. Evidence to support this position can, to be sure, be supplied. It is true that if one analyzes the population of divorced persons at any given time, a disproportionate amount of emotional pathologies is found. Thus, the death rate, the suicide rate, and the illness rate are all higher among divorced persons than they are among either the widowed or the married. That some of this is due to the traumas of separation can be concluded from the fact that widowed persons also show higher rates than married persons. But that some of it is due to the "selection" of certain types of people into the divorced population is also shown by the fact that divorced persons show higher rates than widowed, despite a generally younger average age. Further evidence to support the personal-pathology school of divorce is the fact that the divorce rate among remarried divorced persons is higher than that of first marriages; and the more marriages the higher the divorce rate.

But there is also evidence to support the theory of rational divorce. Of the divorced persons who remarry and remain remarried, a very large proportion are reported as having marriages of at least average success. These persons were unsuccessful in one mating but successful in a later one. Divorce is a rational, nonneurotic course if a marriage is destroying one or both

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

partners; if it is creating a destructive environment for children; if it is impeding the functioning of any of the family in their nonfamilial roles.

Conversely, the decision to reject divorce as a way of dealing with marital problems might be quite abnormal, even pathological. Some women, for example, cling to abusive or alcoholic husbands even when their very lives are endangered thereby; or husbands may reject divorce even when their wives flaunt their contempt and destructive hostility. And people may decide to remain married despite serious maladjustments for quite rational considerations; if the social costs in the form of ostracism or sanctions or loss of position are extremely high, a man or woman might elect to remain in an unsatisfactory union rather than pay the costs of divorce. This would be judged a rational decision by most persons.

In brief, neither remaining married nor seeking divorce can be viewed as always a neurotic or as always a rational course of action. Either course may be selected on rational or neurotic grounds.

Sociological and Psychological Divorce

The sociological and psychological divorce, as distinguished from its legal validation, is a process that takes a varying amount of time. Some couples know soon after marriage that the relationship cannot endure; others come to this realization only slowly after years of effort and desperation. Sometimes one mate sees the inevitability of divorce long before the other; sometimes the divorce even comes as a surprise to one of the partners. It is quite possible that a marriage may have been successful over a period of years and yet end in divorce, since no relationship is static in nature. Indeed, there is some evidence that reported success in marriage does vary with duration, showing a critical phase in the middle years.

The average duration of American marriages that ended in divorce in 1953 was 6.1 years. In one study of young divorced mothers in an urban community, the elapsed time between first serious consideration of the idea of divorce and the final decision actually to go ahead and seek divorce averaged 4.6 months. It took that long, on the average, for these women to crystallize their decision. We may picture this as a time of great uncertainty and conflict. Should she really go ahead with it? Is this situation partly her fault? Has she brought this unhappy condition upon herself? Is she really worse off than other women? We may conceive this phase as one in which she is torn between conflicting goals, in which she has to weigh alternative values and decide which will yield the higher returns. The situation may be complicated by the fact that she must put up a front to family and friends in case she decides not to seek the divorce. She tries to keep the breach private. For those who reject the idea of divorce, some other alternative is worked out. But for those who finally decide to seek divorce, a period lasting, on the average, some 3.2 months follows in which, presumably, some kind of preparation is made. By now the woman is willing to let the outside world know that the marriage is failing.

These two periods—4.6 months (between first serious consideration and final decision) and 3.2 months (between final decision and actual filing)—cannot, for statistical reasons, be added together to arrive at the total elapsed time from first serious consideration to filing of suit. This time, between first serious consideration and filing of suit, averaged exactly one year for the sample as a whole. The average interval between filing of suit and handing down of decree was 8.3 months. The total time from first serious consideration to final decree averaged two years (23.8 months).

The relative rapidity with which women passed through these phases varied. In marriages in which either the husband or the wife, or both, came from a rural background the elapsed time between first serious consideration of divorce and actual filing was considerably longer than it was in marriages in which the partners were city-bred or from small towns; almost twice as long, in fact, where the wife was from a rural background.

The longer the duration of the marriage, the longer the process of reaching and implementing the decision to file for divorce after the idea was given serious consideration. This was true regardless of the age of the women. For women

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

aged 35 or over who had been married fifteen or more years, it took almost two years after first serious consideration of divorce before suit was actually filed; for women of this age who had been married less than fifteen years, the time was only about half this long. Similar differences were found for younger women also. The more durable the marriage, in brief, as measured in the number of years it has survived, the longer it takes to break it up.

The period between first consideration of divorce and final suit was shorter in the cases (one-fourth) in which the husband was the one who first suggested it (5.4 months) than in the three-fifths of the cases in which the wife was the first (12.9 months) or in the 13 per cent of the cases in which it was a mutual suggestion (18.5 months). The implication is that when the husband suggests the divorce, the final suit is likely to occur with relatively greater speed.

Although it is usually the wife who files suit for divorce, it is reported that the husband is more likely to be the first to desire the divorce. Wives, according to this theory, are manipulated into a position in which they suggest and proceed to divorce by what is called the "strategy of divorce." The husband can, within a pattern of behavior that is acceptable by the outside world, be so obnoxious to his wife that in desperation she seeks relief. Conversely, however, a wife can, without the outside world's knowing about it, also make the husband so miserable by sexual refusal that he becomes reconciled to divorce.

Emotional traumas occur at all stages of the divorcing process. The "curve of trouble," using Goode's (1956) expression, which is already high by the time of the final decision, reaches its maximum at the time of final separation; thereafter it declines so that by the time of the final decree only a small proportion of divorced women reported traumas. A surprisingly large proportion—some 37 per cent, in fact—reported very little incidence of traumas.

The sex life of the divorced woman is complicated by her anomalous position. Since she is experienced, it is sometimes assumed by men that she is approachable. This is true in some instances; Kinsey reports that some women welcome the opportunity to secure a wider variety of sexual experience after divorce. But many do not miss heterosexual contacts; they are content with masturbation or homosexual contacts. Others report missing sociosexual contacts. The median frequencies of sexual outlet are greater for separated, divorced, and widowed women (between 0.4 and 0.9 per week) than for single women (0.3 to 0.5 per week) but less than for still-married women. Most of these result from heterosexual contacts, but the proportion declines with age. Men who are divorced, separated, or widowed continue to have almost as active a sex life as when they were married, and 80 per cent of their postmarital activity is heterosexual in nature.

Although divorces are less common when there are children, still at least a third of a million children are involved in divorce each year. The evil effects of divorce on children have received a great deal of attention. There is evidence, however, that adolescent children in homes in which there is conflict are less well adjusted than are children in homes in which there has been a divorce. One study in St. Paul found that removing the father from the home was often the best way of salvaging the rest of the family.

Most divorced persons, especially the younger ones, remarry. And a large proportion of these remarriages are reported by informants who know them well to be of at least average success.

Summary

The divorce rate in the United States has shown a long-time upward trend, reaching an all-time high in 1946 (17.8 per thousand females). Since that time it has declined and leveled off (9 and 10 per thousand in 1954 and 1955. One marriage in four entered into would end in divorce as of 1955.

It is clear that the future trend cannot be predicted with complete accuracy. But from what we know about divorce in the past the rate may be expected to decline, although it will probably never be as low as it was in the nineteenth or first quarter of the twentieth centuries. The conditions that make divorce a feasible way of dealing with marital difficulties will continue. But increasing numbers of men

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

and women are achieving high-school and even college education and this variable is associated with a low divorce rate. A growing body of research has alerted us to the nature and hazards of modern marriage, and ways of meeting them are in process of developing. The profession of marriage counseling is growing so that its services should be increasingly available to couples needing help. Courses in high schools and colleges are available to prepare young people for marriage, and churches are developing similar programs for those beyond school age.

Even though divorce will continue, the chances are that its traumatic effects will be mollified by institutional structures. It will probably never be possible to eliminate the hurt, the grief, the disillusionment, the self-doubt, the humiliation that accompany any failure in human relations. But a therapeutic approach will minimize them and will use them for rebuilding more successfully.

References

Bergler, Edmund, *Divorce Won't Help.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Bernard, Jessie, *Remarriage, A Study of Marriage.* New York: The Dryden Press, 1956.

Cahen, Alfred, *Statistical Analysis of American Divorce.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

Davis, Kingsley, "Divorce Downswing," New York *Times* Magazine, May 8, 1955, p. 67.

Eisenstein, Victor W. (ed.), *Neurotic Interaction in Marriage.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956.

Folsom, Joseph Kirk, *The Family and Democratic Society.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943.

Geismar, L. L., and Ayres, Beverly, *Families in Trouble.* St. Paul: Greater St. Paul Community Chest and Councils, Inc., 1958.

Glick, Paul C., *American Families, A Demographic Analysis of Census Data on American Families at Mid-Century.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957.

Goode, William J., *After Divorce.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956.

Jacobson, Paul, *American Marriage and Divorce.* New York: Rinehart, 1959.

Johnson, Roswell H., "Suppressed, Delayed, Damaging and Avoided Divorces." *Law & Contemp. Prob. 18;* 72-97, 1953.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Lichtenberger, James P., *Divorce, a Social Interpretation.* New York: Whittlesey House, 1931.

JESSIE BERNARD



CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Education in Sex

Definition

FOR clarity of discussion, several arbitrary distinctions will be made at the outset. First, we shall differentiate between "sex education" and "sexual conditioning." The latter term will be employed as the general one to refer to all acquisitions (by whatever method) of covert or overt patterns of sexual behavior. Whenever the individual learns a form of sexual functioning or develops an attitude toward such functioning, he is being sexually conditioned. When such learning is part of an organized program designed to instruct the individual regarding sex attitudes or actions, the term "sex education" is applied. Sex education, then, is a special, organized form of sexual conditioning and is the major concern of this article. Since educational efforts are greatly affected by the other forms of sexual conditioning to which members of a society are subjected, however, we shall have need from time to time to refer to the more generic learning process.

Another type of distinction that is applicable to both sex education and to sexual conditioning is the difference between information-dispensing and attitude-affecting. It is possible, for example, that a child will arrive at the age of 10 in one of our modern societies without having acquired much, if any, specific information on sex of the type often presented in sex education courses: the approved names of the genital organs, the nature and method of conception, the process of gestation, and the way the fetus is nourished in the uterus. It is even possible for a very protected and isolated child to have acquired no unapproved information or misinformation along such lines. It is utterly impossible, however, that the child will not have had his attitudes toward sex affected in one way or another: by silence, by indications of embarrassment regarding nudity or some bodily functions, by the exchange of knowing looks during certain sex-approaching trends in conversations, by lack of emotional freedom between males and females in his environment, and by countless other attitude-affecting interactions. This is true even if no specific sex information as such has been communicated to the child. Information-dispensing and attitude-affecting are generally not rigidly separated in either sexual conditioning or in official sex education offerings. In the latter, the assumption has often been made (without any scientific support) that "wholesome" sex attitudes will somehow automatically arise in individuals who are exposed to a certain amount of information about reproduction.

A final differentiation, based in part on the distinction we have just discussed, is a form of reconstructive learning. Since much sexual conditioning of the attitude-affecting type has taken place in the individual prior to his exposure to any program of sex education, and since (as we shall discuss later) much of the sexual conditioning in our society (and in most others) is not reality-oriented, a special type of sex education is required to reach rational and realistic sex goals (which we shall also treat below). This special type of sex education, quite in contrast with the information-dispensing programs generally developed, is designed to make possible the changing of basic attitudes, the reconstruction of the individual's fundamental beliefs, feelings, and actions. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

order to avoid confusion, we shall refer to this reconstructive learning process by a separate term: "sex therapy."

History

Most efforts at sex education date back no more than four decades. In fact, in most Euro-American civilizations, even informal sexual conditioning was frowned upon by "respectable people" and took place behind the thick shroud of Victorianism. Gradually, however, as social changes attendant upon industrialization, urbanization, democratization (including the partial emancipation of women), and secularization penetrated the Victorian veil, many problems of interpersonal relations, including those of sex, reached the awareness of a minority of citizens in most Western societies. Beginning with the much advertised (although unvalidated) sexual freedom of the "flaming youth" of the 1920's, a few educators, ministers, YMCA and YWCA personnel, and others began to point to the need for youth to have sex education.

What these initial proponents of sex education (and most of their successors) had in mind was to instruct young people so as to bring their sexual behavior in line with the mores of the societies to which they belonged. Stated differently, post-Victorian sex education has been mainly directed toward the re-establishment and reinforcement of Victorian-type sex attitudes. In the United States, at least, alleged befrienders of sex education (which, as we shall note below, has been euphemized and often rendered unidentifiable in "family-life education") have often been at the forefront of efforts to prevent the free dissemination of the best available information on how people actually behave sexually (notably, the Kinsey reports) and the frank and realistic consideration of desirable ways for people to behave sexually.

Goals

Although the desirability of some kind of sex education (in euphemistic terms) has become a generalization to which many have subscribed, an objective evaluation of goals toward which such education should be directed is yet to be effected. So long as discussions of such matters move at a high level of abstraction, peace reigns among parents, educators, and other concerned citizens. All will agree, for example, that a goal of sex education is the instilling of "wholesome" attitudes toward sex. It is also frequently stated that children should be led to understand the "spiritual" as well as the crass biological functions of sex. If, in such discussions among chronological adults, someone rises to question what is meant by "wholesomeness" in sex attitudes and "spirituality" in sex functioning, he is dismissed as a troublemaker.

It seems quite clear to seasoned observers that people in most, if not all, of our Western societies do not want to discuss specific goals of sex education because they know that such discussion will lead to the radical alteration of our sex mores. Many citizens may not be fully aware of the motives for their reluctance, but resistance to the change of customs, especially those that are morally and religiously sanctified, nevertheless underlies this reluctance. Even though sufficient facts are readily available to indicate that a great number of children, adolescents, and adults do not really behave in accordance with official moral precepts regarding sex, most people do not want to face these facts. Perhaps we can say it is mainly *because* it is now widely known that our sex codes do not realistically relate to our sexual behavior that many individuals are *afraid* to examine specific goals for sex education.

We cannot here outline what we would consider to be realistic goals for sex education, for they and the methods designed for their realization would consume many times our allotted space. Certain preliminary fundamentals that need to be faced prior to the development of specific objectives for sex education may be briefly mentioned: (1) Western societies, among others, are in a state of serious and severe confusion on the subject of sex, with beliefs and practices in great incongruence. (2) The major cultural heritage of attitudes about sex is still persistently puritanical, with its twin by-products of the pornographic and the phoney glamorous (the allegedly "spiritual," desexedly romantic). (3) Facts (1) and (2), operating side by side, have produced a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

truly schizoid cultural condition. For example, the official position of our society is still, puritanically, that masturbation, petting, and premarital coitus are morally wrong—a position generally incorporated unchanged and unchallenged in most courses on sex education. Yet it is widely known that masturbation and petting are almost universal practices among our youth and that premarital coitus is undertaken by a probable majority. (4) To teach as "right" a sex morality that does not function adequately for most people (and to be able to offer no rational support for the morality—simply the irrational contention that "right is right, no matter what people may do or say") increasingly undermines the potentialities for a warm, loving relationship between males and females.

We may summarize by stating that a foremost preliminary goal for sex education is facing the fact, and honestly communicating this fact to our children and adolescents, that we are greatly confused about sexual morality and are now prepared to try to work out rational and realistic goals for sex education by admitting our lack of these goals. Until this is done, sex education will be vapidly impotent at best and destructively schizoid at its increasing worst.

A courageous admission of our current uncertainties and confusions about sex would soon permit us to find the kinds of rational and realistic goals toward which we want to move in sex education, and data from psychological, psychiatric, biological, and ethnological studies make evident the desirability of marked departures from Victorian or puritanical goals.

The trend will be toward a society in which parents and other adults will be eager to guide their children toward full appreciation of sex and the wise enjoyment of it in and out of marriage. They will help young people to achieve a degree of sexual freedom almost undreamed of by anyone in our present societies. Such adults will realize that this greater sexual freedom and appreciation will in turn release warmth and affection in other types of interpersonal relations.

Goals like these, only much more specific and with concrete educational steps toward their fulfillment, will begin to appear once we honestly face our present sexual confusions and resolve to do something about them. It is because such goals are sensed and feared by vested moral interests in our societies that the consideration of a reality-oriented sex education program is so bitterly fought.

European and Asiatic Countries

Of all the countries that have made some effort to educate their people in sexual matters, Sweden seems to have done the most outstanding job of effectively reaching large portions of its people with realistic information about reproduction and contraception, as well as the emotional and social aspects of sex. The Swedish government has made sex education in the schools compulsory. It is not merely education in reproduction, and it is not diluted and concealed as "family-life education."

The Swedish culture probably takes the least moralistic attitude toward premarital sex relations of any of the Euro-American civilizations. This offers some indirect substantiation for our premise that a more realistic recognition of existing sexual behavior is a necessary preliminary to the development of a reality-oriented sex education.

England has undertaken no sex education program as such, but it provides a considerable amount of not overly moralistic sex instruction through the premarital and marital counseling of the National Marriage Guidance Council. Although local groups sponsored by the Council depend upon voluntary enrollment, the percentage of people reached is much greater than by any counseling program offered in the United States.

One important recent liberalizing educational effort in England was the Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution under the chairmanship of Sir John Wolfenden. This report has not only directed the attention of many English citizens to various realities long ignored on the specific topics of homosexuality and prostitution, but has also apparently aroused thoughtful and spirited discussion and efforts at further investigations about many other long-buried facts of contemporary sexual relationships.

Education regarding contraception has de-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

veloped in many European and Asiatic countries. Although the urgent importance of population control demands increasing emphasis on this phase of sex education in *all* countries, there is little evidence of effective educational treatment of the emotional and social aspects of sex indirectly deriving from birth control activities. Some interest in a broader program of sex education, however, is discernible in some of the nations (notably Belgium, the Netherlands, India, and Japan) where population control has begun to take strong root.

Reliable information about what is taking place in the way of official or unofficial sex education in Communist countries is difficult to obtain. In general, however, there seems to be a more accepting and realistic attitude toward sexual functioning, but little effort to focus public attention on the development of rational sex values.

United States

Sex education in the United States today has little separate existence. It has been absorbed and largely emasculated by family-life education. It has been generally decided that sex education can be handled by teachers, parents, administrators, and (allegedly) students more effectively by treating it along with other topics related to marriage and family living. In any case, a frank and honest facing of the intimate, practical problems of the sexual aspects of life is rare to the point of nonexistence in American classrooms, from elementary school through college.

As is traditionally the case with American education in its treatment of controversial issues, there is a tendency in this area for school officials and teachers to adjust to the most strongly propagandized and power-centered point of view in the community. American education seems to lack leadership around which liberal and enlightened public attitudes toward sex could begin to form. No support is forthcoming (except in exceedingly rare instances, such as Indiana University, where officials have consistently provided financial and other support for the research activities of the late Alfred C. Kinsey and associates) for educators to examine existing cultural confusions, hypocrisies, prejudices, and myths about the role of sex in human relationships—let alone communicate the fruits of such examinations to their students.

As a result, the only kind of sex education found in American schools and colleges consists almost entirely of a pedantic treatment of the anatomical and physiological aspects of sex, a rehash of the conventional morality, and a quick movement onward to emotionally safer topics, such as budgets and in-laws. This form of sex education is predominantly available in the colleges. A relatively small percentage of high schools provide an even more pallid variety of such education, but rare and progressive indeed is the elementary school that approaches sex even gingerly via the flora and lower orders of fauna.

Early Sexual Conditioning

Even if there should be a sudden birth of courage, wisdom, and realism regarding sex education in the public schools, there would be much destructive work to be undone before constructive work could in most instances begin. By this we mean to make clear that by the time the average child reaches the *first* grade of school, many of his basic attitudes toward sex have been negatively conditioned. It is not only too late to achieve much in the way of fundamental sex education with college and high-school students, it is very late indeed even with elementary-school children.

In a very real sense, the child's sexual conditioning, however realistic or unrealistic, began at birth (or before, in the sense of the pre-established attitudes of his parents), was fairly well fashioned in the first few years of his interactions with parents and siblings, and had its fundamental finishing touches in situations with his preschool playmates and in fortuitous encounters with adults other than his parents.

Whatever else we may wish to credit to Freud, he performed an important reality-facing service for Euro-American culture in calling reluctant scientific attention to the long-repressed fact that sexuality is an attribute of human beings from infancy onward. Sex-love feelings (response to warmth and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

enjoyment of being fed in their most rudimentary form) start no later in life than when the newborn baby is first held and fed. The practice that still exists in many hospitals of removing the baby from the vicinity of the mother for some time after birth may be considered one of the earliest negative contributions to the child's emotional development and sex-love responsiveness.

Even without such negative assistance from a hospital, many mothers seem unaware or indifferent to the fact that physical contact is essential for the young child's development of a sense of security, which is the basis for his later ability to love. It is still a common practice in our society to keep the baby clothed and isolated from all but the minimum tactile experience during feeding. The antisexual tradition goes so deep with some women that bodily contact with even their own infant is repugnant to them. Even for mothers who make an exception for the very young child, strong restrictive measures regarding the expression of affection are introduced soon after early infancy. In one way or another, antisexual attitudes of the parents are communicated to the child, reinforced by other associates who have been similarly made to feel fear and guilt and anxiety and shame regarding sex-love feelings, and delivered in a closely sealed and difficult-to-sexually-re-educate form at the school's door.

Sex Therapy

In our discussion of sexual conditioning we did not intend to convey the idea that nothing can be done about the sex education of the child. We strongly believe quite the contrary. But our observations indicate that *in many instances under present cultural conditions* there is not much hope of reaching children in a basic attitudinal way with any kind of sex education program other than one that is essentially *reconstructive psychotherapy*. By the time many children reach school age, anxiety has usurped emotional security, deep-seated guilt and hostility have displaced love, and sex attitudes have become tenacious, perverted dynamisms that cannot be altered by a casual, superficial sex education that is linked with "other interesting things to be learned about life."

In this connection it seems pertinent to note that even relatively liberal writers on the subject of sex education say it is advisable to weave in sex information and attitude formation with other aspects of life. The child in the classroom, they hold, should not have his attention called to sex any more than he has it called to arithmetic, history, or physical education. Such counsel overlooks the most significant reality that we have just noted: namely, the child already has a set of fundamental sex attitudes which, because they are reflective of a confused culture (most particularly confused on sex-love feelings), are bound to need some special remedial work. Remedial work cannot be accomplished in any subject, be it sex or reading, without centering attention on the subject. To try to teach the average child of our society sound sex attitudes in a casual way as a part of a synthesis of life realities would be somewhat comparable to trying to cure a chronic alcoholic by subjecting him to a course on interesting life activities without focusing his attention on problems related to habitual and excessive drinking. "Do not," the common counsel goes, "isolate sex as a subject with special problems. It should be treated as just one of many wonderful facts about life." Alas, as we have already pointed out, sex, in even the most favorable of home environments, has already been isolated, given special negative emphasis, and cast with a personalized problem atmosphere.

Individuals and groups vary, of course, in the quality and quantity of sex therapy they need to develop relatively sound sex attitudes. A growing number of psychologists and psychiatrists, as well as some nonpsychiatric physicians, such as gynecologists, have developed various successful remedial techniques with children, adolescents, and adults. Group psychotherapy has been particularly effective because it encourages people with essentially the same sex-love difficulties to gain encouragement and support in facing and doing something about these problems. Although some therapy groups have been successfully operated under auspices such as the YMCA and YWCA, Planned Parenthood centers, Social Hygiene

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

societies, and various church groups, they usually work most effectively under private sponsorship. There tends to be a "contamination" of a group by conventional sex attitudes as a result of any institutional sponsorship.

Contamination by the current mores is, of course, never completely overcome in the most advantageous of therapeutic circumstances. The leader, as well as the group members, is a product of his society. But if the leader has himself faced and worked through his interpersonal problems in psychotherapy (which is one of many standard requirements for conducting individual or group therapy), he is most likely to be in an emotional position to provide freedom and safety for the members of his group, or for the individual patient, to engage in the painful process of working through their attitudinal distortions. This, along with the special needs for remedial work in sexual beliefs and practices in the average product of our confused society, is another reason why we must think in terms of sex therapy and not merely of sex education.

Some may consider sex therapy a luxury for the limited few rather than any kind of solution to our general cultural need for sex education. Under present circumstances, only a relatively small percentage of people are reached by sex therapy, but the method is no luxury. Thus far, at least, we have developed no more effective, or less expensive, way to reconstruct sexual attitudes and practices to a point where the average individual can function in a happy, loving, outgoing manner.

Meantime, it is quite clear that none of the Western societies has reached the point where it will consider the problems of sex education in the terms of sex therapy. Even if the money and the popular support were suddenly available for such a program for a large portion of the population, personnel (generally trained in psychotherapy and specifically trained in sex therapy) to conduct the groups would be a long time forthcoming. But to speak glibly of sex education in other than reconstructive terms is fatuous. Sooner or later, if we are to make advancement as a civilization, we shall need to turn a great deal of our attention to a therapeutic form of sex education.

References

Baruch, Dorothy, *How to Live with Your Teen-ager.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953.

Chambre, A. C. F., *The Sexual Development of Your Child.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Comfort, Alex, *Sexual Behavior in Society.* New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1950.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Harper, Robert A., and Harper, Frances R., "Are Educators Afraid of Sex?" *Marr. & Fam. Living 19;* 240-244, 1957.

Joint Committee on Health Problems, *Sex Education* (series of five pamphlets). Washington and Chicago: National Education Association and American Medical Association, 1955.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Royal Board of Education in Sweden, *Handbook on Sex Instruction in Swedish Schools.* Stockholm: Royal Board of Education, 1956.

Stokes, Walter R., *Modern Pattern for Marriage.* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1947.

Stokes, Walter R., *A Pioneering Venture in the Sex Education of Children.* Unpublished manuscript, 1959.

ROBERT A. HARPER
FRANCES R. HARPER

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

English and American Sex Customs, Early

TO UNDERSTAND the sex customs of present-day America we must study the sex customs of early England and America. It is therefore the purpose of this article to examine some of the significant sex customs practiced during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation in England, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America.

The Nature of Human Sex Behavior

Human sex behavior, because it is learned, not innate, inborn, or inherited, can never be understood apart from the society that created it. In *all* societies there are rules and regulations governing sexual behavior and concerning the social roles of men and women. Some societies are more severe than others, but all, as Seward (1946) has noted, attempt to and do control sex behavior.

Since sex behavior is human behavior concerned with the social roles of men and women, it includes marital relations; extramarital relations, such as fornication, adultery, promiscuity, prostitution, and its consequences, venereal disease; noncoital sex relations, such as kissing, petting, and masturbation; sex relations involving pregnancy, and hence illegitimacy, birth control, abortion; attitudes toward nudity, sex organs, pornography, sexual intercourse, and sexual lust; sex crimes; incest; perversions; sex rites; sex education; and courtship and dating.

In dealing with the sex customs of early English and American societies, an attempt will be made to discuss most of the above aspects of sexual behavior. Throughout the entire article it should be made clear that in all human behavior there is often a discrepancy in what is the expected, the *ideal* behavior, and what is actually practiced, the *real* behavior. For example, sexual chastity of women prior to marriage is an ideal behavior pattern in most Western societies. However, as far as real sex behavior is concerned, premarital chastity is not maintained by all women. Furthermore, the trend seems to be toward increased premarital sex relations, especially among engaged couples. Human sex behavior, real and ideal, exhibits trends. In general, according to Reiss (1957), the trend is toward greater permissiveness in sex relations and away from exploitative, body-centered types of sex activity to more affectionate, person-centered relations.

In most Western societies throughout recorded history, masculine and feminine roles have been generally well defined and differentiated. That is, they have been very much the same for the majority of classes (particularly for the middle and lower socioeconomic groups): men have been the protectors and breadwinners, women the homemakers.

The significant fact, of course, accounting for the divergence of role expectations is that women bear and nurse the children. They spend up to nine months in a condition that sets certain limits on the kinds of behavior they might engage in, and they usually nurse the infant for varying periods of time with milk

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

created from their own breasts. Because pregnancy and nursing keep women close to the home, a number of domestic functions have become a part of the usual feminine role: child care, cooking, and housekeeping. The homemaker-mother role, it might be said, is the heart or core of the most common feminine role. One could infer that, because the pregnant woman and mother is somewhat handicapped during the period of pregnancy and lactation, the husband has been obliged by necessity to take over what has become the traditional role of the breadwinner and protector. Thus, if men, and not women, had babies, it could be inferred that these almost universal traditional roles would be reversed.

So-called masculine and feminine roles, therefore, depend upon how a particular society interprets the physical differences that exist between men and women. It is conceivable that some day, even in Western society, strong distinctions between traditional masculine and feminine roles will no longer exist. In fact, during recent times the distinctiveness of the roles has become less and less clear so that, in terms of roles, we might be said to be approaching a state of unisexuality—one in which very similar social roles exist for both sexes. Kirkpatrick (1955) presents some evidence that democracy is directly related to the equality of the sexes, whereas tyranny is directly related to the inequality of the sexes.

It will be seen later in this article that during a large part of recorded history women, especially at the middle and lower socioeconomic levels, have been regarded essentially as sexual property and menial servants, and have had a subordinate, second-class status.

Ideological Foundations of the Western Conception of Sex

Conceptions of sex held in Western society can be traced, for the most part, to the early Hebrew and Christian traditions. Among the early Hebrews there was a strong patriarchal pattern of authority in a generally monogamous form of marriage.

The key to the Hebrew attitudes toward sex, marriage, and the family can be found in the Hebrew male's idea of immortality and the biology of conception. In Mace's (1953) words: "It was through his sons that a man lived on, for through them his 'name' was continued, which to the Hebrew meant that his identity was preserved from extinction. The dying of a man's line was to be dreaded above everything else, for it was the quenching of the light of his immortality. Therefore at all costs he must secure sons to himself. If his wife did not give him children, he might resort to almost any expedient to remedy the situation. On this ground polygamy, concubinage, and divorce were excused if not actually commended; and it was on this foundation that the custom of the levirate rested." The high value that Hebrew men placed upon the virginity of the bride is also related to this idea of immortality. Thus, Mace (1953) states that: "To the man, his bride represented the soil in which his seed was to be planted, the means by which he could secure offspring which represented his immortality. It was therefore imperative that her sexuality should be his and his alone; any idea that he was securing 'second-hand goods' would be intolerable to him."

The Hebrews knew nothing about the part played by the ovum in conception. They believed that the male alone possessed the "seed" which, when placed or "planted" in the womb of a woman, became his child. The woman, they believed, gave nothing of herself to the child; she merely provided the "soil" in which the "seed" could grow and develop. So important was the continuance of the line, the man's immortality, that even incest was justifiable in order to preserve it, as in the case of Lot and his daughters.

Because the Hebrew husband had exclusive possession of his wife's sexuality, he could be sure that the sons she gave birth to were his. Adultery, which referred only to the sexual intercourse of a married woman with someone other than her husband, was a heinous crime because it put in jeopardy, in doubt, the immortality of her husband that was imperative to his peace of mind. For a man to die without rightful heirs to carry on his name was the greatest tragedy. In Mace's words again: "The unpardonable crime lies not in her defilement, but in the fact that she has shown that her integrity cannot be relied on. This makes her

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

useless to any man for the chief purpose required of a wife—namely, to give him offspring which are indisputably his own."

However, in marked contrast to the Christian tradition that followed it, the early Hebrews had a very positive, naturalistic attitude toward sexual intercourse between husband and wife, believing that sex was blessed of God and given by Him as a good thing to be enjoyed. And in spite of the fact that the Hebrew husband had exclusive possession of his wife's sexuality, he did not have such possession of her person. She was not his slave. In comradeship with her husband, she ranked as his equal. In her home the Hebrew wife was very much a queen rather than a chattel.

What changed the Hebrew's positive attitude toward sex in marriage? And what led to changes in the high status the Hebrew wife once enjoyed as companion, homemaker, and mother?

The early Christians were of low socioeconomic status and there was a determined effort to destroy them. They were extremely unpopular. They had great hostility for the upper classes and advocated opposite practices. There was a strong Manichaean dualism in their philosophy in which the "spirit" was pitted against the "flesh." Their low regard for sex, marriage, and the family was, in part, attributable to their belief in the Second Coming of Christ and their desire to prepare for the Day of Judgment. Thus, to quote Mace (1953) again, ". . . the early Church viewed sex as vile. It condemned not only fornication, adultery, pederasty, masturbation, and bestiality, but also contraception, abortion, reading of 'lascivious' books, singing 'wanton songs,' dancing 'suggestive' dances, bathing in mixed company, wearing 'improper' clothing, and attending the theater. A sterner code would be hard to envisage. Several of the Church Fathers, notably Origen, actually practiced self-mutilation, becoming eunuchs for the sake of their religion."

In the teachings of Paul, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas, the dualistic interpretation of sex won out over the Hebrew naturalistic interpretation. These men viewed virginity as the best state of all. None of them saw the really positive aspects of sex in marriage and they only grudgingly conceded that marriage, although it was a lower estate than celibacy, was still honorable. Cole (1955) indicated that the view that sex was evil, a view that persists today, thus had its origin in early Christianity, which rejected Hebrew naturalism with regard to sex in favor of an Oriental-Hellenistic dualism in which things of the "spirit" were regarded as higher than things of the "flesh."

As we shall see later in this article, the Christian dualistic interpretation of sex and the Hebrew idea of immortality combined to form a concept of sex that has persisted with little change throughout the history of England and America. Almost all the sex customs we shall consider can be traced to the above origins.

In summary, the early Hebrews left us with a naturalistic attitude toward sex, a double standard of sex morality, a view that married women were the sexual property of their husbands, an emphasis on the idea that immortality was achieved through the birth of sons whose biological relationship to the father was unquestioned, and great respect for women as companions, homemakers, and mothers. The early Christians, on the other hand, left us with a dualistic conception of sex, sex being regarded as a lower estate than virginity and celibacy, a view that sex was right only in marriage and primarily for procreation, that it was, at best, a necessary evil, and that women were the incarnation of sex and therefore the incarnation of sin.

Early English Sex Customs (*ca.* A.D. 450–1607)

Early Middle Ages, or Anglo-Saxon Period (*ca.* A.D. 450–1066)

In the early Middle Ages the sex mores, standards, and behavior of the English were largely controlled by what is known as Anglo-Saxon culture. In that culture everyone belonged to a localized kinship group (a sib) to which he was answerable and which in turn had much responsibility for him.

The purpose of marriage was to produce children who would continue and give strength to the sib. Men enjoyed patriarchal authority and its privileges; women were generally relegated to the status of menial servants. Extra-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

marital and premarital intercourse were forbidden but were nevertheless prevalent. Penalties for such behavior consisted, for the most part, of the offending person, usually the male, paying damages to the injured party or to the guardian or master of the injured party, usually the female. According to the law of King Canute (also spelled Cnut) who ruled from 1017–1035, if it became public that a wife had committed adultery she would have both her ears and nose cut off.

If this law seems harsh, then the customs prevailing during the early Anglo-Saxon period were even more harsh. Says Sanger (1913): "When a couple were detected in the commission of the offense, the woman was compelled to commit suicide, to avoid greater tortures awaiting her if she refused. Her body was then placed on a pile of brushwood and consumed. Nor did her partner in guilt escape punishment; he was usually put to death on the spot where her ashes lay collected." Fortunately, most of these earlier customs were abandoned a short time after the Anglo-Saxons had settled in England.

With the decrease in the penalties for adultery and premarital sex relations, prostitution became popular. Saint Augustine's mission to England in 596 did not help matters. By the ninth century prostitution seems to have been widespread throughout the country. During the reign of King Athelstan (925–940) it was held by some canonists that the clergy had a right to demand one-tenth of the profits earned by prostitutes. An early law that encouraged prostitution provided that if a man seduced the wife of another, he was compelled to procure for him another woman, whom he was to pay for admitting him to her bed. This practice reduced female chastity to a marketable commodity whose loss could be repaid by a small sum of money. Women were thus a form of sexual property to be bought, sold, and insured against trespassing and damages.

The sources of information on sex behavior during this period include many questionable ones, but some documents suggest dominant attitudes and practices. Heterosexual relations seemed to be governed by a strongly authoritarian conception of loyalty, and women were regarded as *sexual property*. When a man violated the sexual mores his loss, if any, was what he had to pay in damages to the injured parties; it was an *economic loss*. On the other hand, if a woman violated the sexual mores she suffered primarily a *loss of social status*, sometimes also economic loss, and less often physical punishment, injury, or death.

For those women and men who wished to escape unhappy family life and sib relations the increasing number of Christian religious convents and monasteries provided refuge. There was evidently no thought of sex as being a particularly evil or good thing. The double standard of sex morality and the idea of immortality were very much like those of the early Hebrews who, like the early Anglo-Saxons, exacted the more severe penalties on a female committing adultery.

Middle and Late Middle Ages (1066–1516)

More is known about the sex mores of this predominantly feudalistic period than about the earlier Anglo-Saxon period. Feudalism placed an even greater economic emphasis on family life than did the Anglo-Saxon culture.

The Christian Church had gained in strength and influence. Mates were selected by parents and male dominance continued. The Church evidenced inconsistent ideologies concerning the status of women. As the wife of Adam, woman was the evil instrument of the devil and inferior to man. But as the mother of Christ, she was pure and good and worthy of being placed on a pedestal. Sexual desire in itself was considered by the Church to be sinful and the sexual act excusable *only* if offspring were the possible and desired outcome. Contraception was therefore condemned as an obvious evil. Many authorities feel that the Church's doctrines on sex influenced the masses only superficially, however, and that few were troubled by the conflicting ideas and sentiments. And certainly the Church's doctrines had little effect on the licentious behavior of the royal courts or on the clergy itself. James in 1908 commented that during this period the clergy were the great corrupters of virtue among the lower classes, and were often the most frequent customers of prostitutes.

Of the greatest consequence during this pe-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

riod were, perhaps, the influences of chivalry. The Norman Conquest of 1066 brought to England the sexual folkways and mores, known as chivalry, of the Norman knights and ladies. In chivalry *romantic love* was glorified and regarded as more important than marriage and procreation. It agreed with the Church and feudal ideology that marriage was a duty, an economic transaction in which property could be preserved and transmitted to rightful heirs. But it exalted *love without marriage*. The general position was that love should be a free gift. Marriage extinguished love because it called for sexual union on the basis of duty. Love was regarded not as a duty but as a free choice of action by a free person.

Although chivalry was probably never practiced by more than a small minority of upper-class persons, its influence on literature was great. It gave rise to the ideal of romantic love, a conception that later became an integral part of modern Western sexual behavior. This romantic love involved an extramarital relationship, typically between a knight and the wife of his nobleman host, and was supposed not to involve sexual union, but when the nobleman was away the knight often went astray. Generally speaking, despite its decline, chivalry tended to raise the status of women to some degree.

Aside from the influences of chivalry, few factors changed the status of women from that of the earlier Anglo-Saxon period. The desire for the concentrated transmission of feudal estates to legitimate offspring tended to make chastity a woman's main virtue—that is, for women of privileged birth. But the feudal lord's power over his serfs was exemplified in the *jus primae noctis*—his right to have sexual intercourse with any new bride among his serfs. Women still seemed to be regarded as sexual property, therefore, and sex standards were developed that concerned rights and privileges with reference to that property. Chivalry was for that reason a challenge to feudalism and the treatment of women as chattels. But although the knights treated women of rank with respect and dignity, they often treated women of low rank with scorn and cruelty. Prostitution flourished during this period. In large cities there were official brothels—municipal, state, or church perquisites. Calhoun (1919) related that strangers of note were supplied prostitutes at municipal expense. In 1161 Henry II legalized houses of prostitution near London, and since that time prostitution has flourished in England.

In summary, the sex customs among the English during the feudal period were based very much on a combination of the early Hebrew and early Christian conceptions of sex. The only addition was one that came from Norman knights, the idea of chivalry and romantic love. This ideal challenged the strong emphasis on the economic basis of marriage and on love as a duty. Instead, chivalry exalted love as something based not on duty but on free choice. This romantic complex, Kolb (1950) contends, is at its best the core of a democratic society and democratic human relationships. Thus, some authorities believe that the ideals fostered by chivalry during the Middle Ages contributed positively to present sex customs.

The Renaissance and Reformation Periods (1516–1607)

The Renaissance was the period in which traditional authoritarian power and orthodox thinking were challenged by Humanist scholars who ushered in a great intellectual awakening. On the continent Erasmus, in his famous book *Praise of Folly* (1511), exerted a tremendous influence on the leaders and thinkers of that era. Among his influential friends in England was Thomas More, whose *Utopia* (1516), a work on an ideal type of democracy, precipitated the English Renaissance.

In Wittenberg, Germany, one year later, Martin Luther, repelled by the tactics of Tetzel, a seller of indulgences, posted his now famous *Ninety-five Theses* on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, an act that precipitated a series of events culminating in the Reformation and the founding of various Protestant churches. England had been influenced by Thomas More, Erasmus, and other leaders of the Renaissance, but their effort was rather to purify the old Church than to form a separate organization.

England's separation from the authority of the Pope in Rome was caused by the Pope's refusal (in 1527) to grant Henry VIII a divorce

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

from his first wife and his queen, Catherine of Aragon. Henry had a violent passion for Anne Boleyn, one of Catherine's maids of honor, and, in order to get her to share his bed—which she allegedly refused to share unless he married her—was intent on getting a divorce from Catherine. Since the Pope was not willing to grant the divorce, Henry took matters into his own hands. He married Anne Boleyn privately in January, 1533, obtaining his divorce through Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1533, when Anne Boleyn was manifestly pregnant. This made his second marriage lawful.

In 1535 he declared himself supreme head of the Church of England. Thus, sexologically, Henry's relationship with Anne Boleyn was both adulterous and incestuous. For, on the authority of Bishop Fisher, it was said that Anne was Henry's illegitimate daughter and, as mentioned earlier, Henry had caused Anne's pregnancy *before* their marriage was declared lawful. Therefore, Henry was legally guilty not only of adultery and incest, but also of committing bigamy.

Out of this incestuous, adulterous, and bigamous union of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn the ingenious Elizabeth, one of England's greatest queens, was born on September 7, 1533, less than five months after Henry's marriage to Anne had been declared lawful. Thus, ironically, Pope Clement VII's refusal to grant Henry VIII a divorce ended in the establishment of the Anglican Church and the beginning of the Reformation in England. Some historians believe that Henry's real reason for wanting to divorce Catherine was not the sexual attractiveness of Anne Boleyn but the fact that Catherine had denied him what among the early Hebrews every husband felt he must have in order to preserve his immortality: a son.

England's Reformation was set in motion by Henry VIII's making himself head of the Anglican Church in 1535, but the full flower of England's Renaissance blossomed during the reign of Henry's daughter Elizabeth, who ruled from 1558 to 1603 in what is often regarded as the Golden Age of English history. During this period the old feudalistic system broke up completely, papal authority was rejected, and great navigators such as Frobisher, Raleigh, and Drake set sail to discover new lands. Elizabeth was the patroness queen under whom England's literature flourished magnificently with such immortal poets as Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson leading the field.

There was at this time an outburst of sexuality in the literature that reflected in part the libertarian sexual behavior occurring in private life. Although Elizabeth was often called the "Virgin Queen," most historians agree that she had little right to that title. It is said that she indulged in almost indiscriminate lewdness, and that Essex, Hatton, Leicester, Mountjoy, and numerous others shared her favors, many reporting that Elizabeth had an extremely passionate sexual nature. It is not surprising, therefore, that early English novels and dramas were full of sexual allusions and jests about sexual delinquencies, although much of the literature on love was clearly Platonic. In many ways, as A. Ellis notes in *The Folklore of Sex,* it might be said that sexuality in literature during the Elizabethan period was very much like the outburst of sexuality that occurred in American literature after World War II.

A real understanding of American sexual mores and behavior comes, however, from analyzing Luther's and Calvin's contributions to the Protestant Reformation and from examining that predominantly Calvinistic religious movement called Puritanism.

Both Luther and Calvin believed not that sex was good but that it was an inevitable, necessary evil. They had no appreciation for sex as a means of expressing married love. Reproduction remained for them, as it had for Augustine and Aquinas, the only truly positive purpose of sex. Sexual pleasure *sui generis* was regarded by them as evil and sinful. For them, particularly for Calvin, sexual relations were to be confined to marriage and even in marriage must be restricted. Only marriage could draw the veil over the sin of sex.

The most significant idea in the Calvinistic doctrine, as far as sexual behavior is concerned, was that of *predestination.* As Calvin saw it, God had created man in His likeness and image, and had given him all the blessings of life in the Garden of Eden on condition that he never eat the fruit of a certain tree. But man, tempted by woman, broke the contract, thus disobeyed

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

God and thereby lost all right not only to the joys of Eden but also to happiness in the world to come. The punishment did not stop there. Not only the original parents but also their children, and their descendants *forever*, being conceived in iniquity and born with the taint of original sin upon them, were in justice outside the pale of God's forgiveness. However, God, in his infinite mercy, sent his Son into the world to suffer in place of those who had been chosen to be saved. By the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, all those whom God had predestined and foreordained to be saved were freed of the punishment that rightfully should have fallen upon them. Only such persons as God had "elected" to be saved could benefit from the sacrifice of the Son. All the rest of mankind, including unborn infants, were "elected" to be damned. Thus, man's acts could not influence his eternal fate; hence, the whole pressure of his religious interest was to *know* whether or not he was saved or damned.

The anxiety and tension created by not knowing led to a reinterpretation by Théodore de Bèze, first theologian of Calvinism, who stated that good works, although they could not influence salvation, could be interpreted as *signs of grace*. A good tree (one who was saved) could not bear evil fruit. Thereafter, the elect came to be identified with the "righteous," those who did the will of God, and the damned with "sinners," those who failed to obey God's will.

Max Weber (1930) has contended that this Calvinistic philosophy gave rise to and supported the development of modern capitalism, a movement led by the merchant class. The upper classes were licentious and pleasure-loving, characteristics that interfered with hard work and elevating one's economic status; most of all, hedonism interfered with finding out whether they were "righteous" or "sinners." Obviously, since sex was evil (although a necessary evil), those who indulged in sexual and other pleasures were in all probability damned. Likewise, those who obeyed the will of God were in all probability saved. Thus, activity in this world should be directed toward rational mastery of the flesh in the interest of the glory of God, not toward self-indulgence and hedonistic gratification.

Although Luther opposed the usurious tendencies of the bourgeoisie and Zwingli denounced the possession of private property in social life, Calvin justified both the practice of profits and the wisdom of usury, and thus gave religious sanction to commercial pursuits. The Puritans with this Calvinistic ideology became worldly ascetics. Their poetry was chastened, churches bared of ornament and filigree, theaters banned, music subdued, art purified, and marriage became to them a commercial transaction. Maypole processions and horse racing were forbidden. Smoking was regarded as a sinful practice. Gaudiness in dress was outlawed and domestic interiors reached extremes of colorless simplicity. Chastity in word, in thought, and in sex became the supreme virtue. "Money-making" was classified as the most "God-given" occupation. Everywhere there was a denial of things sexual, an avoidance of sex description, and a condemnation of anything suggestive of sex reality. Thus, the Puritans did not shrink from prescribing the death penalty for adultery, which they believed, as did Calvin, to be one of the gravest of all sins. As shall be seen later, in the American colonies the Puritans actually carried out the death penalty for adulterers.

Paralleling and complementing the Puritanism of the merchant classes was the growth in some upper-class quarters of the ideal of Platonic love. Romantic love, stimulated by Elizabethan literature, also became a motivating force in some marriages. Although most marriages were arranged in terms of financial considerations and women continued to be legally subordinate to men, the ideals of chivalry and Platonic love were instrumental in subsequent attempts to raise the status of women. In Platonic love there was neither male domination nor the adoration of women, as represented in chivalry. Instead, Platonic love called for an equalitarian friendship between the sexes based on mutual respect and sincerity. Although it is known that many of the Platonic academies that flourished were much like the medieval courts of love and were centers of sordid sensuality, the ideal of Platonic love had a significant effect on the attitudes of many thoughtful people and was perhaps one of the bases for the strong feminist movements that

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

With the general population, however, the double standard of sex morality still persisted. Young men were expected to sow their wild oats and respectable young women were expected to remain chaste. The Puritan ideology characterized the double standard and sex outside of that in marriage and for procreation as for the damned. Male chastity became a novel virtue, but never attained the status of sanctity enforced upon females. In general, Puritan Englishmen were religious fundamentalists, unsociable, independent, patriarchal, and extremely fertile. Their families were among the largest in the world, and both wives and children were harshly treated. (Calvin even prescribed the death penalty for disobedient children.)

In the Renaissance there was a short period of naturalistic sexuality exhibited in sexual behavior, art, literature, and the theater. The Reformation and the rise of Puritanism led to sexual repression and worldly asceticism. Thus, the Puritans, although they rejected papal authority, as did other Protestants, in most matters they supported that authority, especially in regard to sex; that is, sex was considered evil and sinful, although necessary.

Generally speaking, the character of English sex behavior changed very little from the early Middle Ages to the founding of Jamestown in 1607.

In summary, the sexual heritage brought to the American colonies by the English consisted of some of the following characteristics:

1. There was an essentially dualistic conception of sex: sex was regarded as a necessary evil, its primary purpose being procreation.

2. The idea was held that woman was the incarnation of evil because she was "sex"; but she was a necessary evil. She had to be chaste and obedient to her husband. Her primary purpose was to bear children and thus to aid her husband in maintaining and preserving his immortality. To this the Puritans added the idea that the acquisition and preservation of property was good, as it was a means of knowing that one (and one's children) had been saved; in fact, it was the only way God could indicate whether one was saved or damned.

3. Marriage was considered a civil contract, an economic transaction, the purpose of which was the acquisition of wealth and property. The more economically advantageous the transaction, the more sure one was that he was among the saved rather than the damned.

4. Sexual repression was the order of the day and sexual relations outside of marriage were severely punished. Although the Puritans emphasized a single standard of sexual morality, the double standard was maintained by men who had followed the aristocratic mores, especially among the Cavaliers, with whom we shall deal later. Women were always more severely repressed than men.

5. Families were dominated by men and were semipatriarchal in nature, but male dominance was being challenged by the ideals of chivalry and Platonic and romantic love. These challenges to the Manichaean dualistic conception of sex were never a serious threat because Calvinistic Puritanism reaffirmed and strengthened that conception, giving it secular as well as religious support.

Sex Customs in Early America (1607–1800)

This portion of the article will deal with sex customs of the thirteen original English colonies (founded between 1607 and 1733) in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

During the seventeenth century the colonies were largely English as far as the composition of their population was concerned, but in the eighteenth century numerous immigrants came from northwestern and central Europe, primarily German, Dutch, Swedish, French, Scotch, and Irish settlers. By 1775 the Negro population was estimated at 500,000, or one-fifth of the total colonial population.

There were many reasons why immigrants came to settle in North America but the main ones seem to have been religious, political, and economic. During the seventeenth century thousands of Englishmen, particularly Puritans, came to America because of religious persecution. During that century the political situation in England also led to the immigration, particularly to Virginia, of many so-called

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Cavaliers. The Cavaliers were the supporters of King Charles I, who had been defeated by the supporters of Parliament, the Roundheads, during the great English Civil War. To Virginia and the South these Cavaliers brought and developed an aristocratic tradition. However, in all of the colonies most of the people were from the middle or lower classes. Besides freemen and Negro slaves, there were also large numbers of indentured servants and criminals who made up the colonial population.

Farming was the chief occupation in all of the colonies. In the North wealthy farmers had the help of indentured servants; in the South slaves worked for a landed aristocracy that developed large plantations.

In general, the New England colonies, as contrasted with southern colonies, were made up of towns and their people were chiefly engaged in trade, commerce, and manufacturing. Farming was for sustenance and raw materials only. In the South, agriculture was the source of wealth and there was little commercial and industrial activity.

New England was predominantly Puritan; the middle colonies contained many different Protestant denominations, except for Maryland, which had a fair number of Catholics from England. In the South the Church of England was dominant.

The New England Colonies

The New England colonies consisted of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

It was in the New England colonies that Calvinism was most severe. Children of Puritan families suffered through the gloomiest religious training. Family prayers were the custom, and the daily reading of the Bible by parents and children was never overlooked in the majority of families. The childhood years of many sensitive children were blackly overshadowed by the doctrines of original sin, predestination and election, and the punishments of a flaming, material hell. Puritans accepted unequivocally the view of the ancient Hebrews, of Paul, and of the early Christian Fathers that women were an inferior order of beings to be held in control by their lawful spouses and masters in order to prevent them from getting into trouble. Like the early Church Fathers, the Puritans looked at sex as a sin and at women as the cause of original sin, the personification of sin. All adults were expected to marry. Unmarried adults were looked upon with suspicion, and in many communities unmarried men were taxed because they engaged in the selfish luxury of bachelorhood. It was thus expected that everyone live as a member of some household.

Although frontier conditions gave rise to greater independence in mate selection, parental consent was usually needed to undertake courtship. In Connecticut, young people who did not obtain parental permission to begin courtship were punished by fines. Both parents and the community worked together to control mate selection.

In early New England strict rules were laid down concerning the limits within which marriage was permitted. Persons violating these rules were punished by having to wear the capital letter "I" (for incest) sewn on the arm or the back.

To the Puritans, adultery was the most heinous of all sins, and they did not shrink from prescribing the death penalty for it. The records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony show that two persons were executed for adultery in 1644, and a third execution is mentioned by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*. No distinction of sex was made in the Puritan laws concerning adultery, both men and women suffering the consequences. However, female offenders were generally more severely treated than male offenders. Plymouth and Rhode Island prescribed a severe flogging rather than the death penalty. In addition to flogging, Plymouth also required the offender to wear a scarlet letter "A" upon the breast until death. Wearing this scarlet letter, graphically portrayed by Hawthorne in *The Scarlet Letter*, became law in Plymouth in 1658 and in Massachusetts in 1794. At Plymouth in 1639 a woman was sentenced to be "whipt at a cart tayle," to wear a badge upon her sleeve, and, if she went without the badge, to be burned in the face with a hot iron. With the prevalence of extreme penalties went some reluctance to convict, but there were still times when chivalry was certainly dead. In 1707, for example, an

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

adulteress was sentenced in Plymouth to stand on the gallows, receive thirty lashes on her naked back, and forever wear the scarlet letter "A". The adulterer in this case was acquitted without any assignment of reason. In another case in Boston an adulteress had to stand in the marketplace and wear a placard reading, "Thus I stand for my adulterous and whorish carriage." Most adulterers were sentenced only to pay fines or to spend a few hours in the pillory, but, as among the ancient Hebrews, the female offender received a severe punishment.

Widows and widowers were always remarrying and were allegedly involved in illicit sexual relations while seeking new marriage partners. As evidenced by church and other official records, premarital fornication was quite common among engaged couples. In Connecticut, unmarried persons guilty of fornication were enjoined to marry, or were fined, or flogged—or suffered all three penalties. Some of the offenders were pilloried and others branded on the cheek. When a young married couple had a child "too soon," they had to make a public confession in church in order to save the infant from eternal perdition.

The unwed mother was often severely treated. Even though it might be known that she had been seduced and deserted she was generally whipped, fined, or imprisoned. Even if the father was identified, he was not punished in most cases, although he might be ordered to help support the child.

Yet in the records of the Groton Church between 1761-1775 the parents of one-third of the baptized children publicly confessed to having had premarital coitus. Thus, it seems that in Puritan times, despite the stern sexual code (perhaps because of it) sexual morality was not appreciably different from the mid-twentieth-century American variety.

Another form of illegitimacy was quite common in New England: this was the miscegenative type that resulted from illicit sex relations among whites, Negroes, and Indians. In 1705, Massachusetts forbade the intermarriage of whites and Negroes, and in 1786 this prohibition was extended to Indians. All such interracial marriages were declared void. Massachusetts kept these racist laws on the books until 1843.

Besides adultery, illegitimacy, and premarital and extramarital relations, sodomy was not uncommon and even buggery had to be dealt with occasionally.

Some authorities believe that it was because the stern Puritan sex mores did not allow for a class of recognized prostitutes that such illicit sex relations were so prevalent. Because the Puritans continually sought to prohibit all sexual activity save for procreation within marriage, their efforts at sex repression, gossip about scandals, numerous public confessions, and sadistic punishments—combined with the fact that they tended to lack other pleasures as well—tended to develop in them an unhealthy, obsessive interest in sex, an interest very much reminiscent of the preoccupation with sex in America today (Ellis, 1951, 1954).

The extreme sexual prudery of the Puritans is shown in the following event recorded by Earle (1960): "It was not prudent for the Puritan husband to be publicly demonstrative. Captain Kemble of Boston sat two hours in the public stocks (1656) for his 'lewd and unseemly behavior' in his kissing his wife 'publicqquely' on the Sabbath upon his doorsteps when he had just returned from a voyage of three years."

The Massachusetts colony even had a law that women suspected of witchcraft be stripped and their nude bodies be scrutinized from head to toe by a male "witch-pricker," to see if there was not the devil's mark upon them.

Calhoun, eminent social historian of the American family, stated: "It cannot be doubted that the publicity accorded to cases of sex errancy was an unwholesome influence that tended to augment the evil by creating a kind of social hysteria. Such sensationalism was of the nature of suggestion. Living under terrible repression—environmental and social—the New Englanders found morbid satisfaction in conscience-prying and soul-display. The detailed descriptions of their offences that adulterers gave in church outwent the wildest flights of modern sensationalism as an enrichment of the service and doubtless brought and held a large audience."

Besides being the epitome of sex and sin, women were also very much like breeding animals: Green, a Boston printer, had 30 chil-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

dren, and families with 15 or more children were quite common. Maternal and infant mortality were extremely high. Typical of inscriptions on gravestones was the following: "Here lies———with twenty small children."

Yet, in spite of all the evidence of sexual subordination, there is little evidence that women themselves felt degraded or resentful. And, although marriage was a secularized and serious business, rude merriment occasionally attended New England weddings. Thus, in Marblehead the bridesmaids and groomsmen put the newly married couple to bed. It is also known that the bridal chamber was the scene of drinking and praying. Particularly among the wealthy it was common, it seems, to visit the bridal chamber.

That slavery was the occasion for sexual irregularities was suggested by an earlier statement concerning laws against miscegenation. In 1705 Massachusetts enacted a law condemning Negroes and mulattoes guilty of illicit sexual intercourse with whites to be sold out of the province.

Two unusual sex customs in New England deserve special mention and will be taken up in some detail: smock marriages and bundling.

Smock Marriages

An interesting custom of colonial times was the smock marriage. This practice was carried over from England, where it was believed that if a widow was married in her smock without any clothes or headgear on, the husband would be exempt from paying any of her debts that she had contracted before marriage. Many such marriages took place in the evening to save the bride from embarrassment, especially if she was extremely modest. In one case described by W. C. Prime in *Along New England Roads,* the bride stood inside a closet, wearing not a stitch of clothing, and held out her hand to the groom through a diamond-shaped hole cut in the door. In another case, described in Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont,* a widow stood naked and hidden in a chimney recess behind a curtain while marrying her groom. It is said that many of these marriages took place when the marrying widow wanted to avoid her past debts. Alice M. Earle (1893) indicated that although smock marriages were generally confined to the New England colonies, they were also known to have taken place in the middle colony of Pennsylvania. A Mr. Hahn, traveling in Pennsylvania around 1748, reports that a bridegroom went to meet his widow bride on the highroad and announced in the presence of several reliable witnesses that the clothing he brought his bride and considerately threw over her immodestly clad body was only lent for the wedding festivity.

Bundling

The custom of bundling—of male and female lying together in bed, fully or partly dressed, with or without a board separating them, and usually covered with a blanket to keep warm—was practiced among courting or engaged couples as well as with traveling strangers as a show of hospitality. It was confined largely to the poorer classes, who generally lived in one-room houses and who, during cold weather and especially in the evenings, wanted to conserve firewood and candlelight.

There seem to have been several origins for this custom. Bundling is believed to have been common in England, Scotland, Holland, and Scandinavia and was brought to the colonies primarily by the Puritans and the Dutch. Among the Dutch it was called *queesting;* along the Massachusetts coast it was called *tarrying.* Because bundling often took place in the presence of parents, sexual intimacy was restrained. The custom was generally governed, it is said, by a kind of "honor system" so that violation of the sex mores was uncommon. In many cases, however, it is known that there was little restraint, and much of the illegitimacy of the times was attributed to this practice. Bundling was most common in the Connecticut valley, and was also fairly prevalent in Pennsylvania, New York, and other New England colonies.

That economy was the main purpose of bundling is illustrated by this popular verse of the times:

> Since in bed a man and maid,
> May bundle and be chaste,
> It does no good to burn out wood,
> It is a needless waste.

As mentioned earlier, to the abuses of this practice has been attributed much of the illegitimacy of the times, especially following the French and Indian War (1763), when return-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ing veterans, habituated in camp and army life to vice and recklessness, stripped bundling of its alleged innocence. Yet despite the disrepute into which this practice came, mothers with daughters circulated this poem:

> The country girls in clusters swarm,
> And fly and buzz, like angry bees,
> And vow they'll bundle when they please.
> Some mothers too, will plead their cause,
> And give their daughters great applause,
> And tell them, 'tis no sin or shame,
> For we, your mothers, once did the same.

Judging from the following verse found in a 1785 almanac, bundling evidently helped some girls to win a potential marriage mate:

> But last of all, up speaks romp Moll
> And pleads to be excused,
> For how can she e'er married be
> If bundling be refused.

Some Puritan clergy defended this practice as being innocent, virtuous, and prudent, and said that it was attended by much more chastity than was the method of sitting on the sofa.

Because bundling was essentially an economic expedient, its decline is attributed largely to improved material conditions: larger and more efficiently heated homes, improved social conditions, and less difficult living conditions. Although bundling was a matter of court record as late as 1845, Stiles (1871) notes that it was generally abandoned about 1800.

The Middle Colonies

Of the thirteen English American colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland constituted the so-called middle colonies. Unlike the New England and southern colonies, the middle colonies were not almost exclusively English and homogeneous but were extremely heterogeneous. Accordingly, besides English immigrants, New York contained large numbers of Dutch and German settlers. In New Jersey, in addition to the English, there were Dutch, Swedish, Scotch, Irish, French, and German settlers. Pennsylvania was a cosmopolitan colony that included Dutch, Swedish, Scotch, Welsh, Swiss, Irish, and many Germans, in addition to the English. In fact, by 1775, Pennsylvania had about 100,000 Germans, one-third of that colony's population. Delaware had, in addition to English settlers, many Swedish and Dutch immigrants. Lord Baltimore attempted to make Maryland a refuge for English Catholics but persecution of Catholics had led to the establishment of the Church of England. Of the middle colonies, Maryland was least heterogeneous, being predominantly English.

Since the population of the middle colonies was so heterogeneous, the sex customs that prevailed also varied. In contrast to New England life, life in Dutch-dominated New York was very placid. Although the Dutch colonists had strict regulations concerning sexual behavior and severe sentences for adultery, sexual transgressions were never treated with the wrath that characterized New England's treatment of sex offenders. The Dutch had no death penalty for adultery, nor did they require adulterers to wear the scarlet letter "A." Women and children enjoyed a high status, an advantage not frequently found in the other colonies.

Bundling, or *queesting* as it was called among the Dutch, was quite common among young Dutch men and women, who would spend the night sleeping together at inns. They were said to have had great restraint and Dutch females were alleged to have reported that Dutch young men would never think of acting improperly during queesting time. In New York, consequently, the Dutch exerted a conservative, wholesome moral influence.

Although the Quakers in Pennsylvania contributed attitudes of great tolerance, miscegenation was often the occasion for the infliction of the severest penalties. Negroes were castrated in Pennsylvania for *attempting* rape of a white woman, and a Pennsylvania law of 1700 provided the death penalty to Negroes for buggery and for rape of a white woman. Illicit sexual intercourse of the lower-class whites —particularly indentured servants—often took place with Negroes, and many of these white female servants gave birth to mulatto bastards. Even Benjamin Franklin was openly accused of having colored mistresses.

Woolston (1921) stated that among the "Pennsylvania Dutch" (Germans from the Palatinate), premarital intercourse was an accepted custom.

In New Jersey in 1682, however, a man and woman who had indulged in premarital intercourse were ordered whipped on their naked

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

bodies, the man to receive thirty lashes and the woman thirty-five lashes. The man was kept in jail one day and ordered to pay costs.

The Delaware assembly during the eighteenth century made sodomy, buggery, and rape capital offenses. For the killing of bastards it fixed the death penalty without benefit of clergy. Woolston said that, like the "Pennsylvania Dutch," it was a custom among the Delaware Swedes to engage in premarital sexual intercourse.

Like the southern colonies, plantation life dominated the life of Maryland. It was a custom in Maryland to use Negro males as "stallions" to increase the slave population. Polygamy, rape, and sodomy were capital offenses in Maryland. The death penalty was also often imposed for killing bastard children.

Because of their unusual composition, the middle colonies, compared to the other colonies, had a wide variety of sexual behavior, behavior which, as in all societies, reflected the values that each particular group held dear and wanted to perpetuate.

The Southern Colonies

The southern colonies, composed of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were made up largely of English settlers. Scotch and Irish were also to be found, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, and numerous French settled in South Carolina. Portuguese Jews were to be found in South Carolina and Georgia. And Georgia was a kind of melting pot for Scotch, Germans, Swiss, Italian Protestants, and Portuguese Jewish immigrants.

Plantation life predominated in these colonies, as did English culture. The "Southern Chivalry" we hear so much about was developed by the aristocratically aspiring Cavaliers but was not general among the common people. There was a definite double standard of sex morality in which promiscuity was condoned only on the part of husbands. Although courtesy, protection, and service were rendered to women of the aristocracy, they were rarely shown to servants, poor whites, and Negro women.

Premarital chastity and fidelity were thus expected of aristocratic white women but upper-class white men freely and quite casually exploited Negro women. It was reported that sexual relations among white men of high position and Negro slaves took place quite openly. It was known that several southern governors openly kept Negro mistresses and numerous southern gentlemen acknowledged their illegitimate children from such unions. Yet it is reported that although most of these white male-Negro female sex relationships were not enduring, some of them were genuine, lasting mutual attractions—a kind of concubinage. In fact, some white wives were so jealous of their husbands' love for particular Negresses that they sold them to distant plantation owners without their husbands' knowledge so that they could not be found and bought back. Frazier (1951) claims that all classes of whites were involved in such relations with Negro women.

Negro family life was highly unstable because slaves were usually bought and sold without the slightest consideration for family ties. It is known that where there was a shortage of Negro women, Negro men were set up as "stallions" to increase the slave production. And since mulatto slaves brought a high price on the slave market, some white masters urged their Negro slaves to have sex relations with their white indentured servants in order to increase their mulatto slave population.

Throughout the southern colonies the religious tenets of the Church of England were dominant. Generally, only marriages performed by the Church of England clergy were recognized.

The Englishmen who first came to Virginia were primarily fortune hunters; they were not family men like the New Englanders. Later on, men were encouraged to marry, settle down, and develop the land. Most of these settlers were of humble origin and there were also many indentured servants and criminals. Women were domestic and subordinate. The "ducking stool" was often used to curb gossiping women. A landed aristocracy stimulated by the Cavaliers made familism strong in the South.

Because maternal and infant mortality was high as a result of excessive childbearing, many men married as much as four or more times. Widows were eagerly sought by men—for their sexual experience and economic advantage—

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and illicit sexual relations were apparently quite common among widowers and widows. But since a double standard of sexual morality existed, women received whippings more often than men. Punishments for sexual offenders were much less severe than those meted out in Puritan New England.

Miscegenation was quite common between whites, Negroes, and Indians, and many laws were enacted to prevent and punish such sex unions. Attempted rape of a white woman by a Negro male was punished by castration.

In the South, generally speaking, as Frumkin (1956a) has shown, sex morals were largely based on economic questions and were so regarded by legal authorities.

Summary

Most of the differences in the various regional colonies were related to the contrasts between village and plantation life and between Puritan and Cavalier attitudes toward sex and other behavior. Families were viewed as agencies for the regulation of sex, and the primary purpose of sex was essentially procreation. The sexual ethics of the ancient Hebrews and the early Church Fathers persisted in supporting male dominance, premarital chastity, marital fidelity on the part of the wife in particular, filial piety, and the dualistic conception of sex as an evil, an evil made obligatory by the necessity of reproduction for survival. The naturalistic attitude toward sex manifested during the Elizabethan period in England never found expression in the American colonies, except, perhaps, to some extent on the part of Cavaliers in the southern colonies. Women were regarded as inferior beings, as breeding animals and sexual property. It seems that the Calvinistic Puritans indelibly marked the American character with what Briffault called an eternal Christian sexophobia.

General Summary and Conclusions

Sexual behavior, like all human behavior, primarily learned and symbolic in nature is rooted in ever changing historical-social situations. Therefore it is necessary in order to understand early English and American sex customs, to seek their social origins in the history of the ancient Hebrews and early Church Fathers. For it was their social situation, teachings, and beliefs that formed the basis for most of these sex customs.

Generally speaking, the character of early English and American sex behavior remained quite consistent from the early Middle Ages (*ca.* 450) to the election of Jefferson to the presidency of the United States in 1800. Only during the English Renaissance—the Elizabethan Age—was the character of sex behavior essentially different, essentially free from the Manichaean dualism that had continually dominated and still dominates Western sexual ideology and behavior. For the 1,350 years covered in this article, except for the relatively short duration of the Elizabethan Age, early English and American sex customs were characterized by some of the following features:

1. Sex was regarded as a necessary evil, its only justification being procreation and the maintenance of male immortality.

2. Woman was the incarnation of evil because she was "sex." She was necessary as the "soil" in which the male "seeds" grew, and her main function was essentially that of a breeding animal.

3. Marriage was a civil contract, a business whose purpose, as perpetuated by the Calvinistic Puritans, was to acquire wealth and property in order to determine whether one was among the saved or the damned.

4. Sexual repression was the everlasting order of the era. Except for procreation, sex activity interfered with mammonistic money-making that helped one, in the view of Calvinistic predestinationism, to find out if one were damned or saved. Women were always more repressed than men, for the double standard in favor of men generally prevailed. Thus, punishments for female sexual offenders were consistently more severe than for male offenders.

5. Families were dominated by men and were generally patriarchal or semipatriarchal in nature. During the late Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the Renaissance the ideals of chivalry and of Platonic and romantic love challenged this dominance.

6. But the dualistic conception of sex—the idea that sex was evil, that women were sexual property, and that sex must be repressed—was

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

reaffirmed and strengthened by the Calvinistic Puritanism that dominated the English American colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and still finds expression in America today.

Christian sexophobia is not a simple matter. It is a complex phenomenon that has had a long development and can only be understood by examining the main historical trends of Western civilization. In recent decades this sexophobia has been re-examined in the light of anthropological, psychoanalytical, social psychological, and other behavioral science viewpoints, and has been seriously challenged by such brilliant authorities on the nature of human nature as Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, Margaret Mead, Alfred Kinsey, Albert Ellis, and others. This challenge has grown in strength but has not yet been able to uproot the deeply ingrained dualistic conception of sex that converted the Hebrews' naturalistic attitude into the Calvinistic Puritan antisexual attitudes. These attitudes have gained new impetus in recent times not through the new religious bodies resulting from the Reformation but rather from the ever increasing vigor of the Church that Luther revolted against more than four centuries ago. What is in store as far as man's future sexual behavior is concerned is a matter that only time can answer. However, there are signs everywhere that sex is beginning to be viewed and acted upon in a perspective more consistent with our present knowledge and understanding of the nature of human nature.

References

Abrams, A., *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1913.

Beowulf, A metrical translation into modern English by J. R. C. Hall. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Calhoun, Arthur W., *A Social History of the American Family* (Vol. I). Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1919.

Calverton, V. F., and Schmalhausen, S. D. (eds.), *Sex in Civilization.* Garden City, N.Y.: Macaulay, 1929.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales.* Numerous editions.

Cole, William G., *Sex in Christianity and Psychoanalysis.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Davis, Kingsley, "Jealousy and Sexual Property." *Social Forces 14;* 395-405, 1936.

Davis, William S., *Life in Elizabethan Days.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930.

Earle, Alice M., *Customs and Fashions in Old New England.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.

Earle, Alice M., *Colonial Dames and Goodwives.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1895.

Ellis, Albert, *The Folklore of Sex.* New York: Charles Boni, 1951.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne, 1954.

Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States* (rev. ed.). New York: The Dryden Press, 1951.

Frumkin, Robert M., "Early American Sex Customs." *Sexology 22;* 354-361, 1956.

Frumkin, Robert M., *The Meaning of Sociology* (ed. 2). Buffalo: University of Buffalo Bookstore, 1956a.

Frumkin, Robert M., *The Patient as a Human Being.* Buffalo: University of Buffalo Bookstore, 1956b.

Frumkin, Robert M., "Authoritarian Sexual Jealousy and American Ideology." *J. Fam. Welfare 4;* 1-7, 1957.

Genesis, 19:30-38.

Goodsell, Willystine, *A History of Marriage and the Family* (rev. ed.). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, *The Scarlet Letter.* Numerous editions.

Hodgkin, R. H., *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (2 vols.). Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935.

Howard, George E., *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (3 vols.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904.

Irving, Washington, *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (2 vols.). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894.

James, B. B., *Women in England.* Philadelphia: G. Barrie & Sons, 1908.

James, M., "Puritanism." In E. R. A. Seligman and A. Johnson (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. XIII). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *The Family.* New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955.

Kolb, Wilson, "Family Sociology, Marriage Education, and the Romantic Complex." *Social Forces 29;* 65-72, 1950.

Leuba, Clarence, *The Natural Man.* New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954.

Leuba, Clarence, *The Sexual Nature of Man and Its Management.* New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954.

Lindesmith, Alfred R., and Strauss, Anselm L., *Social Psychology* (rev. ed.). New York: The Dryden Press, 1956.

Mace, David R., *Hebrew Marriage.* New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953.

Mannheim, Karl (translated by L. Wirth and E. A. Shils), *Ideology and Utopia.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Margold, Charles W., *Sex Freedom and Social Control.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926.

May, Geoffrey, *Social Control and Sex Expression.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1930.

May, Geoffrey, "Prostitution." In E. R. A. Seligman and A. Johnson (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. XII). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Mead, Margaret, *Sex and Temperament.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1935.

Murdock, George P., *Social Structure.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

Page, Thomas N., *Social Life in Old Virginia.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

Partridge, Eric, *Shakespeare's Bawdy.* London: Routledge, 1947.

Prestage, Edgar (ed.), *Chivalry.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1928.

Queen, Stuart A., and Adams, John B., *The Family in Various Cultures.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1952.

Reiss, Ira L., "The Treatment of Premarital Coitus in 'Marriage and the Family' Texts." *Social Problems 4;* 334-338, 1957.

Sanger, William W., *The History of Prostitution.* New York: Medical Publishers Co., 1913.

Seward, Georgene H., *Sex and the Social Order.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946.

Stiles, Henry R., *Bundling.* Albany: Knickerbocker Publishing Co., 1871.

Thorpe, B. (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Vol. I). London: Commissioner on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1840.

Turner, E. R., *History of Slavery in Pennsylvania.* Baltimore, 1911.

Weber, Max (translated by Talcott Parsons), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

Woolston, Howard B., *Prostitution in the United States* (Vol. I). New York: Century Co., 1921.

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Family and Civilization.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

ROBERT M. FRUMKIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Eugenics

THE word "eugenics" was coined by Sir Francis Galton in 1890 as "the study of forces under social control which enhance or impair the inborn qualities of future generations."

That inborn qualities could be greatly modified by artificial selection was appreciated by ancient civilizations, which developed breeds of livestock by the application of rule-of-thumb methods of selective mating.

History

The idea that human beings differ in their hereditary endowment is also very old. Without attempting a review that would be mainly of antiquarian interest, a few references to Greek writings may not be out of place. In the sixth century B.C., Theognis took a pessimistic view of then current human mating practices:

With kine and horses, Kurnus, we proceed
By reasonable rules, and choose a breed
For profit and increase, at any price,
Of a sound stock without defect or vice.
But in the daily matches that we make
The price is everything; for money's sake,
Men marry; women are in marriage given.
The churl or ruffian, that in wealth has thriven,
May match his offspring with the proudest race.
Thus everything is mixed, noble and base.
If, then, in outward manner, form and mind,
You find us a degraded, motley kind,
Wonder no more, my friend; the cause is plain,
And to lament the consequence is vain.

Among the Spartans, mate selection was practiced, and the age at which marriage took place was regulated to assure procreation at the time of life when it was believed the production of fine progeny was most likely. Exposure of weak or defective infants to the elements was practiced by the Greeks and by many other peoples throughout history. In *The Republic,* Plato set forth a comprehensive code of eugenics that has become almost a horrible example of what an abstract philosophical approach can lead to.

Although different mating systems—endogamic or exogamic—have affected the genetic constitutions of human populations throughout history, their eugenic effects have been mainly accidental or incidental. The exact knowledge of the genetic process on which a rational eugenic policy might be based has existed for less than half a century. Until the key had been found to the riddle of heredity, man's penchant for theorizing had little practical value, and these ancient writings have now only an historical interest. Not until the latter half of the nineteenth century did factual bases for manipulating the "inborn qualities of future generations" begin to be developed. The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 marked a turning point in biological science and provided the intellectual environment for experimental work on the phenomenon of evolution.

Darwin envisioned evolution as an interaction among the variable factors inherent in all organisms exposed to the rigors of survival. Those organisms better adapted to a particular environment tended to survive and to perpetuate their kind. The less well adapted variants failed to survive or to reproduce. This selective "sieve by veto" of the environment, operating over hundreds or thousands of generations, resulted in the emergence of strains of organisms

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

showing remarkable adaptation to most varied environments. Darwin was puzzled by the nature of the variability of organisms that he saw as an essential factor in the evolution process. His speculations as to how and why variability occurred have proved in the light of much experimental hindsight to have been mainly erroneous.

The key that unlocked the mystery of variability and heredity was provided by Abbot Gregor Mendel in 1865. His experiments with peas, conducted in a monastery garden in what is now Czechoslovakia, formed the basis for the modern science of genetics. Mendel's pioneering was so revolutionary that thirty-five years elapsed before biological concepts had reached a point in development where his discoveries could be understood and evaluated. The science of genetics actually began with the rediscovery of Mendel's paper in 1900, rather than in 1865.

During this interval a cousin of Charles Darwin, Sir Francis Galton, had become convinced that heredity was a prime factor in determining the quality of human beings. Basing his studies on Darwin's evolution concept, Galton attacked the problem of heredity and environment—of nature *vs.* nurture—statistically. Between 1869 and 1883, he published three books supporting his view that nature—the inborn qualities of a human being—was a major component in the development of the gifted individual. In *Hereditary Genius, English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture,* and *Inquiries into Human Faculty* Galton reported his statistical analyses of the background of gifted individuals. He also pioneered in pointing out the value of studying identical twins as a means of learning more about the nature-nurture problem.

Galton's work broke new ground in analyzing factors that contribute to the development of human intelligence and personality. His studies convinced him that heredity played an essential part in the development of individuals of unusual competence, and this became the motivation of his later years, leading to his founding of the eugenics movement. Toward the end of his life he wrote (1908):

> I take eugenics very seriously, feeling that its principles ought to become one of the dominant motives in a civilized nation, much as if they were one of its religious tenets. . . . Individuals appear to me as partial detachments from the infinite ocean of Being, and this world as a stage on which evolution takes place, principally hitherto by means of natural selection, which achieves the good of the whole with scant regard to that of the individual.
>
> Man is gifted with pity and other kindly feelings; he has also the power of preventing many kinds of suffering. I conceive it to fall well within his province to replace Natural Selection by other processes that are more merciful and not less effective.

Galton devoted the later years of his life to promoting an acceptance of his view on eugenics and, through his influence, the Eugenics Education Society was founded in London in 1908. He bequeathed his fortune at his death to the University of London for the establishment of the Galton Laboratory.

Recent Advances

The past half-century has seen a very rapid advance in the science of genetics, adding to the effectiveness of animal-breeding techniques. The problem of nurture *vs.* nature has been experimentally studied, and in its original form it has been found to be meaningless in the sense that no blanket answer can be given. It is an approach useful only in terms of specific heredity and specific environment. For example, blood groups and eye color are very little affected by environment, whereas body weight and intelligence are considerably more labile.

That many important physical characteristics of human beings are largely determined by genetic differences can no longer be questioned. Pedigree studies of many characteristics, both normal and pathological, are to be found in the literature. These heredity-determined differences range from trivial characteristics such as a blaze of white hair or a minor variation in ear form to profound physical or mental defects: sickle-cell anemia, sex-linked muscular dystrophy, color blindness, specific forms of mental defect, and the like.

The question of the extent to which mental, emotional, and personality differences are due to heredity is still under exploration.

Frederick Osborn (1951) surveyed the psychological and genetic studies on the interaction of heredity and environment made over the previous twenty-five years, and concluded:

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

1. Variations in capacity for developing intelligence tend to follow family lines. Similarity of hereditary factors accounts for a substantial part of the known similarity in intelligence between parents and children.

2. Individual differences in intelligence are in part due to individual differences in inherited capacity. When the environment of two unrelated individuals is similar, differences in heredity probably play the major part in making the individuals different. When their environments differ and their heredity is somewhat similar, the environment is probably the major cause of their differences.

3. There is no evidence on hereditary factors as a cause of differences in the average intelligence of racial or regional groups in this country. Known differences in their environment are probably sufficient to account for present differences in the average intelligence of racial and regional groups.

4. Hereditary factors appear to account for a part of the average differences in intelligence between the skilled groups and the unskilled occupational groups. . . .

In order to obtain a proportionate increase in the number of persons at the upper levels of intelligence, it would be necessary to raise the level of hereditary capacity for intelligence.

That evaluation holds today. Although our picture of the genetic mechanism has changed, Galton's appraisal of the importance of inborn qualities in the emergence of high intellectual endowment has ample support. Granting that the expression of inborn endowment of man can be considerably modified, the evidence indicates that the inborn component remains paramount: it sets the limits.

Now, whether these limits are achieved depends on the nature and effectiveness of environmental stimuli. "Wooden legs are not inherited, but wooden heads are," Dr. E. G. Conklin remarked many years ago. The observation still holds.

Even before Osborn, a group of distinguished geneticists subscribed to a statement that explicitly spelled out the tremendous improvement in the human breed that might be made in a very few generations if the enhancement of the inborn qualities of future generations of mankind were purely a genetic exercise:

. . . The intrinsic genetic characteristics of any generation can be better than those of the preceding generation only as a result of some kind of *selection,* i.e., by those persons of the preceding generation who had a better genetic equipment having produced more offspring, on the whole, than the rest, either through conscious choice, or as an automatic result of the way in which they lived. Under modern civilized conditions such selection is far less likely to be automatic than under primitive conditions, hence some kind of conscious guidance of selection is called for. To make this possible, however, the population must first appreciate the force of the above principles, and the social value which a wisely guided selection would have.

. . . conscious selection requires, in addition, an agreed direction or directions for selection to take, and these directions cannot be social ones, that is, for the good of mankind at large, unless social motives predominate in society. This in turn implies its socialized organization. The most important objectives, from a social point of view, are the improvement of those genetic characteristics which make (a) for health, (b) for the complex called intelligence and (c) for those temperamental qualities which favour fellow-feeling and social behaviour rather than those (today most esteemed by many) which make for personal "success," as success is usually understood at present.

A more widespread understanding of biological principles will bring with it the realization that much more than the prevention of genetic deterioration is to be sought for and that the raising of the level of the average of the population nearly to that of the highest now existing in isolated individuals, in regard to physical well-being, intelligence and temperamental qualities, is an achievement that would—so far as purely genetic considerations are concerned—be physically possible within a comparatively small number of generations. Thus everyone might look upon "genius," combined of course with stability, as his birthright. And, as the course of evolution shows, this would represent no final stage at all, but only an earnest of still further progress in the future.

Mutations and the Human Gene Pool

The years that have elapsed since the "Geneticists' Manifesto" was written have seen remarkable developments in genetic theory. Some of these give a heightened urgency to the need for developing means to conserve the adaptive efficiency of the gene pool of the human species. In his presidential address before the Society for the Study of Human Genetics in 1950, Dr. H. J. Muller explored the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

proposition that the lack of selection against nonadaptive genes means an inevitable deterioration of the human species. The principle is illustrated by the loss of organs and even organ systems in parasitic species. It is now clear that this deterioration is not due to a Lamarckian response to the nonuse of the organs, but rather to the buildup of nonadaptive mutations in organs no longer having survival value for the species, and thus no longer exposed to effective selection.

The reason for this is to be found in the nature of the mutation process, which has been intensively studied in many organisms during the past thirty years. It is now established that mutations occur spontaneously at all loci, the rate of occurrence varying with the locus. These mutations are conceived of as being biochemical changes in a highly complex system, which is integrated and timed to trigger developmental and/or metabolic sequences. Defects such as albinism or diabetes are due to the absence of gene-controlled enzymes essential to pigment synthesis or to carbohydrate metabolism.

The development of organic adaptation is thus seen to consist of a process of scanning and screening the mutative changes that are constantly appearing in any species, the vast majority of which are deleterious.

The scanning process consists of sexual reproduction, which includes meiosis (crossing-over) and the formation of gametes, showing all possible combinations of parental genes, and the random recombination of these gametes at fertilization. A wide array of genotypic combinations from heterozygous parents is displayed in the progeny, to be screened by the test of survival. Under natural conditions this consists mainly of the ability of the organism to live and to reproduce.

The Problem of the Future

Until very recently, it would appear that the scanning-screening process has applied to the human species in much the same manner as it has applied to all other organisms. But Dr. Muller estimates that in order to maintain the present level of morbid mutations in the human gene pool, some 20 per cent of the population would have to suffer selective elimination through death or nonreproduction. Since in the advanced industrial countries today less than 5 per cent of the population fails to reach the age of 25—the mid-period of reproductivity—it is apparent that a buildup in mutations is occurring. Muller concludes that today "nothing like the equilibrium quota is eliminated by death before the age of reproduction." Nor, it might be added, by nonreproduction.

The rate at which this deterioration in the human gene pool is occurring is not definitely established, for adequate statistics do not exist in any country to permit a direct estimate of the existing load of morbid mutations. Over a short period of time it is a matter of no great consequence, for the buildup will unquestionably be slow. In the long run, however, the effects may be profound.

Muller foresees that the elimination of adaptive selection will eventually result in the biological disintegration of the human species:

> Our descendants' natural biological organization would in fact have disintegrated and have been replaced by complete disorder. Their only connections with mankind would then be the historical one that we ourselves after all had been their ancestors and sponsors, and the fact that their once human material was still used for the purpose of converting it artificially into some semblance of man. However, it would in the end be far easier and more sensible to manufacture a complete man *de novo*, out of appropriately chosen raw materials, than to try to refashion into human form those pitiful relics which remain.

As matters stand today, it appears that the current patterns of survival and fertility are not calculated to enhance the inborn qualities of the human species, either physically or psychologically, but rather are increasing the proportion of morbid genes in the gene pool of the modern industrial nations. The almost universal existence of birth rates that favor the reproduction of the less intelligent offers no prospect for upgrading the inborn intelligence factors of future generations, and the need to substitute some form of humane and voluntary selection for the stern selective forces of the past is the crucial eugenic dilemma. To hope that entire gene systems can be made over through some form of microgenetic magic is about as

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

realistic at the present time as proposing to solve the population problem by resorting to space travel.

Accomplishments and Hypotheses

How this eugenic miracle is to be brought about remains an enigma, and the eugenics movement has not made much progress in coming to grips with this problem. In the early years of the eugenics movement in England, it was naively assumed that the "divinely ordained" social classes into which the English population had traditionally been divided provided a ready-made criterion of eugenic excellence. To enhance the inborn quality of future generations nothing more would be needed than to encourage the breeding of the aristocrats and to check the breeding of the plebeians. In the United States, in a society lacking hereditary classes, the early eugenists could turn to no such convenient criterion of inborn excellence. This difficulty was met by the equally questionable assumption that race provided the necessary criterion. The eugenic salvation of mankind was given into the hands of the Great Blond Nordic. This theme developed an interesting variation in the delimitation of "problem families" (the Jukes, the Kallikaks, and the Nams). It was hoped that their elimination through compulsory sterilization would pretty much solve the eugenic problem.

The adoption by Adolf Hitler of a program of "race purification" based on superficial and perverted derivatives from the naive concepts of the early eugenic enthusiasts understandably engendered opposition to any program of eugenic reform. Yet the problem remains.

The Scandinavian countries, with relatively homogeneous and stable populations, have made considerable progress in locating in their populations some strains that have a high frequency of human hereditary disease. Programs of voluntary sterilization with adequate legal safeguards have made some impact in reducing hereditary defect. But these are trivial in terms of the over-all problem of enhancing the inborn qualities of the human population.

Since its establishment in 1921, the American Eugenics Society has undergone some changes of outlook and policy. Over the past ten years it has evolved the policy that it is possible to build into the culture a pattern of living which, without conscious volition on the part of the individual, will automatically assure a eugenic distribution of births. In a "Program of Positive Eugenics" published by the Society in 1953, it was stated:

> . . . there are strong grounds for believing that the same means could be used to improve both the social and genetic inheritance. There is no divergence between the qualities desirable in a good social inheritance and the inherent capacities of a good genetic inheritance. The home conditions which are best suited to child development depend among other things on affection, intelligence, patience, honesty, loyalty and respect for the individual. . . . It seems almost certain that a distribution of births which would improve the social inheritance along these lines could be developed in such a way that at the same time it would tend to improve the genetic inheritance.

This has evolved into a "Eugenic Hypothesis" that the criterion for eugenic excellence is the "healthy family." "Health now includes almost all aspects of human well-being" and these aspects are held to be related. "Health, like liberty, is indivisible." This "healthy-family" complex is assumed to be transmitted in families more or less as a unit. The postulate therefore is that, once reproduction has become a matter of voluntary choice, the healthier families will desire to have the larger number of children and the unhealthy families will automatically desire to have the smaller number of children.

All that is necessary, according to this view, to start on the road to a eugenic millennium is a social situation in which parenthood is voluntary. The enhancement of the inborn qualities of the human breed will follow almost automatically.

That eugenic progress can be assured without the need for the individual to make choices except those that are assumed to be virtually automatic by reason of being a member of a "healthy family" or an "unhealthy family" appears to err on the side of naiveté. Furthermore, the assumption that all members of "healthy families" carry an equally favorable genetic endowment is untenable in view of the extreme heterozygosity of the human species. Finally, and the most serious objection to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

"Eugenic Hypothesis," the existence of a genetic complex that can be defined as a "healthy family" runs counter to all genetic experience. A basic tenet of genetics is that the units that transmit heredity are discrete and independently inherited. Nor can the phenomenon of linkage, which tends to transmit genes located on the same chromosome as a unit, be adduced to support this concept. And crossing-over means that in populations—as distinct from pedigrees—the unfavorable alleles are as likely to be linked as are the favorable alleles of the "healthy family" genes.

Only when relatively pure genetic strains of human beings exist can the "healthy family" act as an adequate selective criterion. Such strains are not to be found today; and human mating patterns do not provide much basis for expecting them to appear. The effective selection envisioned by Dr. Mueller and the signers of the "Geneticists' Manifesto" cannot be achieved by the application of the "Eugenic Hypothesis."

It is unfortunate that the publication of the "Eugenic Hypothesis" produced so little comment or discussion. The writer proposed an alternative hypothesis, hoping it might stimulate further exploration of what appears to be the central problem of eugenic motivation. This took the view that an effective eugenic program must necessarily be based on the individual rather than the family as the unit of selection. Its effectiveness would therefore depend upon highly motivated individual decisions: the motivation would have to be strong enough to result in individual decisions *not to have progeny* where the genetic prognosis was unfavorable.

It was postulated that a basis exists for developing such a compelling motivation: the overwhelming desire felt by virtually all women to bear perfect children, without physical or mental defect. Obstetricians testify that this desire is so deep-seated and overwhelming that the first question a woman asks about her newborn child is not "Is it a boy or girl?" but "Is the baby *perfect*?"

During the years since Galton, very little progress has been made in developing, identifying, and utilizing those forces under social control that might be called on to produce a eugenic society. Until the effective "motivational pressure points" that will promote sound eugenic decisions are identified and applied to bring about a selective pattern of births, eugenics will remain a paper discipline.

The crux of the eugenic dilemma lies in how to manipulate these "forces under social control" in order to assure a selectively favorable pattern of births. That social and economic factors influence fertility cannot be questioned. For example, in the United States over two-thirds of the female population between the ages of 20 and 24 is married, as compared to less than a fifth in Ireland. If the one Irish woman in five who marries during the years of maximum fertility had a better-than-average inborn endowment, the genetic quality of the Irish people would be rapidly enhanced. If the reverse were true, eugenic deterioration could be very rapid. No evidence exists that provides an answer to which—if either—of these situations exists in Ireland.

In the United States, on the other hand, where a situation approaching pangamy exists, any possibility of rapid enhancement of inborn qualities seems much less likely. Pangamy may be democratic, but it can hardly be selective. When virtually every woman produces approximately her quota of children, effective birth selection does not exist.

Neither in England nor in the United States —or in any other country, for that matter—does there exist a climate of opinion extensive enough and strongly enough motivated to form the basis for an effective program. The steps which are being taken to develop such a climate of opinion are pathetically inadequate to produce any measurable effect.

In a population enjoying a very high degree of genetic enlightenment, the urge toward perfection could be a compelling and effective eugenic motivation. This is not the case today, anywhere on earth. Were it possible to identify in the heterozygote a majority of the existing lethal and morbid genes, a major revolution in attitudes toward reproduction might be brought about. Much progress in identifying heterozygotes has been made in recent years; and such a possibility may be realized before very long.

However, until more is learned, the mandate to perfection—which appears to be deeply built into our species—could be strong enough, if

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

properly directed, to motivate a voluntary withholding from reproduction on the part of those so unfortunate as to carry an unfavorable genetic heritage. Great numbers of women have foregone reproduction for far less compelling reasons.

Since eugenics deals with human conception, with birth and death, it is the center of one of the most highly charged areas of emotional stress in human experience and action. Eugenic progress will continue to be an extraordinarily complex and difficult field of human endeavor, but it remains a challenge that cannot indefinitely be evaded.

References

Blacker, C. P., *Eugenics: Galton and After.* London: Duckworth, 1952.

Blacker, C. P., "Family Planning and Eugenics Movements in the Mid-twentieth Century." *Eugen. Rev. 47;* 4, 1957.

Cook, Robert C., "Eugenic Hypothesis B." *Eugen. Quart. 2;* Nos. 3 and 4, 1955.

Darlington, C. D., "The Major Policies of the American Eugenics Society." *Eugen. News, 38;* No. 2, 1953.

Darlington, C. D., "The Control of Evolution in Man." *Eugen. Rev. 50;* 3, 1958.

"Differentiation in Current Mating and Fertility Trends" (Symposium). *Eugen. Quart. 6;* No. 2, 1959.

Galton, Francis, *Memories of My Life.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1908.

Holmes, S. J., *Human Genetics and Its Social Import.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936.

Lorimer, Frank, and Osborn, Frederick, *Dynamics of Population; Social and Biological Significance of Changing Birth Rates in the United States.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Muller, H. J., "Our Load of Mutations." *Am. J. Human Genet. 2;* 111, 1950.

Osborn, Frederick, *Preface to Eugenics* (rev. ed.). New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Roberts, J. A. Fraser, *An Introduction to Medical Genetics.* London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Stern, Curt, *Principles of Human Genetics.* San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1950.

Woodworth, R. S., "Heredity and Environment: A Critical Survey of Recently Published Material on Twins and Foster Children." *Social Science Research Council Bull.* No. 47, 1941.

ROBERT C. COOK

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Europe, Sex Life in

ON THE globe Europe is the narrow northwestern cape of the immense Eurasian continent, bathed by the Polar Sea, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. It may seem hard to realize that in this small part of the world so many different people should dwell, each with his own culture and thus his own sex life.

That is why the title of this article, suggesting a more or less uniform sex life in Europe, is somewhat misleading. This, however, is unavoidable; a different title such as "European Sex Life," would be even more misleading. For Europe, with its twenty-six national states—not counting the smaller countries as such—has never been a political-cultural unit, even during the Roman Empire or the Holy Roman Empire.

In these twenty-six national states the populations regard themselves as nations, clearly different from their neighbors, each with a language, history, and culture of its own, as well as its own sexual culture, habits, and customs. This number of twenty-six does not, however, reflect the reality. In a country such as Britain there are Scotchmen, English, and Welshmen; in Belgium, Flemish and Walloons; in Switzerland, French, German, Italian-Swiss, and Rhaeto-Romans; and in a country such as Jugoslavia, Serbians, Slovenes, Croatians, Bosnians, Macedonians, etc., who can all be considered separate nations, in so far as their sex life is concerned.

During the almost two centuries since the French Revolution, national cultural differences have increased rather than decreased, in spite of closer contacts between peoples. Two world wars with their resulting enormous migrations and modern techniques of mass communication may have acted as important counterweights, although their leveling effect has nevertheless remained very limited. Our first conclusion, therefore, must be that there is no more or less uniform European sex life, and there never has been one.

Hellas and Judea

At the cradle of the national and subnational cultures of Europe stood Hellas and Judea. All present-day European peoples have inherited —via Rome, or via Rome and Byzantium—essential elements from these two important Mediterranean civilizations. As far as our sexual attitudes are concerned we have, unfortunately, to admit that the Judean element—as understood and passed on by the early Christians—proved to be strongly dominant. Greek culture accepted love in all its forms—including that of lust—quite naturally as a source of happiness. Each was free to seek his own satisfaction as long as he did not interfere with the rights of others.

As Pierre Louÿs (1932) has noted:

"Love, with all its consequences, was, for the ancient Greeks, the sentiment most virtuous and most fecund in grandeurs. They did not attach to it those ideas of shamelessness and immodesty which Israelite tradition, along with the Christian doctrine, has handed down to us."

For the Greeks sexuality was "a condition, mysterious but necessary and creative, of intellectual development." Louÿs says they lived for the time when "human nudity"—the most perfect form, since we believe in the image of God, which we can know or even conceive—could reveal itself through the features of a sacred courtesan before the twenty thousand

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

pilgrims upon the strands of Eleusis; where the most sensual love—the divine love whence we are born—was without stain, without shame and without sin."

But this ancient culture perished when decadent imperial Rome was defeated, first politically by the Barbarians, and then in the areas of religion and culture by young, ascetic, and militant Christianity. When the latter triumphed and soon after became the state religion of the remnants of the old empire, the struggle started between ascetic Judea and life-assenting Hellas—a struggle that has never ended and that gives to each European culture its special color and shade, according to the relative influence of these antithetic elements.

Under the influence of the new theocracy, whose ascetism was only equaled by their proselytism, a new attitude evolved comparatively quickly that rejected the body since it was the source of lust. This went so far that St. Augustine expresses regret in his *Confessions* that the necessary function of eating should be accompanied by lust. A new, rigidly ascetic code of morals, which regarded as sinful every sensually pleasing act not directly concerned with the maintenance or procreation of life, spread during the following centuries over all the newly formed national states of Europe.

During these first centuries of the new Europe, this drastic curtailment of legitimate bodily satisfaction could be enforced only by the imposition of severe penalties for transgressions—penalties that helped to change the structure of the superego of Medieval man. The feudal, hierarchic society in which he lived made him dependent, not only in deed but in thought and feeling as well, on his direct and indirect superiors: the secular and, even more important, the clerical authorities. He believed in their image of the world, in their image of the hereafter, in their heaven and hell, and their conception of what was sinful and what was permitted. In the terms of dynamic psychology, he internalized their prohibitions, the nonverbal as well as the verbal ones.

Thus a new human type originated, with different "impulses" and with a different "conscience." The "new" prohibitions created new guilt feelings and new anxieties with regard to impulses, inclinations, and wishes that had been perfectly acceptable in earlier cultural periods when they could be acted out freely. "Lust of the body" became the "sin of the flesh." One single sexual outlet remained permitted: coitus in marriage that had been sanctified by the Church. And this in fact only because mankind would become extinct if all devoted themselves to the highest ideal of complete chastity.

"Mortal Sins"

Every use of the sexual functions not directed toward this primary goal was called an abuse, an unnatural and capital sin. It was easy enough for adroit moral theologians after "establishing" by a priori axioms that the sexual impulse was in reality the impulse to procreate, to prove by impeccable syllogisms that all other sexual acts stood outside the divine law of nature, were therefore unnatural and "mortal" sins. "Mortal" indeed, because the conqueror writes not only the history but the morals as well, and the laws by which they are maintained. During the long following period of European history, canonical laws largely determined the secular ones, and as far as sexual offenses were concerned the two codes were usually identical: what was a mortal sin for the Church became a capital offense to the secular arm. This category included more or less without differentiation every sexual offense: premarital sexual intercourse, adultery, masturbation, and homosexuality.

To St. Paul, homosexuality, because of its prominence in the Near-Eastern, Hellenic, and Hellenistic religious practices of antiquity, was primarily a religious sin and a part of every form of heresy. Under his influence, therefore, the fight against homosexuality was started first and with the greatest vehemence, for here the antiheathen attitude and the morals of the new rulers reinforced each other. That is why in Europe homosexual love was tabooed much earlier, much more intensely, and much more efficiently than other "prohibited expressions" of sex life; a taboo that has continued to our own days.

In this historical process an important part was played by the inconsistency by which offi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cial commandments and prohibitions were implemented in different places and periods for the different layers of population. Notwithstanding all their efforts, clerical and secular rulers never succeeded in entirely stopping premarital sexual intercourse, concubinage, adultery, prostitution, and masturbation. This was partly due to the fact that from the early Middle Ages until the explosion of Victorian morality, the formally severe laws relating to heterosexual practices were administered with varying degrees of laxity by secular and even by clerical authorities.

The reason for this was that, regardless of official prohibition, leaders and respected members of society of pre-Reformation Europe not only tolerated but openly indulged in premarital and extramarital sexual relations. Wanton priests and monks contributed no less than sovereigns and cardinals to the fact that heterosexual prohibitions became much less a part of instinctive belief than those concerning homosexuality. Pressure on different heterosexual outlets was therefore much less strong, much less venomous, and above all much less constant. For such a pressure has to work intensively and uninterruptedly for some generations if it is to change human structure fundamentally.

The Reformation

With the victory of the Reformation and the rise to power of the bourgeois class in northwestern Europe, this informal element of permissiveness disappeared, particularly in the Germanic states, where the historical influence of Roman culture had been slight and short-lived, or totally lacking. From then on a clear differentiation began in the cultural development of the European peoples. The Protestant peoples in the northwest, the Romanic in the southwest (which after the victory of the Counter-Reformation remained Catholic), the equally Catholic population in southern Germany and the Habsburg countries, and finally the Slavonic people of the Balkans and Eastern Europe under strong Byzantine influence, were touched in an unequal measure by antisexual tendencies. These spread more and more during the following centuries, but their fatal effects were tempered by the amount of Hellenic, Roman, and Byzantine inheritance that had remained alive in the different peoples.

Here again we meet the already-mentioned dialectical processes. The severer imposition of external restraints by accepted authority results, after some generations, in a change of the superego, which becomes more severe and more rigid and thus increases the emotional importance of social conformity. Henceforth, in direct connection with the life standards of the young bourgeois society, sexuality is identified both consciously and unconsciously with procreation. From now on every sexual expression not directly aiming at procreation is rejected as "antinatural" and sinful, on the basis of ethics and philosophy as well as religion. The scientific fiction is born that there is no sexuality in children, that it announces itself as if by magic during puberty, in the form of an irresistible attraction that is possible only between males and females, whose expression and goal is solely the continuation of the species.

An attempted renaissance of Hellenic culture and attitudes, including those toward sex, arose in Italy, but its role outside that country remained very limited, the antisexual tendencies of the Reformation being too strong for it. In the eighteenth century a development began in England and Holland that was to reach its culminating point in the following two centuries: the sexual morals of the bourgeoisie began to affect the working class, whose mental and emotional structure became adapted to that of the ruling class. This further spreading of ascetic morals to new layers of population, who had so far remained more or less immune against it, was once more challenged by the life-assenting wave of the Rococo. The Rococo has been regarded as merely the "après nous le déluge" attitude of the doomed feudal class, but it would seem wrong to see in it only the negative elements; its positive elements should be recognized—not least because of its efforts to create for the first time after the early Renaissance a refined erotic culture, of which Casanova will always remain the incarnation.

This counterwave of the Rococo was broken by the French Revolution. Another movement,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

launched in the same century and stimulated by this very revolution, did far better. Far into the eighteenth century canonical law exercised, as mentioned before, a great influence on the criminal law in different European countries, especially as far as moral offenses were concerned. Thus, in most countries a great uniformity prevailed in this field. In the course of this century, however, the changed distribution of power between sovereigns, nobility, church, and bourgeois strengthened the tendency for separation of church and state. The influence of rationalistic bourgeois philosophers added to the endeavors to base the punishment of sexual offenses on new principles of retaliation.

Under the canonical law of the Middle Ages, moral offenses were punishable as such. The new legal philosophy, however, required that punishment for "crimes," including so-called immoral sexual acts, be decided only by the extent to which the rights or interests of others were violated by them. The Napoleonic Code, in which these principles were originally embodied, no longer punished all sorts of sexual acts, however heinous they had formerly been regarded. This reformation applied even to coitus with animals and with humans of the same sex—the "sodomy" of the old laws—which had been punishable nearly everywhere with the death penalty. As the Napoleonic Code was only applied in the Romanic countries and in the Netherlands, there has prevailed for one and a half centuries in this respect a great divergence between this group of countries and all the others, where the influence of the old canonical law with respect to the penalty for homosexuality and other sexual offenses was still at least partially in force.

In spite of the more liberal—or better, more humanistic—tendencies in legislation, the suppression of sexuality still continued during the nineteenth century. It reached its culminating point in the Victorian era, where puritanism and its inseparable companion hypocrisy reached new heights, to influence almost all elements of the population. But in a typical dialectical process, counterforces developed, leading during our century toward a new wave of sexual emancipation. The most striking example of this dialectic is perhaps the development of psychoanalysis, which could originate only during a period and in a place where sexual suppression had grown so far that hysteria had become the fashionable disease of the well-to-do class. This wave of sexual emancipation by which our time is characterized is the result not of a new science or a new ideology, but of the tremendous changes in the social field, which took place mostly under the influence of two world wars and affected particularly the role of women. A coincidental industrialization and urbanization of great parts of Europe dislodged old patriarchal family relationships and narrowed the bases on which marriages were built. The erotic aspects of marriage therefore became much more important than at any time since the fall of Hellas. Possibly the most decisive element in this revolution was the collapse of unquestioning acceptance of the dogma of unity of sexuality and procreation.

Contemporary Europe

Modern European man has developed a new attitude with regard to procreation, a "preventive attitude" that renders it impossible to accept the consequences of unrestricted fertility. This attitude—certainly a phenomenon of sociological origin—which has become an inevitable accompaniment of the attainment of a certain cultural and material level of civilization, has led to the modern movement for conscious family planning. Love has emancipated itself from procreation.

We have already drawn attention to the great differences between the present-day European nations with regard to sex life. We can now specify these differences a little further by stating, that they are the result of a number of historical factors, especially of the degree to which Hellenic-Roman-Byzantine culture, early Christian ascetic morals, the Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Rococo movement, the French Revolution, and finally the nineteenth-century industrial and the twentieth-century sexual revolutions made themselves felt during the shaping of a country's ethos.

In addition, the effect of the sexual revolution

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of our century has varied from country to country. Even contemporary developments are uniform in neither speed nor direction, as has been proved by the regressions of the thirties in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that in great parts of Europe, noticeably in the Scandinavian countries, especially in Sweden, new sexual morals are evolving—in a gradualistic rather than revolutionary manner—that differ essentially from the hypocritical double standard of nineteenth-century Europe. During this development a new sociological phenomenon has made its appearance: ideological movements, such as the World League for Sex-Reform, developed by men and women who desired to direct and lead this development on the basis of their philosophy of life and their scientific views.

Sex Reform Movements

Some sociologically naive supporters of this movement believed in sex reform from the top. They formulated elaborate programs without realizing that written or unwritten moral codes of the community cannot be altered by decree. Others, more realistically, understood that their task had to be limited to a systematic effort to direct and hasten the historical tendencies of development as much as possible. For this purpose they cooperated in many cases with local progressive and radical political groups.

During the twenties this movement for sex reform reached its culmination in central Europe, where men such as Forel and Hirschfeld were the leading figures. By means of the spoken and written word, war was waged against obsolete bourgeois morals. These new morals, born during a period of social and political emancipation of women, were based on two principles: complete equality of rights for both sexes and the liberation of sexual love from the single objective of procreation. Although continuing—especially after the failure of radical reform efforts in Soviet Russia—to regard lasting monogamous marriage as the highest ideal, the new sexual code includes a more realistic attitude toward premarital and extramarital relations. To achieve this, however, proper sex information for women as well as for men is needed. This ought to begin in early childhood, in order to prevent the fatal loss of the ability to give or receive love that was characteristic of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century man. In addition, more attention should be paid to the art of sexual love, as a preventive measure against today's endemic female lack of orgastic ability.

In spite of the high value these reformers attach to a normal, heterosexual, and durable love relationship, they demand that both society and the individual understand and tolerate all other expressions of human sexuality: the immature, the neurotic, and even the perverse. These should be considered not as punishable offenses but—so long as the rights of fellow men and of the community are not violated—as objects for pedagogic and psychotherapeutic efforts. Lastly, the reformers advocate birth control in the sense of planned parenthood. Criminal abortion ought to be fought, not by inhuman laws, but by reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies to a minimum by legalizing abortion in a number of clearly and sharply defined indications: medical, medicosocial, eugenic, and humanistic.

The World League for Sex-Reform

All specific proposals put forward by the different national leagues and the World League for Sex-Reform can be brought back to these principles, as is shown by the program drafted in 1928 by the League. Steiner (1935) listed the following items from that platform:

1. Political, economic and sexual equality of rights of men and women.
2. The liberation of marriage (and especially divorce) from the present Church and State tyranny.
3. Birth control, so that procreation may be undertaken only deliberately and with a due sense of responsibility.
4. Race betterment by the application of the knowledge of eugenics.
5. Protection of the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child.
6. A rational attitude toward sexually abnormal persons, and especially toward homosexuals, both male and female.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

7. Prevention of prostitution and venereal disease.
8. Disturbances of the sexual impulse to be regarded as more or less pathological phenomena and not, as in the past, merely as crimes, vices, or sins.
9. Only those sexual acts to be considered criminal which infringe the sexual rights of another person. Sexual acts between responsible adults, undertaken by mutual consent, to be regarded as the private concern of those adults.
10. Systematic sexual education and enlightenment.

The World League, which during the years 1928–1932 organized almost annual conferences with a demonstrative ideological and at the same time scientific character, found for some of its claims natural allies in progressive women's movements and national neo-Malthusian ideology, especially after the split between socialists and orthodox Malthusians at the Liège conference in 1902. In central Europe neo-Malthusianism had even developed into mass movements for sexual reform.

Counter-Reactions to Sexual Reforms

The movement had its natural adversaries, however, who were to prove considerably more powerful than its political friends amongst the liberals, left-wing socialists, and—until about 1930—the Communists in eastern and central Europe. These adversaries—the ultranationalists, clericals, and Catholics as well as orthodox Protestants, Fascists, Nazis and, after 1936, Communists—were spurred to their counter-offensive by the great response of the population to the movement for sex reform. In France, under the pressure of right-wing chauvinists, a law was passed in 1920 against birth control, with increased penalties for abortion. Belgium and Fascist Italy soon followed suit. On December 31, 1930, the Vatican issued the encyclical letter *Casti Connubii,* in which Pope Pius XI once more with the greatest emphasis stressed the old doctrine of the primarily procreative purpose of sex. The opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to the sex-reforming aims of the World League was thereby established. This fact has had profound effects on government policies in all European countries where Roman Catholic political parties are of importance.

The heaviest blow against the movement for sexual reform, however, fell in 1933, when the Nazis seized power in Germany, which was then the center of the movement. The burning of Magnus Hirschfeld's archives of the Institute for Sexological Science was more than a symbol; it was the beginning of a systematic destruction—first in Germany itself, then in Austria (1938), Czechoslovakia and Poland (1939), Denmark, Norway, and Holland (1940), and shortly after in the whole of occupied Europe—of everything that had been built up during decades by scientific ideological and practical sociomedical work. Only Sweden escaped this catastrophe and became, thus, the one European country during those dark years where a progressive evolution could take place and be reflected in legislation. Here Elise Ottensen-Jensen founded in 1933 the *Riksførbundet för Sexuell Upplysning,* which acquired not only a growing mass support but increasing political influence as well.

After the liberation of Europe in 1944–1945, a revival of the movement for sex reform did *not* occur; there were other and more direct concerns. When at last problems of sexuality became apposite, the political conditions for a revival of the movement proved to be lacking nearly everywhere, primarily because of the enormously increased Catholic influence on government affairs in France, Italy, Belgium, Western Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands. At the same time, the Stalinist antisexual policies were slavishly followed in the "peoples' democracies," until the beginning of the "thaw" in 1955–1956. Only in the three liberated Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, and Finland, was a progressive trend evidenced, and there important reforms following the Swedish pattern have recently been enacted. Thus, the "sexual revolution" of the twenties, seemingly on the point of victory, has been held up almost everywhere.

Future Sex Reforms

But social evolution does progress and certainly in the near future the necessary conditions will exist for the interrupted revival of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the movement for sex reform. Many symptoms indicate that this revival is not far off. The Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies returned shortly after Stalin's death to a more liberal sexual policy, and the same applied to Jugoslavia. In France, Belgium, and Italy as well, efforts are observed, although perhaps only timid ones, to revive the movement for sex reform and birth control. These two efforts are at present united nearly everywhere in Europe under one movement for planned parenthood and sex education. In the Netherlands, where a right-wing clerical cabinet had pushed through new punitive measures against contraception, abortion, and homosexuality as early as 1911, and in 1927 had taken the legal status from the Neo-Malthusian League, the socialist minister of justice (in a coalition cabinet composed mainly of right-wing socialists and Catholics) in 1958 was forced to reestablish this status by the pressure of public opinion. The strongest impulse for this revival of sex reform may be expected to come from the leaders of Protestant churches, who have, nearly everywhere in Europe, broken their old common front with Roman Catholic moral-theologians in regard to the controversial subjects of love and marriage, and who now voice new and progressive ideas.

Historical Tables

The most important events of the sex history of Europe during the last century can be found in Table 1, and facts concerning legislation are in Tables 2 through 6. These serve to illustrate better than an elaborate argument the struggle that was so courageously fought by the "lost generation." They also prove that this struggle was not completely in vain.

TABLE 1. EVENTS OF THE SEX HISTORY OF EUROPE*

1798	Malthus: *Essay on the Principle of Population*
1829	Discovery of the human ovule (Von Baer)
1838	Dr. Wilde invents the cervical cap
1842–45	Formulation of a (false) safe-period theory (Pouchet, Bischoff, Raciborski)
1859	Darwin: *Origin of Species*
1861	Bachofen: *Mother Right*
1865	Mendel: *Laws of Genetics* (rediscovered 1900)
1868	Avrard formulates a better safe-period theory
1869	Term "homosexuality" coined by Benkert
1877	Bradlaugh-Besant trial. Foundation of the British Malthusian League
1879	Bebel: *Woman and Socialism*
	Neisser discovers gonococcus
	International Medical Congress in Amsterdam discusses birth control techniques
1881	Foundation of the Dutch Malthusian League
1883	Mensinga cervical cap invented
1886	Krafft-Ebing: *Psychopathia Sexualis*
1890	Aletta Jacobs starts the first birth-control center (Amsterdam)
1895	Freud and Breuer: *Studies on Hysteria*
	Carpenter: *Homogenic Love*
	Oscar Wilde case
1896	First (German) edition of Havelock Ellis
1897	Scientific Humanitarian Committee founded in Berlin (Hirschfeld)
	Battle against German antisexual statute, §175 starts
1900	Freud: *Interpretation of Dreams*
	First International Malthusian Congress (Paris)
	Foundation of International Neo-Malthusian League
	Dr. Rutgers (Rotterdam) starts training of laywomen as "birth-control nurses"
	Medical split in Dutch Neo-Malthusian League, Aletta Jacobs and others withdraw
	Jahurbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Annual for Sexual Intermediate Types) founded
1904	Forel: *Sexual Problems*
1905	Second International Neo-Malthusian Congress (Liège)
	Suffragettes start terrorism
	Conflict between Malthusians and Socialists
	Freud: *Three Contributions to Sexual Theory*
	Schaudinn-Hoffman detect *Spirochaeta pallida*
1907	Limited franchise for women in Norway
1907–09	Eulenburg case in Germany
1910	Ehrlich and Hatta invent Salvarsan
1911	New laws in the Netherlands against contraception, abortion, and homosexuality
1913	Proposals for legalization of abortion in Norway
	Universal franchise in Norway
	Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft (Journal of Sexology) founded (published until 1932)

* Partly quoted from Max Hodann.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 1. EVENTS OF THE SEX HISTORY OF EUROPE—*Cont'd.*

1915	Stella Browne advocates legalization of abortion for Great Britain
	Theory of intersexuality (Goldschmidt)
1917	Russian Revolution — Alexandra Kollontay, Commissar for Maternity and Child Welfare, starts "sexual revolution"
	Malaria therapy of syphilitic paresis (Wagner-Jauregg)
1918	Universal franchise for women in the Netherlands
	Limited franchise for women in Great Britain
1919	Abortion legalization bill in Bâle defeated
	Institute of Sexual Science and first sex consultation center founded (Hirschfeld, Berlin)
1920	Soviet Russia legalizes abortion
	Leftist action against statute §218 in Germany
	Law against birth control in France
	Increased penalties for abortion
1921	First International Congress for Sexual Reform (Berlin)
	First British birth control clinic (Marie Stopes)
1922	First sex-consultation center founded in Vienna
1923	First lay association for sex reform and birth control founded in central Europe
1923	New divorce law in England
1924	Heiser abortion trial in Germany
	Birth control clinics founded in Scandinavia
1925	Laws against birth control in Italy
1926	Birth control centers in U.S.S.R.
	Van de Velde: *Ideal Marriage*
1927	Malinowski: *Sexual Life of Savages*
	Draft of new abortion bill submitted to German Reichstag
	Discussions against abortion in Russia
	Birth-Control Information Center and Investigation Committee founded (London)
	Reich: *The Function of the Orgasm*
	Hirschfeld: *Geschlechtskunde*
	Victor Marguérite: *Ton corps est à toi*
	Dutch Government rescinds legal status of Dutch Neo-Malthusian League
1928	Universal franchise for women in Britain
	Knaus and Ogino formulate an improved version of Avrard's theory of the safe period
	World League for Sexual Reform (W.L.S.R.) founded (Copenhagen)
	Scandinavian countries start sex consultation and education
1929	Danish castration law for criminals
	Third W.L.S.R. Congress (London)
	Fleming discovers penicillin
1930	Seventh and last International Neo-Malthusian Congress (Zürich)
	Lambeth Conference accepts birth control
	Encyclical *Casti Connubii*
	Fourth W.L.S.R. Congress (Vienna)
1931	Aletta Jacobshuis founds first fully equipped sexological clinic (Amsterdam)
1932	Fifth and last W.L.S.R. Congress (Brünn)
	Medical and humanitarian indications for abortion accepted in Poland
1933	Latvia legalizes abortion (on medical, eugenic and social grounds)
	Swedish Sex Education Society founded (Elise Ottensen-Jensen)
	Nazis destroy the Institute of Sexual Science (Berlin)
	Nazis close all German sex consultation centers and birth-control clinics
	Compulsory sterilization in Germany
1934	Iceland legalizes medical and social indications for abortion
	Massacre of homosexuals in Germany
	New laws against homosexuality in Russia
	Leunbach abortion trial in Denmark
1935	Death of Hirschfeld
	Dissolution of World League for Sexual Reform
	Latvia rescinds social indications for abortion
	U.S.S.R. rescinds social indications for abortion
	W. Reich: *Sexualität u. Kulturkampf*
	Domagh discovers bacteriocidal qualities of sulfonamides
1938	Alec Bourne abortion case (London)
	Sweden legalizes medical abortion
1938–41	Nazis suppress birth control and sexual reform in occupied countries (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, etc.)
1939	Home Office *Report on Abortion* (England)
1944	Legal equality for homosexuals in Sweden
1944/45	Penicillin introduced for venereal disease therapy
1945	Sweden: Sex education in school obligatory
1946	Sociomedical indications for abortion legalized in Sweden
	Meeting in Stockholm of planned parenthood leaders
	First postwar conference on planned parenthood
1947	Dutch New Malthusian League transformed into Dutch League for Sexual Reform
1948	Second International Conference on Population and World Resources (Cheltenham)
1949	Pius XII rejects all forms of artificial insemination (reaffirmed: 1951, 1956)
1951	Foundation of International Committee for Sexual Equality (Amsterdam)

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 1. EVENTS OF THE SEX HISTORY OF EUROPE—*Cont'd.*

1952	Dutch Reformed Church endorses family planning
1953	Fourth International Conference on Population and World Resources (Stockholm) International Planned Parenthood Federation founded
1954	Revival of planned parenthood movement in Italy
1955/56	Legal abortion and family planning re-established in U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Jugoslavia
1956	Revival of family planning in France
1957	First Regional Conference on Planned Parenthood (Berlin), first international meeting in Germany since 1933 Wolfenden report on homosexuality and prostitution (Great Britain) Dutch Reformed Church rejects artificial insemination by donor
1957/58	Revival of planned parenthood in Belgium
1958	Lambeth conference endorses birth control Dutch Society for Sexual Reform regains legal status

TABLE 2.
BIRTH CONTROL AND CONTRACEPTION

	ILLEGAL	ALLOWED (WITH PRESCRIPTION)	FREE (RESTRICTIONS ON SALE AND PURCHASE)	FREE	FREE, EXCEPT FOR RESTRICTIONS
Belgium	+				
Germany	Bayern, Westfalen Rh. Phaltz		other parts		
Italy	+				
Jugoslavia		+			
France		+			
Austria		+			
Hungary		+			
Denmark			+		
Finland			+		
Netherlands			+		
Sweden			+		
U.S.S.R.			+		
Czechoslovakia				+	
Wales					+
England					+
Norway					+
Switzerland					+

TABLE 3. ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

	CIVIL LAW	CRIMINAL LAW
England	cause for divorce: child may be considered illegitimate	equated with adultery in some cases
France	cause for divorce or judicial separation: husband may repudiate child (because of his impotence or absence, or if birth is concealed); child may be claimed by unmarried donor	punishable for married woman, if husband sues her; for unmarried woman: if A.I. takes place in manner conflicting with the Droit Criminel (performed in public; immoral sexual behavior)
Germany	cause for divorce: charge for damage; illegitimacy of child, if husband repudiates and if it is impossible that it is the husband's	A.I.D. without consent of husband: act of violence, outrage, bodily harm; doctor may be disciplined; doctor is punishable if he treats a woman he knows to be without means of support
Switzerland	husband and heirs can dispute legitimacy of the child	husband punishable as accessory if he submits his wife to A.I.D. against her will, if woman dies or if her health is impaired after pregnancy and delivery
Netherlands	if husband did not give consent to A.I.D., he can dispute legitimacy of the child; may be "excess" (judicial separation); doctor may be sued	art. 284, 1. Wb.-Str.r.: as for attendant factors (in public)

There is no legal status for artificial insemination (A.I.) in England, France, Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Switzerland.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

TABLE 4. HOMOSEXUAL OFFENSES

	ENGLAND, WALES	SCOTLAND	AUSTRIA	DENMARK	BELGIUM	FRANCE	GERMANY	GREECE	ITALY	NETHERLANDS	NORWAY	SPAIN	SWEDEN
Sodomy	impris. max. life	impris. max. life											
Attended sodomy	impris. max. 10 y.	impris. max. life											
Indecent assault (male by male)	impris. 6 m.–10 y. max.	impris. max. 2 y.			under 16 impris. max. 15 y.; 16–21 max. 10 y.; other cases, max. 5 y.	impris.				under 21 impris. max. 4 y.; special circumst. max. 6 y.	impris. max. 1 y.; under 14 max. 15 y. or for life; 14–18 max. 5 y.	impris. max. 6 y.	
Indecent assault (female by female)	impris. 6 m.–10 y. max.	impris. 3 m. max.											
Acts of gross indecency (between males)	impris. max. 2 y.	impris. max. 2 y.											
Procuring acts of gross indecency (between males)	impris. max. 3 y.	impris. max. 3 m.											
Attempting to procure acts of gross indecency (between males)	impris. max. 2 y.	impris. max. 3 m.											
Assault with intent to commit sodomy	impris. max. 10 y.												
Persistent soliciting or importuning of males by males, for immoral purposes	impris. 6 m. or 2 y. max.	impris. 6 m. or 2 y. max.											
Offenses against bylaws	fine £5 max.	fine £5 max.											
Libidinous practices & behavior betw. males		impris. 3 m. max.											
Indecency against nature			impris. max. 5 y.										
Indecency with violence, etc.			impris. max. 10 y.	impris. max. 4 y.									
Minor acts			impris. 8 d.–6 m.										
Outraging public decency				impris. max. 4 y.	impris. max. 1 y. or fine 500 frs.; under 16, impris. max. 6 y. or fine 1,000 frs.	impris. max. 2 y. or fine 12,000 frs.			impris. max. 3 y.	impris. max. 2 y. or fine f.300. 3 days or f.15 max.	impris. max. 3 m.	impris. max. 6 m., or fine 5,000 pes. public order: impris. 30 d. max. or fine 1,000 pes.	
Homosexual acts				impris. under 15 max. 6 y.; force, fear, etc., max. 6 y.; under 18 max. 4 y.; under 21 max. 3 y.		under 21 impris. max. 3 y. or fine 500,000 frs.; under 15 max. 10 y.; with violence, etc.: hard labor	between males; under 14, violence, etc., impris. max. 10 y.; other cases: max. 5 y.			under 21 impris. max. 4 y.; special circumst. max. 6–8 y.			under 15 or parent victim impris. max. 4 y.; under 21 with insane, dependence, etc., impris. max. 2 y.
Unnatural sex intercourse (all forms of indecency)								under 17 for gain, etc., impris. max. 5 y.	violence, impris. max. 10 y.; abuse of authority: max. 10 y.				
Acts of indecency											under 16 impris. max. 3 y.		

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 5. GROUNDS FOR LEGAL ABORTION

	MEDICAL	EUGENIC	MEDICO-SOCIAL	LEGAL-HUMANITARIAN	DATE OF LEGISLATION
Denmark	+	+	+	+	1939
Finland	+	+		+	1950
Germany, East	+	+	+*		
Iceland	+		+		1934
Jugoslavia	+				
Poland	+	+	+	+	
Norway	†				
Roumania	+	+			
Sweden	+	+	+	+	1938, resp. 1946
Switzerland	+	‡		‡	1942
U.S.S.R.	+	+	+	+	1920–1936, 1955
Czechoslovakia	+	+	+	+	1957

* Rescinded, 1950.
† Norway: No modern legislation, but official statement permits strictly medical abortion.
‡ Switzerland: Different laws in different cantons.
All other European countries have no modern abortion legislation.

TABLE 6. DIVORCE

	GROUNDS	WAITING TIME
Austria	a, ab, m, im, o, abm	180 days
Belgium	a, v, m, o, mc	10 months
Bulgaria	a, ab, m, im, o, par, mar	6 months
Denmark	a, ab, m, im, o, par, mc	10 months
Finland	a, ab, m, im, par, mar, o, mc, abm	10 months
France	a, m, o, dcp, d	300 days
Great Britain	a, ab, i (5 y.), m, ul	—
Greece	a, m, im, o	365 days
Germany	a, ab, m, b, ul, i (3 y.), dl	10 months
Hungary	a, ab, m, im, abm	10 months
Iceland	a, ab, m, im, o, par, mc	10 months
Italy	—	—
Ireland	—	—
Jugoslavia	a, ab, m, im	9 months
Luxemburg	a, m, im, o, mc	300 days
Netherlands	a, ab, im, m	300 days
Norway	a, ab, m, im, par, mar	10 months
Poland	—	—
Portugal	a, ab, m, im, o, mc	1 year
Roumania	a, m, im, o, mc	10 months
Spain	a, ab, m, im, o, par, mar, mc	301 days
Sweden	a, ab, m, im, o, par, mar, abm	10 months
Switzerland	a, ab, m, o, mar, abm	300 days
U.S.S.R.	mc, pd	—
Czechoslovakia	a, ab, m, im, o, mar, abm	—

Explanation of abbreviations:

a	*adultery*	im	*imprisonment*
ab	*abandonment (malevolent or not)*	m	*maltreatment*
		mar	*mental aberration*
abm	*abuse in marriage*	mc	*mutual consent*
b	*bigamy*	o	*offenses*
d	*dissipation*	par	*physical aberration*
dep	*degrading corporal punishment*	pd	*one party's desire*
		ul	*unnatural lewdness*
dl	*danger of life*	v	*violence*
i	*insanity*		

References

Bebel, August, *Woman Under Socialism.* New York: New York Labor News Co., 1903, 1917.

Bloch, Iwan, *The Sexual Life of Our Time.* London: Rebman, 1908.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* New York: Random House, 1936.

Forel, A., *The Sexual Question.* New York: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1906.

Freud, Sigmund, *Basic Writings.* New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1938.

Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers.* London: Hogarth, 1925-1950.

Handbook on Sex Instruction in Swedish Schools. Stockholm, 1957.

Himes, Norman E., *Medical History of Contraception.* London, 1926.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes.* Berlin: Marcus, 1920.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Men and Women.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sexual Pathology.* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1940.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sexual Anomalies and Perversions.* London: Aldor, 1944.

Hodann, Max, *Sex Life in Europe.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1932.

Krafft-Ebing, R., *Psychopathia Sexualis.* New York: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1922.

Louÿs, Pierre, *Aphrodite.* New York: Illustrated Editions Co., Inc., Copyright 1932.

Papers of the Royal Commission on Population. London, 1949, 1950.

Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution. London: Her Majesty's Printing Office, 1959.

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Abortion. London, 1939.

Ryksförbundet för Sexuell Upplysning 1933-1958. Stockholm, 1958.

Steiner, Herbert, "Sexualnot und Sexualreform." *Proc. 4th Cong. World League for Sexual Reform.* Vienna, 1931.

World League for Sex-Reform, *Proc. 2nd Congress.* Copenhagen: Levin and Munkgsgaard, 1929.

CONRAD VAN EMDE BOAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Extramarital Sex Relations

Definition

LITERALLY applied, the phrase "extramarital sex relations" refers to all sexual interactions that take place outside of marriage. The term is occasionally so used in the literature: that is, to include all interpersonal sexual behavior other than that which occurs between a person and his or her spouse. It is the more usual professional practice, however, to consider sexual relationships between unmarried people under the heading of "premarital sex relations," a procedure to which we adhere in this encyclopedia. Technically, of course, when an unmarried person has sex relations with a married person, this nonmarital interaction may be designated as "premarital" for the unwed individual and as "extramarital" for the one who is married. To avoid the awkwardness and confusion that would result from such linguistic purity, we shall refer to *all nonmarital sexual activity between male and female under circumstances in which one or more of the participants is currently married as extramarital sex relations.* Although the focus of our attention in this article is extramarital coitus, we shall give some brief attention in a later section of the article to the noncoital, nonmarital sex interactions of married persons, termed "extramarital petting." At all other times, "extramarital sex relations," "extramarital coitus," and "adultery" are employed as synonyms.

History

Regulations regarding extramarital coitus and violations of these regulations are certainly deeply buried in man's prehistoric past. In a very realistic sense, the form of sexual activity to which we attach the term "adultery" may be considered antecedent to the institution of marriage. If groups of men had not feared the mate-stealing and mate-deserting activities of their fellow men, the various sets of behavior patterns designated as "marriage" would probably never have been invented and culturally transmitted. Some inferential support for such theorizing derives from studies of infrahuman animals. Especially among the mammals most closely related to man, the primates, males relate to mates they have acquired as property to be defended against the aggressions of other males, and the propensities of both males and females to take advantage of sexual opportunities with others than their mates are readily observable.

Whatever may be the detailed truths of man's prehistory, all known cultures have some limitations set upon extramarital sex relations and some means of enforcing such designated taboos. But definitions of approved and disapproved extramarital coitus and the methods used to elicit conformity to these definitions vary widely from society to society. The outstanding issue involved in most preliterate groups, ancient societies, and even recent civilizations has not been a matter of sexual or characterological morality. Adultery has most often been considered a threat to the economic stability of a society: most specifically, male property rights. Out of primary male concerns about holding on to their mates, secondary interest in the welfare of dependent offspring seems to have been transmitted to males by females.

Some cultures, especially those with a strong

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Judeo-Christian tradition, have adopted, but varyingly emphasized, the theoretical principle that adultery is a cardinal sin for either a man or a woman. In practice, however, various official or unofficial exceptions have been made for some males in every past or present society. Study of the historical, anthropological, and sociological data fails to reveal a society that has consistently suppressed and severely punished extramarital sex relations for its males. Many of the societies that take the strongest theoretical positions regarding the undesirability of such relations make unofficial arrangements for actively encouraging, or at least covertly condoning, extramarital coitus for males who proceed with prudence.

For females, the cultural situations have tended to be different. Somewhat better than half of the human societies that have been studied in this regard by social scientists completely prohibit and severely punish sexual relations of a married woman with anyone other than her husband. About one society out of ten rather freely permits extramarital coitus for women, and in the remaining (approximate) 40 per cent of the societies some degree of extramarital relations under special circumstances and/or with particular persons is permitted married women. In an occasional society, for example, it is the custom for a male to lend his wife (or one of his wives) to his guest. In other situations, coitus is permitted, or even required, of a wife with her brother-in-law in a barren marriage, at the time of certain religious ceremonies or celebrations, or as a part of the marriage ceremony.

Most of the distinctions between attitudes toward male and female adultery can be understood in terms of the property conception of women in many societies. For a married man to stray sexually is (at least unofficially) viewed in most societies as his understandable privilege as a free agent. For the married woman to so behave, on the other hand, is the undesirable functioning of a piece of property and a threat to economic stability of the whole society. The dominant males in many societies have also tended to consider the adulterous activities of their wives as signs of weakness not only in property defense, but also in general masculinity and social prestige for the particular males who have been made cuckolds. Even in the relatively rare societies with rather lenient attitudes toward female extramarital coitus, such activity is not treated as a threat to the security of husbands because it is carried out under their rules and with their benign and generous control.

Even in those societies that most rigorously enforce penalties against such activities on the part of wives and come the closest to practicing their theoretical intolerances of the extramarital sex relations of husbands, the evidence is overwhelming that a great deal of adultery occurs. Biographies, oral and printed legends, diaries, personal confessions, historical documents, ethnological studies, interviews, questionnaires, and police records are some of the sources that contain the ever-recurring theme of married men and women in great quantity and all degrees of quality engaging in coitus with other than their spouses. When literature has adopted the adultery motif from life, it has almost invariably declared the activity very enjoyable in process, but doomed to end in tragedy for the participants. Such facts as are available indicate that in life itself large numbers of adulterers meet with less devastating destinies than do their counterparts in fiction. It seems only fair to state, however, that the joys of adultery in reality seem to fall short at times of their literary depiction.

Incidences and Frequencies

A review of many American and European studies that purport to give some picture of the degrees of extramarital sex activity in at least certain sections of the population of the countries represented leaves the critical reader with no confidence of the reliability and validity of the facts with which he emerges. This is not intended to be a biting criticism of the scientists who have tried to collect data on the subject. Many of these investigators seem to have obtained the best results possible under difficult circumstances, and many of them have been careful to point out factors that contribute to the inadequacy of their statistics, such as the unrepresentative nature of their population samples, concealment of pertinent facts by some subjects, and ineffectiveness of the inter-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

viewing or questionnaire techniques to elicit full cooperation of actual and potential subjects. The general results are such, however, that we feel unjustified in quoting any exact figures for incidences or frequencies of extramarital sex relations for any social population or subpopulation.

It is perhaps less misleading to speak of general comparisons of incidence and frequency within a particular population sample. No one, for example, is in a position to offer scientific evidence that Russians practice more or less adultery than Americans. There are, on the other hand, some probably reliable indications that the incidence of adultery is higher among Russian female students than among Russian peasant women and likewise higher among college educated American males over 40 and females over 25 than among less educated American males and females of the same age groups. The value to be gained from such comparative listings is doubtful, however, in light of the fact that we are left with nothing other than speculation regarding their differential etiology and significance.

It is nevertheless worth noting that married women have lower incidences and frequencies of extramarital sex relations than married men in all societies where comparative studies between the sexes have been made. There has been considerable discussion of the extent to which such differences are a reflection of a greater biological proclivity toward sexual variety on the part of males or of more rigid cultural restriction of females. The more widespread and frequent promiscuity of males than females among infrahuman mammals is often cited as inferential support for the biological argument. But the same data may be used to contend that the greater size and strength of anthropoid males creates for them a social dominance that enables them to apply restrictions on their females not dissimilar in crude form from those found in human societies. It is perhaps relevant to the comparative incidence of coitus with other than regular mates among males and females to point out that both human and infrahuman males seem, in general, more quickly responsive to nontactual sexual stimuli than females. At the human level, though, possible biological differences in responsiveness of the sexes are so obscured by cultural factors that no definitive assertion can be validated.

Even if some biological basis for greater predisposition toward extramarital coitus is somehow and sometime established, it is apparent that females who are given sufficient social opportunity often find that adultery has its attractions. In those countries where considerable progress has been made toward social equality of the sexes, such evidence as exists indicates increased incidences among married women of extramarital sex behavior that approximates the male pattern. Cultural changes that have accompanied the processes of industrialization and urbanization in many Euro-American countries have brought greater freedom of movement for people in general and women in particular. At the same time, there has been an undermining of the enforcement of the Judeo-Christian sex mores and of their patriarchal bias. These and other social changes have been conducive to a rise in the incidences of extramarital coitus generally and among women particularly.

Although the incidences of extramarital sex relations have apparently increased in many societies (and especially among the married females in these populations), there is no evidence of any increase in the frequencies of participation in the activity by either sex. Average frequencies are apt to be misleading even when accurate, for the activity, in accordance with variable opportunity, is in most instances quite sporadic. A married woman, for example, might take advantage of four week-end absences of her husband in the course of a calendar year to engage twenty-four times in extramarital coitus. She then becomes a statistic of a woman who has had extramarital sex relations an average of twice per month during that year: a statistic that gives us little insight into the sexual patterns of this woman.

In males, the frequency of extramarital coitus, like that of other sexual outlets, generally declines with age. For women, however, both the frequency of extramarital sex relations and their percentage of total outlet increase. The accumulative incidence of female adultery likewise increases with age. These facts are probably to some extent causally related. As husbands decline with age in their sexual in-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

terest and activity, more of the older wives turn with increasing frequency to extramarital satisfaction. Not only do many older women have their sexual interest and ability unimpaired, but some have their sexual desires intensified when fear of pregnancy has been removed by the passing of the climacteric. There is also some evidence that older women are more skeptical of the validity of the moral taboos against extramarital sex relations that seriously impressed them in their earlier years.

Legal Status

Laws in America and in those European countries that are still strongly influenced by Judeo-Christian moral codes have tended toward the proscription of adultery under all circumstances. In general, however, the penalties exacted are mild and enforcement is rare. Even in instances where there is public admission of adultery in a civil divorce case, criminal prosecution of the confessed adulterer is most unusual. When criminal action is taken, the prosecution and punishment of the adulterer are often used as a means to work off personal or political grudges, as a method of one spouse to obtain property or child-custody advantages over the other spouse, or to further some tangential social cause (such as the reduction of prostitution). Despite the official inclusion of adultery in the criminal code of most nations, the predominant contemporary attitude is to consider the activity a personal concern. It is thought by most people to be a social offense only when it is so indiscreetly pursued that it becomes general knowledge. Even then no legal action is likely unless the adultery, left unpunished, is thought to set a bad moral example for youth or otherwise to encourage wrongdoing.

Contemporary Values: Complexity and Confusion

Adultery is one of the most emotion-loaded subjects with which a student of human behavior can be asked to deal. It is not only a topic about which most people show a high degree of value sensitivity; their positive and negative reactions are often quite inconsistent and intertwined, variable and blurred. Although officially (and sometimes unofficially), extramarital sex relations are represented as the gravest threat to the very existence of the sacrosanct institutions of marriage and the family, unofficially (and sometimes officially) these same activities are represented as the most romantic, glorious, ecstatic, and self-fulfilling available to an individual of either sex. In case a particular citizen might consider such creative delights worth pursuing, however, he is officially reminded that the inexorable end for the adulterer (in this world or the next) is indescribable misery. Unofficially again, however, room is left for doubt with many persons that *they* would meet with such a fate as a result of *their* adulterous actions—*but*, they are reminded, it was just such heretical doubts as these that lured men and women of the past to their self-destruction.

Not only are complexity and confusion the outstanding characteristics of contemporary value systems related to sex in general and adultery in particular, but there is widespread resentment of any scientific or educational efforts to bring light into the attitudinal darkness. As Kinsey and his associates have ably demonstrated, activities designed to obtain and reveal *facts* about human sexual behavior are reacted to by many citizens as indecent, irreligious, corrupting to the morals, and even downright criminal. It is often viewed as even worse to *reason* about facts that have been obtained on such a tabooed subject as extramarital sex relations: that is, to examine the reality and rationality of existing actions and rules and attitudes. With a full realization of the inadequacy of available facts and of the unattainability of total objectivity in such a labyrinth of values, we do our best in the following paragraphs to look rationally and realistically at adultery. Since positive and negative values are so entangled, it seems artificial to make separate listings of the arguments for and against extramarital sex relations. We try, instead, to consider both sides of matters that have some base in fact and to ignore contentions for which supporting data do not exist. We number our observations for the convenience of reading and reference and not with implications of ordinal significance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

1. Regardless of the particular kinds of sex training administered to individuals in the various cultures and subcultures, a majority of men and women in all societies at some times and under some circumstances find extramarital sex relations interesting, attractive, appealing, and exciting. The factual support for this assertion comes from many reports of direct observations of sexual behavior and of oral and written statements about sexual attitudes. Whether or not an individual *acts* upon his feelings and thoughts of interest and excitement toward an adulterous union depends upon a large number of individual and social factors, some of which we consider below.

2. Historically (but decreasingly so contemporaneously), being a male increased the probability in most societies that any particular individual would act upon his inclination to commit adultery.

3. Although it is possible that human males are, in general, more strongly predisposed toward having a variety of sex partners, the greater leniency accorded the male than the female on the question of marital fidelity in most societies would seem to be largely a consequence of the dominant role of the male in the evolutionary development of social customs. Stated differently, male rulers and rule-makers have been more sensitive to male needs and values than to female needs and values.

4. Although every society has developed values that place some restrictions on extramarital sex activity, even the societies with the most rigid restrictions have recognized the need for accepting some such activity under certain circumstances for at least some of its male members.

5. The most severely punitive attitudes toward adulterers have been associated with religious fanaticism, where supernatural significance has been superstitiously imposed upon the institutions of marriage and the family. Even at the height of official prosecution of adulterers at various periods in various societies, records indicate a considerable unofficial condoning of adulterous behavior for at least privileged elements in the populations concerned.

6. The mildest restrictions on extramarital coitus have been in societies where little or no meaning other than pleasure has been attached to the sexual experience. Such cultures have been rare—a Himalayan group (the Lepchas of Sikkim) and an Australian aboriginal tribe (the Arunta) are two notable examples—but there have been periods in various societies during which attachment of high significance to the sexual act has been less apparent. Western culture in general seems to be experiencing a trend toward more emphasis on the pleasure value of sex.

7. Although rationality does not often seem to be closely related to the development of human customs in general or of sex values in particular, some restraint on extramarital sex relations seems realistically related to survival in a society with a simple technology. In such a society, the family for all practical purposes constitutes the essential social organization upon which the economy of survival rests. Completely unrestrained adulterous liaisons would undoubtedly ruin such a social structure.

8. Modern industrialized, urbanized, economically specialized societies have developed to a point where the institutions of marriage and the family are of much less significance for survival and physical well-being. Adultery has, therefore, ceased to be a serious threat to the economy of these societies.

9. Values, on the other hand, that originated to some degree out of physical necessity are still so deeply rooted in many of the individuals of modern societies and especially in the official cultures of these societies that adultery is still treated at times *as if* it were still a threat to the whole social structure.

10. In addition, new values related to the *psychological welfare* of the individual have been invented and superimposed upon and intertwined with old values associated with pre-existing economic needs (point 8) and continuing superstitions (point 5). Both facts and unproved hypotheses regarding the developing personality of the individual, especially the child, have brought new value emphases on the importance of husband-wife and parent-child interactions. With rare and rather sporadic exceptions (such as those undertaken in Israel and the Soviet Union), contemporary societies

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

have made no energetic, experimental attempts to develop new social institutions to meet the new psychological values. Nor have these societies, for the most part, attempted any major reconstruction of the marriage and family institutions in ways designed to recognize the departure of old economic values, the nonexistence of supernatural factors, and the development of new personality needs. Instead, as we have pointed out, the general cultural tendencies have consisted mainly of a confused accumulation of undifferentiated old and new values. The current jumble of values concerning adultery is but one product of the general cultural disorder. "Psychological sanctity" of the family, in short, has now joined value forces with persisting "economic sanctity" and "supernatural sanctity" to discourage adultery. But, because of the irrationalities and inconsistencies of these accumulated values and because of counteracting forces that encourage extramarital sex relations, the process of cultural discouragement appears increasingly ineffective.

11. In addition to the widespread appeal of sexual variety (point 1), many of the conditions of living in the contemporary social world contribute to a rising incidence of adultery. Some of these factors follow:

a. Despite the confusing value indoctrination to which they have been subjected (or, perhaps, in a deeper psychological sense, *because* the indoctrination contained so much confusion), a growing number of intelligent and informed citizens are no longer deterred by anxiety or guilt from engaging in extramarital coitus.

b. For even a greater number of individuals, the possibly deterring risks of pregnancy and venereal disease have been largely removed from extramarital sex relations by contemporary methods of contraception and prophylaxis.

c. Risks of detection and resultant social difficulties have been greatly reduced by the ready availability and privacy of present-day transportation to and housing for adulterous activity.

d. Adultery has conscious and unconscious appeal as an antidote for or an escape from many of the problems of modern living. The average citizen is filled with tensions and anxieties that not only stem from his own peculiar difficulties, but are tied in with the general social turmoil (hot and cold wars, threat of an atomic holocaust, growth of thus-far insoluble population and economic problems, confusion and ineptitude of many social institutions, revolutionary changes in the physical and technological environment, and a plethora of other social pathologies). Extramarital sex relations sound to many adults, besieged by difficulties from without and within, like (at least temporarily) a new chance at life: love, adventure, excitement, peace, romance, ego-inflation, increased power, return to youthful delights, conquest, and personal fulfillment hoped for, but not achieved, in marriage. In societies like the contemporary ones, especially with cultural traditions that have persistently glorified the joy-achieving propensities of extramarital sex relations, growing numbers of individuals will surely feel they have little or nothing to lose and quite possibly something to gain by engaging in such relations.

e. Many citizens are currently unhappy with not only life in general, but marriage in particular. Divorces, separations without divorce, plain desertions, and the readily observable unhappiness of couples who remain together give documentation to the generalization that many people find modern marriage an unsatisfactory relationship. This adds to the specific popularity of adultery as a supplement to more generalized flight-from-reality devices, such as motion pictures, radio, television, ataractic drugs, and alcohol. It seems indisputable that many members of contemporary societies find life unbearable without various types of solace. Legal and hortatory sanctions against adultery seem doomed to a fate comparable to that achieved by the American experiment with the prohibition of alcoholic beverages.

12. Although extramarital sexual relations seem often to function as neurotic avoidances of or escapes from life problems in marriage and the family or in other social relationships, there is no evidence for stating that all adulterous activities arise from individual or social pathology. Even where emotional and/or social disturbances appear indisputably the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

source of a particular adulterous liaison, there is no support in reality or rationality for a condemnatory and punitive attitude toward the adulterers. Such actions, when pathological, have almost inevitably arisen compulsively out of such conditions as those we have discussed in point 11. Personal and social therapy, not persecution, is the rational and realistic answer to adultery that arises out of personal and social pathology.

13. Adultery is a high-risk undertaking under present social circumstances for a person who is fairly happy in general and who is well satisfied with his marriage in particular. Persistence of the strong cultural tradition that adultery is a marriage-destroying act often makes it so, even though there seems no logical reason why this should be true. Probably only a small percentage of men and women in our society have fully freed themselves of deep-seated anxieties and guilts about extramarital sex relations, and still fewer probably have mates who are similarly free. Where the individual himself is free of anxiety or guilt about the infidelity itself, he may find himself concerned about being dishonest with a mate who would disapprove if she knew. And, even where reciprocal knowledge and approval exist, frequent or long-extended extramarital sexual activities can produce negative effects on marital (and, hence, personal) happiness by draining time, energy, money, affection, and other factors from the marriage relationship.

14. Although such facts as those just discussed make adultery risky for happily married people in present-day society, they offer no support for the moralistic assertion that adultery is universally and intrinsically evil. For unhappily married persons, of whom there are many (see 11, *e*), point 13 has no relevance, and extramarital sex relations offer a convenient temporary (and, in some cases, permanent) route away from marital discord. Secondly, these facts apply for happily married persons under present social circumstances. There is no reason to believe that man, if he wishes, cannot invent ways to reduce or remove the social conditions that make extramarital coitus hazardous for happily married people. Finally, what is risky is not inevitable: there is some evidence from both clinical and survey sources to show that some happily married persons nicely surmount the hazards and avoid serious marital difficulties.

Extramarital Petting

To a considerable extent extramarital petting may be considered a social compromise, especially popular among Americans of the higher socioeconomic and college-educated groups, between the dullness and drabness with which rigidly monogamous sexual behavior fills many contemporary citizens and the more socially dangerous and morally condemned excitements of extramarital coitus. Approval of conscience and of mate for extramarital petting in various types of social situations (such as automobile rides, drinking parties, dances, and picnics) seems relatively easy to obtain for many contemporaries.

Since premarital petting has become an increasingly important pattern for youth of the higher-educated and upper-class groups, the apparent growth of extramarital petting may be, in part, simply the extension of earlier established sexual habits in a later age period. It is also probable that for many, extramarital petting is not a substitute for, but a prelude to, extramarital coitus. The Kinsey investigators, however, report that approximately one-sixth of a sample of more than 1,000 married females had engaged in extramarital petting without ever having engaged in extramarital coitus.

Additional and more precise data are needed on the extent, functions, and implications of extramarital petting in modern societies. Our tentative judgment is that the apparent trend toward increased extramarital petting may be viewed as a further undermining of the moral position that married people should strictly confine their sex interests and activities to their marital partners. It also seems possible that the future incidence of extramarital coitus will be augmented by recruits from extramarital petters. Although the recent increase in premarital petting apparently brought no comparable rise in the incidence of premarital coitus, various factors differ in the extramarital situation. First, technical virginity and related inhibitions

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

prevent some premaritally petting girls from engaging in premarital coitus. Not only has such a barrier been removed for married women, but positive movement from petting to coitus has been well established in their marital sexual activities. Secondly, and closely related, both women and men often have coitus psychologically conditioned as the natural, mature, and most satisfying form of sexual satisfaction and are less likely (as married adults than as unmarried adolescents) to settle for what they view as the less natural, less mature, and less satisfying experiences of petting. Thirdly, although official taboos are stronger against extramarital than premarital coitus, opportunities for comfortable and undetected and unhurried nonmarital coitus are more plentiful for many married than for many unmarried people.

References

Bernard, W. S., "Student Attitudes on Marriage and the Family." *Am. Sociol. Rev. 3;* 354-361, 1938.

Davis, Katharine B., *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

Dearborn, Lester W., "Extramarital Relations." In Morris Fishbein and Ruby J. R. Kennedy (eds.), *Modern Marriage and Family Living.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Duvall, Sylvanus M., *Men, Women, and Morals.* New York: Association Press, 1952.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Ford, Cellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage.* New York: Medical Research Press, 1929.

Kinsey, A. C., *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kinsey, A. C., *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kirkendall, Lester A., *Understanding Sex.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1947.

Lindner, Robert, "Adultery—Kinds and Consequences." In Albert Ellis (ed.), *Sex Life of the American Woman and the Kinsey Report.* New York: Greenberg Pub., 1954.

Locke, Harvey J., *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951.

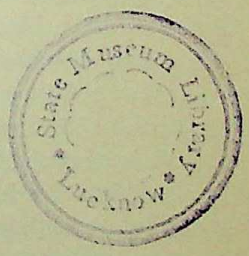
Murdock, G. P., "The Social Regulation of Sexual Behavior." In P. H. Hoch and J. Zubin (eds.), *Psychosexual Development in Health and Disease.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1949.

Ohlson, W. E., "Adultery: A Review." *Boston U. Law Rev. 17;* 328-368; 533-622, 1937.

Rosenthal, H. C., "Sex Habits of European Women vs. American Women." *Pageant* 52-59, March, 1951.

Zuckerman, S., *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes.* London: Kegan Paul, 1932.

ROBERT A. HARPER



CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Family, Sexual and Affectional Functions of the

Definition

A FAMILY is an enduring social group of individuals whose interrelationships are defined primarily by the process of biological reproduction. In other words, it is a *consanguine* group. The concept excludes casual sex relations, but admits common-law or *de-facto* marriages. Since marriage normally leads to, or anticipates, parenthood, the concept of the family includes childless marriages and also the substitutes for biological parenthood, such as adoption or marriage to a person who is already a parent. Family members have many interrelationships other than the defining biological relationship.

Parents with *their* children are called a *nuclear* family. When a group includes three generations, or in other words two generations of married persons, it is called an *extended* family. "Family" implies a group that has a common dwelling or nearby dwellings, or that has continuous, intimate association, readily distinguishing it from other groups and relationships. Consanguine relationships outside such an intimate group are called *kinship*. A group of kinsfolk defined through father-child relationships is called a *patrilineal sib* or *clan*. In our society such persons are identified partly by having a common surname. A group of kinsfolk defined through mother-child relationships is called a *matrilineal sib* or *clan*. In many societies this, rather than the patrilineal, is the prevailing concept, and it determines rights, duties, and marriage choices. Patrilineal and matrilineal clans are *unilateral*. A village or settlement may include mostly the members of a single clan, with their spouses taken from other clans. But often the clan connections are recognized to such a remote degree of kinship that not all members of a clan can live in the same community.

However, many societies, including our own, give fairly equal importance to father and mother kinship; this pattern is called *bilateral*, and a group of kinsfolk defined by actual consanguine nearness rather than a unilateral descent is called a *kindred*. Our society is now patrilineal as regards name only, i.e., it is *patronymic*. In earlier times it had other patrilineal features such as male inheritance of property. In the Spanish division of Euro-American culture, bilaterality is recognized through a person's taking both father's and mother's surname.

A family as defined by the United States Census is two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and living together in either a household or quasi household. In 1950 the population living in families was 138 million, and the average family consisted of 3.60 persons. The Census defines a household as all who occupy a single dwelling unit, which may be a house or an apartment. The average household consisted of 3.38 persons. Quasi households are hotels, lodging houses with five or more lodgers, labor camps, military barracks, and "institutions." Students are usually accounted as living in their family homes rather than their school or college dormitories. In the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

United States in 1950 the population, then 151 million, was divided as follows: 145 million lived in households and 6 million in quasi households.

The phrase "the family" is often used not to mean any particular family or kinship group, but in a generic, abstract sense, meaning the sum total of all families, or the whole system of family relationships. In this sense, which will be indicated by capitalization, the Family is considered as one of the several institutions of society, the other principal ones being the State, the Church, the School, and the Economic System. According to Chapin (*Contemporary American Institutions*, p. 412), an institution "consists of segments of individuals' behaviors organized into a system, and not of whole individuals or groups." An institution is a form that endures while its personnel commonly changes. Thus, a family, or family system, differs from other institutions in that it is identified with particular persons and their offspring. Its turnover of personnel is by birth, death, marriage, or divorce, not by other types of joining and resigning, hiring and firing, matriculation and graduation. Thus the Family is more than an institution; it is a natural, precultural social grouping existing also among lower animals, which, strictly speaking, have no institutions. Animals have no marriage ceremonies, but they do have more or less enduring, habit-supported bonds between particular sexual partners and between mother and offspring. Humans symbolize and ceremonialize these relationships in various ways, but the relationships are real and quite distinct from momentary sexual or nurturing contacts.

The above definitions of the family are structural. Like a machine or an organism, a society or any portion thereof may be viewed in three aspects: (1) structure, (2) operation or function, (3) change or development. These aspects cannot be entirely separated in discussion, but they furnish convenient viewpoints for analysis. A *functional* definition of the family would be: that social grouping which nurses, nurtures, and trains the young until they are able to subsist independently. It is now a common practice among American family sociologists to conceptualize the family in terms of development. The family is a continuous flow of human interaction and experience, centered about the reproductive and child-rearing processes, operating within an intimate group that changes slowly as members are born and as they mature, marry, divorce, age, and die.

These events lead to various kinds of separations and also to new connections; units divide and combine, but throughout there is continuity: no beginning and no end. The group into which one is born is called his *family of orientation;* that in which he is a parent is his *family of procreation.* From this point of view, nuclear family units normally pass through these phases or stages: establishment phase, expectant phase, child-bearing phase, families with preschool children, families with school children, families with teenagers, the launching phase, the family in middle years, and aging families. Obviously, these phases overlap and a cycle begins for the younger generation long before the older generation has completed its cycle.

Universal Characteristics of the Family

"A woman with a child, and a man to look after her"; thus Margaret Mead once defined the essence of the family. Among at least all warm-blooded vertebrates there is some more or less durable set of social relationships that we call "family." The nucleus of this is always the bond between the dependent young and the mother. These always remain together. Moreover, this mother-with-inseparable-young continues to be sexually pursued, fed, guarded, bossed, or otherwise habitually treated for some period of time by the identical male or males.

These relationships may be called natural social relations or interactions. They precede mankind and hence culture. They are not, however, "instinctive"; they are acquired by learning in individual experiences. Their uniformities within a given society, or within a species, or even within all mammals or all birds, are due to the common denominators of the environment and of the anatomical structures that must learn to react to this environment, but not to *preformed* nervous pathways. Thus arise such natural habits, misleadingly called "instincts," as heterosexual preference, parental

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

love, sexual rivalry and jealousy, protective behavior, gregariousness, collecting behavior. The occasional variations from the uniform pattern under special conditions, as illustrated by homosexuality, hostility to the young, etc., lend weight to the habit theory.

A natural habit can be prevented from forming, or can be modified, by arranging situations so that a different psychological conditioning takes place. "Natural" does not mean "inevitable," but merely "most probable to develop in the world as it is."

In all known past or present human societies the complex of social relations we call "family" seems to have these characteristics:

1. The great majority *prefer* heterosexual coitus to any other means of sexual satisfaction, although it may not always be the most frequent form of sexual activity.

2. The typical coitus is a repetition of the act with a familiar individual rather than a casual or varietist act; "promiscuity" never applies to most of the people for most of the time.

3. Within a given society there are always certain largely uniform attitudes of sexual avoidance. The tabooed sex objects always include the members of the nuclear family other than the spouse. There are a few exceptions to this minimum definition of incest, especially among upper classes, in a few societies.

4. Males are always the more active, the more combative, and the more effectively possessive in pursuit of sexual satisfaction, although not necessarily desirous or capable of more frequent sexual orgasm. The perpetually smoldering fires of conflict over sexual privileges are held in check by some scheme of rules. In this scheme males generally control females, and the more powerful or capable males control a disproportionate number of females, or the more generally desired females, or both. This inequality of control may express itself in upper-class polygyny with lower-class polyandry, or merely in unequal distribution of sexual privileges, or in specializing women into celibates, wives, prostitutes.

5. Mothers almost always nurse and care for their own babies. Both mother and child find organic satisfactions in this process, which builds up the strongest, most lasting, and most personal of emotional attachments.

6. This mother-child(ren) relationship is always supplemented by an adult male, nearly always the biological father, thus forming a "nuclear family" that is always distinguishable as a unit even in the presence of larger familial or kinship groupings. In a very few societies the maternal uncle or another male performs some or all of the social functions of fatherhood. In civilized societies widows are often left with only financial assistance, whereas in many primitive societies they are taken on by the deceased husband's brother (levirate) or other male as a duty.

7. The nuclear family group performs economic and educational functions, with a division of labor between men and women. Despite great cultural differences, women's occupations are those that require less mobility and can easily be interrupted by the care of children. Thus, woman's natural place is in or near the home. Likewise it is natural that occupations requiring extreme muscular effort, speed, or longer absences from home should be practiced by men.

This natural, universal pattern is modified by numerous variations among the various societies of the world. These variations are commonly said to be cultural. They are culture traits if they are imitated from generation to generation. Some variations, however, are natural adaptations to different environments and conditions, and would recur with each generation without imitation.

Variations of Family Systems

The following three sections present some significant variations of the family system among various societies.

Material and Economic Traits

In 1950, 64 per cent of all United States dwelling units were in single-family detached houses. Despite the earlier development of "flats" and apartment houses in cities, the general trend of American living is toward the single-family house. In 1950, 83 per cent of new, permanent, nonfarm dwelling construction was in single-family houses, in 1956, 97 per cent. In the 1920's and 1930's this proportion was less.

In the Soviet Union also, plans call for a trend to single-family residences. There are great

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

regional and national differences in this variable. Continental cities and New York consist largely of multifamily houses, whereas our western and southern cities, and rural areas everywhere, are more given to separate residences. In London, Philadelphia, and Baltimore many dwellings are considered single family because they have separate ground entrances, even though they are attached to adjacent houses. When Khrushchev in Stalin's days suggested that Russian collective farmers be moved from their many villages of single-family houses to large apartment houses in fewer, centralized "agrarian cities," he met with the cold shoulder and dropped his plan.

Until about 1880 the American farm population (which is only a part of the rural population) was more than half of the total population. From then on it grew very slowly, became stationary, and then declined until in 1956 it was only 13 per cent of the total population. In 1950 our population was 64 per cent urban by the new definition then inaugurated by the census, 21 per cent rural nonfarm, and 15 per cent farm. The average of all households contained 3.38 persons, but the average farm household contained 3.98 persons.

The suburban population is difficult to define, because political units do not correspond very well to ecological communities. It is mostly an urban population but some of it is rural nonfarm. The suburban population is growing much faster than the population of the central cities, and it is largely a population living in single-family houses. In 1950, 64 million of the urban population was in the 168 metropolitan areas; of this, 49 million lived in the central cities and 35 million in suburban areas.

About 55 per cent of occupied dwelling units are now owned by their occupiers, as against about 47 per cent at the beginning of the century. However, 44 per cent of these owned dwellings are mortgaged, as against 32 per cent in 1900. About 85 or more per cent of families have telephones, 96 per cent radios, 81 per cent televisions, and 50 per cent central heating—yet 15 per cent still do not have piped running water. In all these respects American home life has advanced beyond that in most other countries.

Many of the changes in family life are due to the fact that farm families before approximately 1880 were the majority of all families, while now they are only 9 per cent of all families, although containing 13 per cent of the population because of their larger average size. The farm population, although reduced to a much smaller proportion, still feeds most of the rest of the American population.

Farm families are not the only ones that carry on their occupations in or near their homes. Such is also the case with many families who own retail stores and small workshops. However, these also are on the decline, and thus the separation of home from workplace, except for full-time homemakers, has become the pattern of living for the great majority of Americans. This is less true of small-industry countries, even though rather highly urbanized, such as France.

The Roles of the Sexes

The division of labor between the sexes varies greatly. In many societies, especially those of central and eastern Europe, women work extensively in agriculture. They develop the muscular strength and endurance to carry heavy burdens. Nursing babies are sometimes brought to their mothers in the fields, and a few older women who remain in the home sometimes care for children other than their own. The Russians under Communism have developed this economical pattern still further by putting many young children into nurseries under the day care of a relatively few women.

The employment of Russian women as professional engineers, locomotive and tractor operators, railroad and construction laborers, doctors, judges, and at times in field military operations is not communistic, but quite in accord with traditional Russian culture. It takes less muscle to pull the levers that operate a modern locomotive than to scrub clothing on a washboard. Physicians were usually women in Russia before the Revolution; women doctors were even used in the army. There is no natural reason why women should be less fitted than men to practice medicine. The contrasting dim view taken of women doctors in Germany was due to the attitude that professional or high-status occupations, even if sedentary, should belong to men.

The labor-force sex ratio in the United States in 1900 was about 450 males per 100 females;

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

in 1920 about 400; in 1950–1957 it was about 230. The sex ratio of the total population changed only slightly, from 104.4 in 1900 to 98.4 in 1957. Yet these changes have merely brought the United States to the same pattern that has existed ever since 1900 in Great Britain, which has a labor-force sex ratio of 230-240. In France the ratio has been about 180 throughout the half-century. In the Czarist Russia of 1913 the ratio was about 300, and it became about 115 in 1926 and again in 1950. These very low ratios were due partly to the high war deaths of males and the generally low sex ratios after the two world wars. A more normal figure for Russia would be 130, as it was in 1939 and as is predicted for 1970. (Warren M. Eason in Bergson, *Soviet Economic Growth*, 1953.) A ratio of 130 of course is unusually low, apparently reflecting the Soviet policy of obtaining the most efficient possible use of woman power.

However, Russia is a country of collective farms, and the women who work on them are counted in the occupational statistics. The Russian figures of 1939—before the war withdrew millions of men—showed more women than men employed on farms. By contrast, American census figures show the men occupied in agriculture to be over four times as numerous as the women. If these Russian agricultural women workers were "deflated" to correspond to their proportion in the United States, the Russian labor-force sex ratio of 1939, and presumably of 1970, would stand at about 180 rather than 130. This still reflects a high use of woman power outside the home.

Special significance has been attached to the percentage of married women who are employed outside the home. In the United States this was about 6 per cent in 1900 and was estimated at about 30 per cent for 1955. In France it has been constantly about 20 per cent. In Britain, after a wartime high, it shrank to 18 per cent in 1947.

In the United States and Russia there have been marked changes since 1920 in the way women spend their time. In Russia the major changes have been due to rapid industrialization and farm collectivization. In America the changes have come somewhat more through labor-saving devices in the home, reducing both domestic service and essential homemaking time and encouraging the absorption of women's released time into white-collar occupations outside the home.

Too much has been said about the status of women in *general*. Thus Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg find by their tribe-counting method that "the position of women in the simpler societies is not favorable as judged by modern standards." There is, moreover, "no substantial change according to grade or type of culture except that the unfavorable tendency is accentuated in the pastoral state." Woman is inferior in 73 per cent of the agricultural and 87.5 per cent of the pastoral tribes (*The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, 1930, pp. 170–175). But as Robert Lowie points out: "It should be noted that the treatment of woman is one thing, her legal status another, her opportunities for public activity still another, while the character and extent of her labors belong again to a distinct category" (*Primitive Society*, 1925, p. 186).

There is a definite attitude toward woman that has spread through a number of contiguous peoples in Siberia, indicating probable diffusion. This attitude is that woman is property, but it does not involve her seclusion. A wife can travel quite freely without her husband. In Australia, Melanesia, and New Guinea there is another widespread attitude that stresses the segregation of the sexes. Among advanced societies in the Islamic world and the Near East, we may note the great tendency to seclude and segregate women without unduly harsh treatment. In Russia and Central Europe, by contrast, women perform heavy outdoor labor, are seen frequently in public places and in the fields, and have political equality; but the tradition of wife-beating has only recently been on the wane. Western Europe has been influenced by the ideology of chivalry, which tends to protect woman, as the weaker sex, from heavy manual work, but does not bar her from social or political life.

Relations Between Old and Young

The relation of parents to children varies from extreme authoritarianism to extreme permissiveness; and also, along another independent dimension, from intense, protective love to comparative neglect and indifference.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Lately in American society there has been a shift toward greater permissiveness. This has had bad as well as good results. The serious danger lies not in authority, but in the rejected child—one who is not wanted or not genuinely loved.

Educated people in America have been worried about the Oedipus complex, in which a boy tends to love his mother intensely and to hate his father, who is jealous of this mother-son relationship. This pattern appears to be more frequent in German and central European society. In America, the problem lies rather in the effort to conform to the demands of the peer-group.

German culture, unlike French, English, Russian, Italian, or Spanish, has stressed for many decades the revolt of young men against their fathers and elder-dominated society. This expressed itself in the custom of *Wanderjahr* and the Youth Movement, which later played into the hands of Hitler. Psychologically, Hitler was not the father of Nazi Germany, but the older brother who led a revolt against stuffy oldsters.

When we view the whole range of human societies, we see that the roles to which children are trained vary enormously. Among the Manu of Melanesia the child is taught to be skillful in swimming and climbing, and is imbued with such an extreme respect of property that he even comments upon the possible ownership of a morsel of food seen floating about in the water. On the other hand, he strikes and insults his parents with impunity. In Samoa, although trained to render a decorous respect to elders, he is allowed to run about freely in parties that spy upon adolescent love-making and gather to witness the process of childbirth. Among many peoples, free sex play is tolerated and even encouraged among children. In Samoa, children of about 6 to 12 are made responsible for the supervision of their younger brothers and sisters, and devise various methods to prevent the latter's annoying adults. When adolescence comes, the child is relieved of this responsibility and enters upon a more interesting and less burdensome life.

The aged are treated in very different ways. In primitive Australia, as in civilized China, the old men rule by virtue of their age. In Polynesia, hereditary rank commonly takes priority over age. Among the Plains Indians, Trobrianders, and others, age is a pitied rather than a highly respected status. Among some peoples living in difficult environments, old people are sometimes killed or abandoned on migrations. Modern France certainly makes life easier for old people than modern America. To mention only one facet, a love or sex affair between a young person and a much older person, of either sex, is treated sympathetically by French, but not by American, literature.

Family Structure and the Larger Societal Structure: Kinship

The Family is a part of the larger social structure and it also has a structure of its own. Every individual has a position in the family system; at the same time, he has positions in the other institutions. It is the Family that gives the individual his basic identity, not only through the biological process of birth, but also by naming him and training him through his earliest years. The question "Who am I?" is answered primarily in terms of family relationships. Anthropologist George P. Murdock's book *Social Structure* deals entirely with familial and kinship structure. He says nothing about industry, church, state, or school. This becomes understandable when we note that his materials are drawn from a survey of 250 representative human societies. A representative sample of human beings would be heavily weighted by people from the larger and more advanced societies such as the United States, the Soviet Union, India, and China. A representative sample of human *societies,* on the other hand, is necessarily weighted heavily with small primitive societies. In such societies social structure very largely consists of familial and kinship structure. The other institutions, although present in embryo form in all societies, undergo most of their development in the more advanced societies.

The Family is the one institution that does not become more complex as society becomes more complex. It does not follow the general law of evolution, which implies continued differentiation, integration, and hence complexity. It would be too much to say that it follows the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

reverse trend; it is sufficient to note that some of the most complicated kinship and family systems are found among societies that are "backward" in other respects. For example, one primitive Australian society uses 71 different terms to discriminate different kin-relationships (W. Lloyd Warner, "The Family and Principles of Kinship Structure in Australia." *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 2:46, Feb., 1937). Among the Trobriand Islanders, descent is traced through the mother line, yet the newly formed nuclear family lives in the village of the father. A boy lives with his natural father and mother until puberty, but he owes duties and obedience to his maternal uncle, from whom he inherits his property, rights, and rank, and in whose village he normally goes to live at maturity. His relation to his father is one of affection more than of obedience and discipline, and fathers try to keep their sons with them as long as possible (Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia,* 1929). Among the Andaman Islanders, a preliterate and also preagricultural people, married couples frequently exchange their children, so that a child may have several sets of parents and foster parents, all of whom love him, visit him, and feel responsibility for him. These cases may be contrasted with the typical middle-class American nuclear family, which has little interest in its kinsfolk except those who happen to be personally pleasant or useful, and which may be inconvenienced by any strong bonds of obligation or affection outside the nuclear family circle. In both the upper and lower classes in America there is somewhat more interest in, and contact with, kinsfolk than in the climbing, status-seeking middle class.

Kinship structure and nomenclature show no evolutionary trend through history, nor are they greatly influenced by diffusion of patterns from neighboring societies. Rather, they fall into a limited number of types that are distributed over the earth without discernible law and order. The important types as regards the marital relation are described in the article "Marriage."

The modern Euro-American family is nuclear and monogamous. Of Murdock's sample of 192 societies, 47 have normally only this type. Everywhere this is the basic unit, out of which more complex units may or may not be built. A simple polygamous family (usually polygynous, rarely polyandrous) consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated by having one parent (usually the man) in common. An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through the parent-child relationship with or without plural marriage, e.g., by joining the nuclear family of the married adult with that of his parents. In Murdock's sample, 53 societies have polygamous but not extended families, and 92 have some form of extended family.

In some bilateral systems, marriages tend to take place within the local community that is composed of relatively near kindred (*endogamous demes*). In most societies, however, marriage is exogamous with respect to some unit—the community, the near kindred, the matrilineal or the patrilineal clan. Everywhere there is an incest taboo upon marriage of the closest relatives such as brother and sister.

The History of the Family System

There are four explanatory principles of social change that have been promulgated: evolution, diffusion, adaptive functionalism, and cyclical fluctuations. Early sociologists and anthropologists saw the family system as an evolution from promiscuity through polyandry, polygyny, to monogamy; from a mother-centered family to patriarchy; and then to sex equality and democracy. This view was "debunked" by anthropological evidence, which showed no correlation between the form of the family and the general stage of social evolution. Later, the diffusionists and historical anthropologists sought to explain each culture as the result of diffusion or borrowing from other cultures with which it had been in contact. Geographic culture areas, each with its own regional history, became more important than any general, world-wide history of culture. In primitive America at least, evidence showed matrilineal systems to be correlated with more advanced cultures than the patrilineal. The *couvade,* a custom by which the father goes to bed at the birth of a child, was interpreted no longer as a natural stage in world-wide evolution, but as a custom that just happened to arise in one or more places and from them spread to others.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

More recently, both the evolutionary and diffusionist principles have been overshadowed by adaptive functionalism, which holds that any social change must be explained as an adaptation to other changes—in society or in other conditions of life. The crucial question becomes, not what historical epoch, nor what geographic location, but what social context. It is seldom possible to learn enough about any of the numerous primitive family systems to explain why it is just what it is, or how it came to be that way. It is also unsound to infer that the present-day primitive societies are a fair representation of the prehistoric phases of civilized societies.

Zimmerman (1947) has found a cyclical sequence of forms in the history of our Euro-American society which, he claims, is more significant than the study of many small and primitive societies. He finds three main types: the trustee family, the domestic family, and the atomistic family. These types are outlined as follows.

In the trustee or large patriarchal family system, property belongs to the family in perpetuity, the living members having its use only during their lifetime. The large extended family or clan is responsible for the acts of all its members; it disciplines them and also protects them from outsiders. The individual, as it were, has his personality delegated to him by the family.

In the domestic family system, property belongs to the living family, primarily to the male head. It can sometimes be sold, and trade becomes prominent. There is still passive solidarity of household members in case of minor law violations, but also a tendency toward individual responsibility. Antagonistic relations sometimes develop between family and state. The notion arises that society consists of compacts made by individual persons. During most of the domestic family period in Europe the Christian Church regulated family life. Very roughly, this type of family corresponds to what some writers have called the small patriarchal type.

In the atomistic or individualistic family system, property belongs largely to the individual; marriage does not necessarily involve property transfer. Children obtain the right to their own income rather early. Legal responsibility is mainly individual, except for certain responsibilities of parents for the acts of their minor children. The person as such is sacred, but he begins to be dominated by the rising power of the State, which in the last analysis controls Family, Church, and all other institutions.

After the extreme atomism, individualism, and disorganization of family patterns in the late Roman Empire, there was a return to the trustee type in the Middle Ages and then a repetition of the ancient sequence. When America was settled the family system had for the most part arrived at the domestic type, but in the Appalachian-Ozark frontier regions there was a return to the trustee type. From these historic cycles Zimmerman predicts that the atomistic family of today is not a final stage, nor a step toward the final "withering away" of the family institutions, but that it will be succeeded by a stronger and more organized family, probably of the domestic type. Zimmerman's theory of family cycles is closely allied to the sociological theories of Le Play and Sorokin. In general, these thinkers hold to a theory of limits: when a social system goes too far toward some extreme, it will inevitably swing back again.

The trustee family of Euro-American society, as displayed in ancient Greece and Rome, the early Middle Ages, and the frontier days in America, was a patriarchal family. It was patrilineal, patrilocal, extended, and strongly dominated by males, normally the oldest male. Indeed, "patriarchal" was the name Zimmerman originally gave to this pattern. Except in some cases (as under Mormonism), it was monogamous, thus differing from the polygynous patriarchal family system of Chinese, Islamic, and ancient Hebrew civilizations.

The patriarchal trustee family was a part of the patriarchal clan—a part sufficiently small and local to permit a common residence or adjacent residences and to maintain control over its members. It becomes more understandable when we note that it really performed many functions now in the hands of Church or State. This also explains the occasional reversion to the trustee family system on frontiers. The private vengeance and feuding of clans in Appalachian America, persisting until about 1900, may be explained by the absence of effective government and police power in that region. Bad roads and limited government budgets

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

made law enforcement difficult. It is natural that the frontier clans and families took the law into their own hands, even though their ancestors had been accustomed to effective civil government in Britain. Having the law in their own hands, they were loath to yield power to police and other government officers who invaded the hills to arrest feudists or to discover illicit whiskey, but eventually they had to.

The domestic type of family is characteristic of most of rural Europe and America of the past few centuries. Within this type some families are nuclear only and some are three-generation extended families. There is male dominance, reflected until lately in the superior legal rights of man and husband. But the clan is less prominent than under the trustee system, and there is much less authority and interference from kinsfolk outside the immediate household. People are governed by State law and Church law according to where they live, not any longer by clan law according to their distant kinship. The reforms of Cleisthenes in Attica, the pacification of the Scottish clans, and the suppression of feuds in eastern Kentucky represented a transition from the trustee to the domestic family system.

Prominent under the domestic type is the *stem-family* pattern, which means that one son in each generation customarily inherits the farm and is responsible for maintaining it as a family property in perpetuity. The daughters marry into another family, the other sons go to the city or move elsewhere, but any brothers and sisters or their children may return to the family farm in case of need. Thus there is always a continuous "stem" of persons on fixed land, from which other persons in each generation "branch out." In many countries the rule for selecting the heir to the land has been primogeniture. But this is not always the case. In Quebec, for example, a middle son in a large family is more likely to become the one who carries down the family stem. In France, Napoleon's laws requiring equal division led to the fragmentation of estates, disturbance of the stem-family pattern, birth control, and a slowdown of population increase. In French Quebec, which adhered to the older system of passing down undivided farms, the population has continued to expand, emigrate, and develop new lands. (This observation implies no judgment on what alternatives could or should have been followed.)

Zimmerman's term "atomistic" suggests to some a kind of moral condemnation, but it merely indicates the fact that in this type of family there is more individual freedom and less social control. In the domestic type of family persons are free from clan control, but retain certain obligations to parents and siblings even when adult. In the atomistic type the individual tends to become entirely free from all family control as soon as he becomes adult. American state laws still make persons responsible for support of indigent relatives, but it is increasingly easy to prove "inability," and to cast this burden upon the state. In an atomistic period even the children and adolescents within the nuclear family gain more freedom in practice from parental control. The line between legitimate "correction" and "cruelty to children" subtly moves away from parental power and toward juvenile "rights." Although formerly the husband had the right of "moderate correction" over his wife, wife-beating has been practically outlawed or defined as "cruelty" and thereby in most states is a ground for divorce. The school, the character-building agencies, and the peer-group gain more and more allegiance from the young at the expense of the family.

Clearly, this trend toward atomism or individualism is closely connected with urbanization, as it was in late Greece and late Rome. It can be observed in European peasant families and American rural families that move to the city. Yet in some cultural groups strong family authority has persisted despite urbanization, notably among Catholic peoples in Europe and in America.

Müller-Lyer (1931) divided the history of the family into a tribal or kinship epoch, a familial epoch, and a personal epoch, corresponding roughly to Zimmerman's three types. Müller-Lyer also recognizes that the Middle Ages saw a new kinship or patriarchal epoch, but he treats this as a new beginning among a different people (the Teutons) rather than as a continuation of Roman civilization. He makes his "personal epoch" peculiar to modern times: his late Roman family went into a late familial phase but no further. Müller-Lyer and Zimmer-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

man differ in interpretation of the same facts. Zimmerman sees family history as forever oscillating between limits; Müller-Lyer sees a great unidirectional evolution, sometimes retrogressing here and there, but in world-wide terms moving toward a humane individualism with social control through cooperation of family, church, and school. Müller-Lyer's is in general the philosophy of most family sociologists today. It has been called "progressive individualism" in contrast with Zimmerman's "institutionalism." Its central theme is expressed by the subtitle of Burgess and Locke's *The Family: From Institution to Companionship,* and fits in better with the principle of adaptive functionalism than with the other great theories of social change.

We witness today a convergence toward the general pattern of the Euro-American family: monogamous; nuclear; planned and limited in reproduction; residentially separated from other families and from agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial operations; less authoritarian and more equalitarian; more concerned with health, leisure, and companionship. This convergent development has been due to many causes. It is not explained by blind imitation of the West, coercion by the West, or by any law of evolution inherent in the family system as such. The functionalist theory helps toward an explanation, e.g., the family system progressively adapts itself to other changes in society.

First, industrialism calls for rationality (i.e., efficiency) in the use of space and of human skills. Elaborate kinship rules and taboos, the extended family, polygamy, nepotism, and sentimental attachments to persons and places are nuisances under industrialism. In an environment of machines and specialized tools, children are less useful, more dangerous to themselves and others, than where simple manual work is to be done. Competition places under handicap those adults who slow down their working operations in order to train children on the job. The relegation of children to the home and school, and of mothers of small children to tasks that can practically be performed while tending these children, becomes more obviously advantageous. All this is a form of the greater specialization of work that goes with economic development. The rewards of industrialism entail eventually greater leisure, for some persons at least; this new leisure tends to be spent at places, times, and activities quite separate from those of the workaday world with its atmosphere of tension and competition. This is very different from primitive leisure, which consisted in elaborating and ritualizing the daily work itself.

Second, a high valuation upon some sort of equality, justice, or democracy among individuals has emerged in some form in all advanced societies.

Third, modern medical and other sciences, by demonstrating success in the reduction of pain, suffering, unwanted births, and premature deaths, become attractive to perceptive persons everywhere. There is, therefore, a slow, unconscious drift toward those patterns of living that are objectively more efficient in preventing human suffering or in maximizing individual human satisfactions.

The Probable Future of the Family

About 1920 it was widely proclaimed from two very different sources that the Family would adapt itself to these other social changes by disappearing altogether. It was argued that the functions of the Family could all be as well or better performed by other institutions or by individuals acting in unpatterned freedom. One source of this prophecy was the leadership of the new Marxist Russia. Engels, who had elaborated Marxism with some ideas from Lewis Morgan's evolutionary anthropology of "stages," considered the Family a capitalist institution which, like the State, would "wither away." Said the Bolshevik Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky: "Our problem is now to do away with the household and to free women from the care of children." He would not force this development, but he anticipated that people would live more and more in communal houses with children's quarters, and that in time such phrases as "my parents," "our children," would become obsolete, to be replaced by the generic, nonpossessive, concepts of "adults" and "children."

The other source was the American behavioristic psychologists, who from Russia had taken over Pavlov but not Marx, Engels, or Lenin.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Their leader, John B. Watson, declared that the home and the parent-child relation were doomed to disappear. "I would gamble my all, too, that after three months in our nursery no youngster will want to go home even for a week-end" (quoted in Victor F. Calverton and Samuel D. Schmalhausen, eds., *The Newer Generation*. New York: Macaulay, 1930, p. 73).

No such outcome is implied by the philosophy of progressive individualism. It is not even good evolutionism, but rather a doctrinaire projection of certain selected trends of family development to their logical conclusion without regard to the whole picture, a way of thinking rather characteristic of Marxism.

Likewise, the institutionalist cyclical view, although founded upon detailed historical scholarship, has an exaggerated concern with social control and its failures, with the breakdowns of orderly social structures so obvious in late Roman and in modern times. It gives little attention to the other functions of the Family.

Some thirty years have not only failed to reveal any withering away of the Family either in the U.S.S.R. or the United States, but have revealed trends toward making the Family stronger and more important. A careful review of the functions of the Family along with its structural position in society will show the unreasonableness of the Lunacharsky-Watson predictions.

Changing Functions of the Family

The functions of the Family may be outlined as follows:

I. NATURAL-SOCIAL

(pertaining to higher animals and all mankind)

- Reproduction
- Sexual satisfaction
- Feeding and care of helpless young
- Love and companionship

II. INSTITUTIONAL

(cultural, purely human, varying greatly among the world's different societies)

- Economic production:
  - Material goods
  - Material services:
    - feeding, care of clothing and body, shelter, rest, privacy, transportation
- Protection of members
  - Against enemies and dangers
  - Against want (support, assistance, insurance)
- Social control and culture transmission
  - Personal identification and status-ascription
  - Property control and transmission
  - Socialization (basic discipline) of child
  - Control of sex behavior
  - Other behavior controls over children, adolescents, and adults
  - Education
    - informal and formal
  - Religious worship and education
- Recreation
- Hospitality and friendship

Protection against enemies and dangers, and behavior controls over adults, were largely transferred to the State when the trustee family or clan phase passed away. With the Industrial Revolution the production of material goods was largely transferred from home to factory. Protection of deprived individuals and nuclear families has been transferred from the extended family to voluntary charities, private insurance companies, and more lately to the social-welfare and social-security organs of the State. Religious education and worship have probably declined within the home and many families seek to have this function performed more by the Church. For the remaining functions enumerated above, a very poor case for decline can be made, and indeed much evidence points to an enlargement of some of the functions.

Parsons and Bales (1955) say: "The family has . . . been coming to be more sharply differentiated from other units and agencies of the society, and hence coming to be more specialized in its functions than has been true of the family in our own past and in the other known societies." The Family occupies a position in *series* rather than in *parallel* with other institutions. It is the final convergent channel, the nonbypassable medium through which most of the goods, services, and satisfactions reach the individual as final consumer. This is more fully explained below.

The decline in material production in the home has been offset by a greatly increased production of services by and in the home. For example, bread is now seldom baked in the home, nor meat cured, but food in greater variety is purchased with more careful selection, is prepared and served in a variety of ways

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

with esthetic embellishments and much catering to individual tastes and needs. Cloth is no longer woven at home, but everyone has more clothing and the very selection, purchase, storage, cleaning, and repairing of this clothing takes much labor. The number of person-hours of labor in the home amount constantly to about half of those in paid occupations outside the home. This is indicated by the fact that a fairly constant 40 to 45 per cent of the population are in the labor force and about 21 per cent are full-time homemakers. Several studies show that the average homemaker works at least as many hours per week as does the average worker in "gainful occupations."

From 1890 to 1957, through a period of great social change, the percentage of total population engaged in full-time homemaking has remained at 21 per cent. This represents a balance between countervailing trends. During this period the average household has declined from 4.9 persons to 2.9 persons. This drift toward more and smaller households naturally tends to call for a larger percentage of homemakers in the population. On the other hand, the percentage of women of homemaking age has increased along with the general percentage of adult population. Also, a much larger percentage of these adult women are now in the labor force. Consequently, a considerable percentage of today's families have no full-time homemaker. In 1957 about 30 per cent of all married women and 40 per cent of all mothers of school-age children were in the labor force.

Homemaking work is still there to be done. It is increasingly done as an extra job by wives who work outside, and the evidence is that it is increasingly shared by husbands. Machinery and modern conveniences shorten it to some extent; on the other hand, paid servants have decreased rather than increased. Children and adolescents help, and they are playing an important role through baby-sitting and other brief assignments in homes other than their own. But we do not know whether in sum total of person-hours their contribution has increased or decreased. In general, homemaking is becoming everybody's job. Important in this connection is the do-it-yourself movement, which involves men and all members of the family.

The Family has increased and elaborated its direct services to its own members as final consumers, it is undertaking construction and repair work formerly delegated to outside agencies, and through the ubiquitous family automobile and garage it is heavily involved in the transportation function which, except on farms, was formerly left to the railroads and streetcars.

It has also been commonly alleged that the Family is losing its educational functions. This is a false inference from the undeniable fact that formal school education has vastly increased. The School has merely added functions which in earlier times were less necessary and which society could not afford. Our increased prosperity and standard of living reflect themselves partly in increased schooling. In the Soviet Union, where nurseries for children under 3 and kindergartens for those from 3 to 6 play a large role, these institutions do take much of the time of children and give them a certain basic habit training that would otherwise be left to parents, if performed at all.

But in Russia, as in the United States, the increased activity of schools involves also increased parent education and involvement of parents in the school activities of their children. The Parent-Teacher Associations illustrate this tendency. In Israel, the Kibbutzim with their children's quarters, designed originally to meet economic necessity by freeing more time of parents for agricultural or industrial production, are not an expanding pattern. The tendency is rather, as prosperity increases, for people to leave the Kibbutz and establish individual homes.

As to the recreational or pleasure functions in modern American urban society, the schools, churches, and recreational agencies under both commercial and welfare auspices foster much organized leisure-time activity outside the home, which was not characteristic of frontier, peasant, and earlier American rural societies. Peer-groups based on the school, the welfare agency, or the street corner gang take more and more control over adolescent behavior. All this is offset by other trends: radio, television, the greater recreational and esthetic equipment of the modern home, especially in the suburbs. One leading social worker sees in the suburbs

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

a "renaissance of the family." This comes about through an "increasing need of the family members to rely on their own stability in view of the instability of life around them." An article by Margaret Mead, "The Pattern of Leisure in Contemporary American Culture," says, in abstract, that in the decade 1947–1957 there has been, psychologically, a subtle shift in the balance from "work" and "good works" to "the home": the home is now the center for existence, which in turn justifies working at all.

One can argue that the Family has gained more functions than it has lost, or vice versa, but this all depends upon how one lists and subdivides the "functions"; it is a semantic question. The only reasonably discussable index is a quantitative estimate of the total person-hours of time used in all family operations. When this index is applied there is no evidence for any withering away of the Family.

The Sexual and Affectional Functions of the Family

It is notable that the natural-social functions of the Family, those which pertain more or less to animals as well as men, have shown no attrition.

Despite sporadic ideological glorification of free love and the right to motherhood, despite temporary increases in illegitimacy due to war or other abnormal conditions, the vast majority of births—if not conceptions—take place within marriage. The Kinsey reports (1948, 1953) tell us that approximately 46 per cent of all sexual outlets of American males are obtained through marital coitus, but about 85 per cent of the outlets of the married male population are so obtained. It must not be assumed, however, that the nonmarital outlets consist mainly in illicit coitus. They include a great deal of masturbation and nocturnal emissions, especially before the age of 25.

During the three or four decades of behavior covered by the Kinsey reports, there was no substantial change in the frequency of marital coitus, except possibly an increase among the younger people of the lower educational level. Lower-class males have tended to begin their sexual experience in general at an earlier age and Kinsey attributes this mainly to improved nutrition. There has been an increase in the proportion of wives who achieve orgasm in marital coitus. There has been an increase in the percentage of women who have premarital and extramarital coitus. However, this increase in the number of women involved does not necessarily mean an increase in the total volume of such nonmarital intercourse, and even if it does it is small compared with the volume of marital intercourse. Much evidence points to an increase since 1920 in America of premarital coitus among couples who later marry, which accounts for a large part of the general increase in premarital coitus. This increase, which to many older persons appears as an alarming evidence of irresponsibility and disregard of moral standards, may rather indicate that we are shifting toward mores that have for a long time been characteristic of northern and central Europe. The norm that expects a girl to be a virgin at marriage seems to have been strict in Victorian England, at least in the upper and middle classes; and it is also very strict among Mediterranean peoples such as Greeks and Italians, and at least in the upper and middle classes of the Hispanic world. The Latin peoples and the Greeks practice considerable separation of the sexes in youth and chaperonage of marriageable girls, in contrast to the freer mingling of the sexes during youth in northern and central Europe and Russia.

A 1955 cross-cultural study of small sample areas showed the following comparison (Christensen, 1955):

	PERCENT OF ALL BIRTHS WHICH ARE ILLEGITIMATE	PERCENT OF MARITAL FIRST BIRTHS WHICH OCCUR WITHIN FIRST SIX MONTHS OF MARRIAGE
Utah County, Utah	.9	9.0
Tippecanoe County, Indiana	2.9	10.0
City of Copenhagen	11.2	31.1
Whole of Denmark	6.6	34.9

In both Utah and Indiana the modal (most frequent) date of first conception is one month after marriage; in Denmark it is five months *before* marriage. It would appear that in rural

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Denmark there is greater expectation that a pregnancy will lead to marriage, whereas in Copenhagen this norm is less demanding, so that either irresponsibility or rational judgment, or both, allow the tolerated premarital intercourse to result in more births outside of wedlock.

The Family, of course, never has and probably never will establish an absolute monopoly over sexual intercourse, still less over "total sexual outlet." In a broad historical and anthropological perspective, the Family appears as an institution designed not so much to provide and to contain all sexual satisfaction, as to limit whatever sexual satisfactions it may contain exclusively to the married pair, or to specified kinship relations—in other words, to define and prevent incest. To most peoples in the world and in history it has presumably not seemed that any institution is needed to regulate a satisfaction which is so natural or instinctive and also, unlike food and shelter, so unhampered by shortages of supply. As long as the two sexes are reasonably balanced in numbers, the means exist in proportion to the ends. The function of institutions is rather to control and channelize the sex instinct for the sake of other human instincts or ends.

But with modern rationality less and less is entrusted fully "to nature." We believe, with good reason, that we can improve upon nature. We tend to label all phases of living with words and to assign them to the responsibility of various institutions. By this process of verbalization and rationalization much is obviously gained and it is still to be proved that anything is irretrievably lost, even though Max Weber alluded to the "disenchantment of the world." Whatever attitudes may be taken toward other sexual outlets, sexual satisfaction is coming more and more to be verbally recognized and emphasized as a major function of the marital relationship in the modern American type of family, toward which many other societies are converging.

Indeed, the Judeo-Christian tradition has long recognized the legitimate purposes of marriage as including not only the procreation and education of children, but also the unity of man and wife as persons and as an outlet for sexual desire. Jewish culture regards marriage and procreation as preferable values for all persons. Christianity offered monastic celibacy as an honorable alternative. This celibacy acquired in some sense a higher value but was never chosen by enough persons to threaten the adequate increase of population. The Catholic Church today recognizes the values of spousal unity and personality development through sex, but, according to Pope Pius XII in 1951, these values are subordinate to procreation; and according to the rules of the Church, in effect they must be paid for by taking a risk of unplanned procreation somewhat greater than would be entailed by the use of modern contraceptive devices. On the other hand, modern Judaism and Protestantism recognize the unifying and personal-development values of sex as legitimate aims even if accompanied by scientific minimization of the risk of conception. Recently, Christian theologians have discovered, or newly emphasized, statements in both the Old and New Testaments that express a more positive and permissive attitude toward sex in marriage than was formerly found by the churches (Bailey, 1952; Hiltner, 1953; Martinson, 1960).

As Martinson shows, the Judeo-Christian model, with all its variations, is only one of three models or value-schemes that are influencing modern marriage. The others are the Romantic model, dating from the twelfth-century troubadours and chivalry, and the Rationalistic model, which arose out of twentieth-century sociology and psychiatry. These models are not based upon religion or traditional authority, but upon feeling and reason respectively. Many persons, of course, are guided wholly by romance or reason and ignore traditional authority. Many others find comfort and reassurance in the cited reinterpretations of religious authority, which tend to bring it more nearly into harmony with the romantic or rationalistic value schemes.

The Romantic as well as the Judeo-Christian scheme tends to imply the pleasures of sex without the explicit and detailed *verbalization* which comes with the rationalistic view. Indeed, a certain reticence would seem to enhance the values of sex in our culture and in many other cultures. The great nineteenth-century literature of Russia, noted for its extremely detailed description of human feelings

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and behavior and its sympathy for human deviations, is actually very reticent and indirect when it comes to the description of sexual behavior. Most societies which we know tend to throw a veil of privacy about the sexual act and the acts which immediately precede it. Why this should be so widespread a human trait has not yet been adequately explained. Possibly one basic motive is to prevent interference by potential rivals. This does not explain why, both with us and with the Trobriand Islanders, a man's sex relations with his wife are more unmentionable to trusted male associates than are his extramarital adventures.

Rationalism is more than science. It makes full use of available science; but in addition it makes fuller use of familiar, *common-sense* knowledge than does nonrationalism, because it insists that every pertinent detail be made visible, plain, or open to verbal discussion (Ellis, 1959). The rational attitude toward sex holds that if sexual pleasure is inherently desirable, then since ends justify means, whatever increases sexual pleasure, if no harm is done, is desirable. While sex outside of marriage does harm, or creates grave risk of harm, in our type of society, it seems reasonable that within marriage all barriers should be removed, and the way made plain, from excitation to ejaculation. So we have been making sex into an art or skill, and since all arts and skills are communicated and improved with the help of words, it is rational to talk about it freely. We have learned to talk about it in the language not of poetry or of the gutter, but of technology.

In recent years much of such talk has flowed and much print piled up. In general two main purposes are discernible: the negative purpose of preventing illicit or harmful sex behavior, and the positive purpose of increasing the benefits of hygienic marital sex life. In the early part of this century the negative purpose was more prominent; we began to think that syphilis might be easier to prevent if we named it and described it and told people what does not cause it as well as what does. Since 1920 the positive purpose has grown in prominence. It is now possible not only to agree with the Judeo-Christian theme that sex unifies the partners or enriches their love life, but also to admit discreetly in public what everyone knows, that "sex is fun."

A little mathematics applied to the birth rate and the Kinsey report will show that in normal, long-enduring marriages there is about one birth for every thousand acts of marital coitus. One may ask of the remaining 999 acts whether they are merely unsuccessful attempts at procreation or have other purposes. Levy and Munroe (1941), studying happily married couples, observe that the mood and purpose of coitus vary with ease and freedom: close affection, tenderness, solemn passion, a "wholly frivolous" mood, "routine satisfaction of a bodily need" (as well as the several attempts commonly necessary to bring about each desired pregnancy). "Our uninhibited happily married couple will take all these variations and find them good."

All of this talk and print about sex may be called sex education. It may be subdivided in still another way: according to what age, sex, or marital status group it is meant for. Catholic and many other leaders still believe that the sex education of children, at least before puberty, should be carried out by the family. Odette (1945), for example, has a little 32-page brochure of good taste and religious overtones, addressed to parents and advising them how, gradually, delicately, and honestly, to initiate their children to the facts of life. It says nothing about schools, but for older adolescents it advises that parental teaching be supplemented by books from a recommended list.

Around 1920, however, a movement for sex education by the public schools began to develop, on the ground that many parents neglect or badly perform this function, and that it is better for children to get these facts through a universal program, even in advance of their spontaneous curiosity, than that some children should become the victims of ignorance or of "gutter" education. Only a few schools at first dared put this philosophy completely into practice, as for example Winnetka and Bronxville, while the New York City schools were forbidding the teaching of *mammalian* reproduction. One practice was to let parents decide whether their child should join a sex-education class. In general the schools have tried to "integrate" sex materials into various courses

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

through the curriculum rather than to give special lectures known as "sex" (Folsom, 1941). The objectives of school sex education have been mainly to present the essential facts of reproduction, to inculcate "healthy attitudes toward sex," and to discourage all voluntary "sex outlets" before marriage.

These aims of enlightened parents and of schools have been more negative than they have been positive in any specific, concrete sense. The adolescent boy of the past few decades has been learning plenty from school or parents to deter him from premarital coitus, and even learning that masturbation is merely a childish habit and not a cause of insanity. But, if he wanted to know how one performs coitus with a maximum of safety or mutual satisfaction he had to seek other sources—his more sophisticated peers or some adult book outside of his usual range of literature. Supposedly he did not "need" to know these things yet, but in plenty of cases he sought the information anyway, and got it, correctly or incorrectly.

About 1940 a sample of 291 boys, mostly 12–16, white-middle-class-urban, mainly Protestant, revealed that male companions were their primary source of sex information; 55 per cent stated that neither parent had contributed to their sex instruction; and only 15 per cent rated their parents' efforts as fair or adequate (Ramsey, 1943). The topic most often presented by parents was the origin of babies; for this information 31 per cent could primarily thank their parents. Information about intercourse, prostitutes, and contraceptives was obtained, in an overwhelming majority of cases, from companions. Perhaps the best method of concretely positive sex education would be to have books around the house which we pretend we do not want the children to read.

Since the 1920's, however, there has been some thoughtful reaction in various directions against the exceedingly rationalistic philosophy of sex and sex education, even though this was embraced, perhaps, only by the more educated classes. After a period of radical sex education in Russia, the great educator Makarento, in the 1930's, held that when a child asked a sex question the parent might properly answer: "You are too young to understand; when you are older I will tell you." In America we have come to question the policy of telling facts early before curiosity arises.

Some religious and also some secular thinkers have opposed the rationalistic approach because they fear that the rational arguments for sexual continence and for monogamy are not sufficiently convincing to hold the sex drive of many persons in check; they feel that a suprarational sanction is also necessary. They feel also that a detailed knowledge of the facts of sexual behavior will stimulate such behavior. When the Kinsey reports came out, Margaret Mead (1949) wrote: "The sudden removal of a previously guaranteed reticence has left many young people singularly defenseless in just those areas where their desire to conform was protected by a lack of knowledge of the extent of non-conformity."

In 1956 a leading psychiatrist criticized our current sex education on the ground that it is too coldly factual, presented in a toneless voice, and that in purging sex of disgust and guilt we are also purging it of tenderness and warmth (Martin, 1956). Other thinkers have said some good words for sex humor, holding that laughter rather than tense seriousness may play a helpful role in preparing people for a satisfying sex life.

It would be a mistake to conclude, however, that the rational approach to sex has failed and that we should or shall again go back to hush-hush, indirect allusions, or to entrusting sex to blind "nature." Rather, the philosophy of the 1920's was too narrowly and naively rational and was ignorant of certain areas of scientific evidence. On its more adult level it was heavily influenced by Freudian theory, and insufficiently influenced by sociology and cultural anthropology.

Yet throughout both the "hush-hush" period and the period of sex education we may discern a constant thread of awareness that the major problem is the communication of attitudes and values, rather than of facts. Policies have changed because attitudes and values have changed. Even the concept "healthy attitude toward sex" does not mean the same thing concretely at all times, among all nationalities, among all social classes. It is here suggested, however that a healthy attitude toward sex, in universal human terms, would have these char-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

acteristics: (1) lessening inhibition of sex *feeling* by fear and disgust, whatever controls may be necessary over *action*; (2) prevalence of heterosexuality with a minimum of homosexuality and of conditioning to nonhuman objects; (3) separation of sex feeling from anger, violence, and cruelty (in other words, minimum sadism). The thing to be most afraid of in our current erotica is not the things we call "lewd," "lustful," "obscene," "earthy," "vulgar," and "immoral," but those which portray a pretty girl and a revolver in the same picture.

It was Kinsey in 1948 who was made the chief scapegoat by the conservatives, for his allegedly needless and harmful exposure, in the name of science, of man's sexual behavior. Yet it was Kinsey who corrected some of the most harmful errors of the 1920 sexual philosophers and educators. First, Kinsey found that there were universal human and even mammalian differences between males and females in sexuality, and that Victorian culture and prudishness could not be entirely blamed for the relative "frigidity" of women or the desire of women, on the average, for less frequent and less regular intercourse than is the case with men. Other investigators also have found that husbands in general want intercourse more often than their wives (Burgess and Wallin, 1953).

A most important cause of sex differences, Kinsey found, is that genital excitation in the male is much more reactive to psychological stimuli: sights, sounds, nudity, fetishes, imagination, and memories. The female's arousal is more dependent on actual physical contact. The male's greater tendency to promiscuity is not due to the fact that his sexuality is more "physical" and less "mental," as popularly assumed, but to precisely the reverse.

Kinsey also found that highly educated women are more frequently virgin at marriage, and also more likely to achieve orgasm in marital intercourse. Also, in his massive data the evidences of incest and desire for incest, as implied in the Oedipus theme of the Freudians, play a very small and insignificant role. "As a factor in the development of the homosexual, age of onset of adolescence (which probably means the metabolic drive of the individual) may prove to be more significant than the much discussed Oedipus relation of Freudian philosophy" (Kinsey and others, 1948). Kinsey finds that prolonged intercourse with nudity, preceded by a great deal of petting, is much more characteristic of the educated classes than of the mass of people. He estimates that for "perhaps three-quarters of all males orgasm is reached within two minutes after the initiation of the sexual relation."

In general, Kinsey shows the tremendous importance of basic sex differences, individual differences, age, the different social classes with their different codes of sexual behavior, the process of biological maturation, and the process of psychological conditioning.

In view of all these findings, it now appears that the 1920 adult sex education, which stressed the equal or similar drive of the sexes, Victorian repressions as cause of the frigidity of women, the importance of prolonged foreplay and prolonged intercourse, and the seriousness of failure to achieve simultaneous orgasm and of the failure of a husband to give his wife the same kind and amount of satisfaction as he receives, was somewhat unrealistic. By setting up goals that are not attainable by many persons, and by imputing failure and inferiority to those who did not attain these goals, sex education of the 1920's was setting up a new rigid value system as much as it was releasing people from traditional values; and it was making those who read its literature feel that they must conform to these new values. Many persons became dissatisfied with their marriages, many experimented with or encouraged extramarital relations in the name of mental health or personality development, many got divorced who would have been happy and well adjusted—either under the traditional values or perhaps with more complete information and rational acceptance of the exceedingly varied "facts of life" that Kinsey later provided.

Burgess and Wallin (1953) report that general marital happiness correlates only about +.50 with sexual adjustment and that "there is relatively little association between wives being low on marital success and their having low sexual adjustment scores," and that "wives are less disposed than their husbands to be critical of, or dissatisfied with, their sexual relationship.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The explanation for this may be that women do not expect as much as men from the sexual sphere of marriage."

These conditions can be changed. For example, one physician reported that technical instruction enabled most of her "frigid" women patients to achieve orgasm in marital coitus. But we need to know what is factually normal before we become too compulsive in struggling for what is ideally normal.

We have come also to realize more keenly that we cannot with impunity set up ideals or customs within the individual family, no matter how theoretically desirable, in defiance of the value system of the neighborhood in which we choose to live. Children suffer acutely when their parents' behavior or teachings contradict those of their peer groups. These peer groups cannot be escaped in modern life and their power to inflict punishment and misery upon the nonconformist is greater than the power of the Family, the Church, or even the State. The Oneida and other deviant patterns of sex life might have survived had it not been for the pressures of the larger society, exerted largely upon the younger generation.

One of the most needed areas of research is that of the privacy and secrecy of sexual behavior. In general, rationality and science call for factual truth and more open communication. But what kinds of facts are and should be communicated—to whom and under what conditions? The ethic of honesty conflicts at innumerable points with the ethic of loyalty.

The major achievement of science and rationality in the sexual field is probably permanent and irreversible: we have learned to talk about sex behavior, to study it, and to improve it through talk and study, as we do with all other phases of life. By achieving this verbal recognition, sexual satisfaction *seems* to have become a more important function of marriage than ever before; but it may be merely that we are recognizing an importance which was formerly unverbalized. This recognition may cause extramarital methods of sexual satisfaction to be less frequent or to be more frequent; but it will tend to render them less necessary, less compulsive, less worthy of the sacrifice or risking of all the other values which flow from stable marriage.

For achieving the best possible performance of this sexual function within marriage, the best present wisdom is aptly summarized by Martinson (1960):

> Optimum sex expression is a learned rather than a natural accomplishment of the married couple. . . . [BUT:] It is generally agreed today that there are no right techniques for bringing about sex satisfaction, no right bodily position of the partners in relation to each other, no right time of day for love-making, and no right frequency for sex experience. Each is to be determined by the couple in respect to their mutual desires and wishes. But marriage partners are, for the sake of each other and for the sake of the relationship, obligated to make sex as satisfying an experience as possible. Equipped with some knowledge of the facts of life, permissive attitudes, and love and tenderness on the part of both, intimate love-making should become a recurring satisfying communion between husband and wife.

With the separation of the Family from agriculture and industry, the lessened harshness of discipline, and the greater equality of the sexes within and without marriage, the familial function of satisfying *nonerotic* love and companionship needs is also becoming more prominent. Research has shown the greater tendency of the unloved and rejected child to become a psychopath or a delinquent. Research has shown the great need, for emotional health, of young children for a steady, ever-present parent-person, even though this may be other than the biological mother. Adolescents and adults in courtship seek security and permanence of love more than they seek variety of sexual satisfactions.

The feelings of tender love and yearning are not the same thing as the erotic feeling. They are located in different parts of the body and involve different physiological processes. They can be fused—or separated—by the experiences of human learning, both overt and imaginary. Tender love, in its less intense degrees, becomes a warm friendly feeling such as occurs in gregarious behavior. In the Middle Ages, says Halmos, Europeans were given more than now to a warm gregarious fellowship with bodily contact, like animals which huddle together for warmth. Puritanism, the modern nuclear family

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and its well-equipped home, have brought about a higher valuation of exclusiveness and privacy (Halmos, 1952).

In many primitive and peasant societies there was a diffusion of warm friendly feelings among kinsfolk and friends in the relatively unchanging community environment. People were emotionally attached to the place itself; homesickness reveals such attachment. In modern urban society, with frequent change of residence, the satisfaction of these emotional needs depends more than ever upon marriage and the nuclear family.

Hence arises the paradox of the modern nuclear family. It becomes more intensely the provider of love, yet the extreme valuation of love and its concentration within the family makes the family more vulnerable. Institutionally speaking, there is no loss, because most divorces are followed by remarriages, and more people than before are living at any one time within some marriage, some private home. But the full satisfaction of love needs requires permanence of relationship, with freedom from anxiety, hostility, and regret. This fullness of satisfaction is scarred by divorce and remarriage, and by the divided allegiance of the children of broken marriages. The modern urban family has not lost but gained in its responsibility for the love function, but its performance is marred by many breakdowns and personal traumas. This problem calls not for re-emphasizing the sacredness of the Family *as an institution* (which implies possible changeability of personnel), but for more reverence *for each family* as a natural—and sacred—group.

Whether or not we accept Zimmerman's cyclical theory of family history, or his proposal to strengthen its traditional institutional aspects, we may find hope and meaning in his suggestion that in the future the Family may not merely adapt to other institutions, but other institutions may adapt to it. In line with this possible trend is the current family-life movement, with its efforts to increase education for family life in the schools and churches and to set up family-counseling centers. Social work thinks of itself increasingly as a service to families rather than to categories of individuals. Medicine, psychiatry, and religion are becoming family-minded. Even industry is catering to family life in ways that would have been surprising in the nineteenth century. The National Council on Family Relations, spearhead of the family-life movement in the United States, was founded by a lawyer, Paul Sayre, who believed that the aim of his profession should be not to arrange divorces but to prevent them.

References

Arensberg, Conrad M., and Kimball, Solon T., *Family and Community in Ireland.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941.

Bailey, Derrick S., *The Mystery of Love and Marriage.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

Bossard, James H. S. (ed.), "Toward Family Stability." *Annals. Acad. Polit. & Social Sci. 272;* 1-315, 1950.

Bossard, James H. S., and Boll, Eleanor S., *Family Situations, An Introduction to the Study of Child Behavior.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943.

Burgess, Ernest W., and Locke, Harvey J., *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (2nd ed.). New York: American Book Co., 1953.

Burgess, Ernest W., and Wallin, Paul, *Engagement and Marriage.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

Davis, W. Allison, and Havighurst, Robert J., *Father of the Man: How Your Child Gets His Personality.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

Duvall, Evelyn M., *Family Development.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1957.

Ellis, Albert, "Rationalism and Its Therapeutic Applications." In Ellis, Albert (ed.), *The Place of Value in the Practice of Psychotherapy.* New York: American Academy of Psychotherapists, 1959.

Folsom, Joseph K., *Youth, Family, and Education.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1941.

Folsom, Joseph K., *The Family and Democratic Society.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1943.

Folsom, Joseph K., "Family, USSR." In Joseph S. Roucek (ed.), *Slavonic Encyclopedia.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949.

Glick, Paul C., *American Families.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957.

Goodsell, Willystine, *A History of Marriage and the Family* (rev. ed.). New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Halmos, Paul, *Solitude and Privacy.* London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1952.

Hill, Reuben, "Review of Current Research on Marriage and the Family." *Amer. Sociol. Rev. 16;* 694-701, 1951.

Hill, Reuben, Katz, Alvin M., and Simpson, Richard L., "An Inventory of Research in Marriage and Family Behavior: A Statement of Objectives and Progress." *Marr. Fam. Living 19;* 89-92, 1957.

Hiltner, Seward, *Sex Ethics and the Kinsey Reports.* New York: Association Press, 1953.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Kingsbury, Susan M., and Fairchild, Mildred, *Factory, Family, and Women in the Soviet Union.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., and Martin, C. E., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders and Co., 1948.

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., Martin, C. E., and Gebhard, P. H., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders and Co., 1953.

Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *The Family as Process and Institution.* New York: The Ronald Press, 1955.

Kyrk, Hazel, *The Family in the American Economy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Levy, John, and Munroe, Ruth, *The Happy Family.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941.

Martin, Alexander Reid, "Do We Teach Our Children Too Much About Sex?" *McCalls,* Oct. 1956, 33-40.

Martinson, Floyd M., *Marriage and the American Ideal.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1960.

Mead, Margaret, *Male and Female.* New York: William Morrow & Co., 1949.

Miner, Horace, *St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Müller-Lyer, F., *The Family.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1931.

Murdock, George P., *Social Structure.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945.

Myrdal, Alva, *Nation and Family.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Odette, Vincent F., *Comment de dire: Nos Petits et les Mystères de la Vie.* Montreal: La Famille, 1945.

Ogburn, William F., and Nimkoff, Meyer F., *Technology and the Changing Family.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955.

Parsons, Talcott, and Bales, Robert F., *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process.* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

Ramsey, Glenn V., "The Sex Information of Younger Boys." *Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 13;* 347-352, 1943.

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Family and Civilization.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

Sociologie Comparée de la Famille Contemporaine. (Colloques Internationaux due Centre de la Recherche Scientifique.) Paris: Editions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Far East, Sex in the Art of the

THE ARTIST of the Far East does not base his craftsmanship on the study of the nude, as does his Western colleague, but on the study of the landscape. This landscape is studied not as an organic whole with pertinent detail filled in but rather as a miscellany of discrete objects assembled, at least apparently, by chance. The result is not a panorama in geometric perspective with a centripetal tendency toward one point, but rather a series of scenes connected by a temporal continuity as the viewer strolls visually through these chance-assembled fragments of life continuing off the canvas into reality. When the Far Eastern artist does treat the nude as subject, either singly or in composition, he composes it as a landscape of the human form, in a series of impressions gained during the pauses in a stroll.

Nepal is the westernmost portion of the Far East. Here the Indian and the Chinese treatment of the nude co-exist; they do not blend, but exist separately side by side. The Indian concept of the nude is related to the Grecian school of naturalism, infused with romantic idealism, an idealism realized to such a degree as to give the sculpture at temple complexes such as Karnak the appearance of being thousands of portraits of the one and the same couple in thousands of poses and positions. Chinese art portrays the human figure as naked rather than nude, evincing neither idealism nor naturalism but rather a deromanticized realism which, as we follow the style eastward, becomes harsher and more and more of an outright caricature.

The overlapping of art styles is paralleled by the overlapping of Hinduism and Buddhism, but here in religion there is a blending, resulting in Tantric Buddhism, which has been called "Buddhist Hinduism" and "Saivism (the worship of Siva) in Buddhist garb."

Tantrism

Tantra is a *web* or *warp*, a continuous or uninterrupted series; in religion this becomes *an orderly rite or ritual*, thus implying ritual carried through to its ultimate conclusion; as a web, encompassing all. In its present form, ascribed to the sixth or seventh century A.D., Tantrism has two aspects. It is a systematization of vulgar magical rites, of usages and popular formulas which were practiced in an earlier age and which belong to a type of primitive thought that varies little in the course of centuries. The second aspect is a Buddhist innovation that has developed it into a theurgy, the Vajrayana, a highly developed mysticism.

Both aspects of Tantrism make use of erotic art with both literal and figurative connotations. According to Foucher, the rite of Sadhana prescribes the pattern according to which Tibetan, and possibly Hindu, artists worked. Sadhana is the evocation of a god (or holy spirit) to the place of meditation, through offerings, mental or real, the practice of the virtues of friendship, pity, joy, and indifference, and the fixation of the mind on the essential voidness of all things. Merit (punya) and wisdom (jnyana) thus acquired, the ascetic is ready

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:JKS

for the creative rite: the execution of black or white magic, worship, the creation of art, or the continuing of the Sadhana rite into its second phase.

The Nepalese believe that an ordinary person, incapable of performing such an esoteric rite, may partake of it by looking at works of art which portray the necessary offerings and practices. The animal virtues must be appealed to emotionally and physically. Erotic art accomplishes this, distracting the conscious mind, freeing the subconscious to continue its quest for communion.

Art or Pornography?

In the absence of theurgy or a philosophy of art, is this erotica art or is it simply pornography? Among primitive peoples the representation of human and animal figures with obvious or exaggerated genital organs or of the organs alone for religious or magical purposes is common. But there is an equal frequency of use in secular contexts. Among the Bare'e Toradja tribe of the Celebes the breasts and genitalia alone are used as decorative motifs. The natives state they have no significance other than to "delight the eyes"; they have thus a conscious artistic significance. Samoans carve paired, half-moon marriage spoons with nude male and female handles, genitals in excitation. They interlock as in intercourse, now forming a large full-circle spoon, and are used in the marriage rite. They are valued in proportion to their craftsmanship and esthetic qualities; thus also are, consciously, art.

As the culture becomes, in a Western sense, more advanced, the theurgical use of erotica declines, leaving the artistic variety of erotica dominant. Evidence of former theurgical use may remain, as rationalization, serious or otherwise, or as a fragment of legend of no obvious relevance, sometimes bordering on the superstitious. No traditional Chinese family would have considered a house fully furnished without a collection of erotic paintings, not regularly displayed but stored. They are referred to as *pi huo t'i,* fire-prevention maps—further indication that the Chinese artists consider the human body in terms of landscape. Religious association lingers in Nepal where temples are made largely of wood and on many of them, including those not otherwise decorated with Tantric erotica, the exposed ends of wooden structural members such as roof beams, usually bracket-supported rather than tenoned, are decorated with carved and painted representations of the sexual act. Nepalese claim these are charms against lightning and fire.

In Japan, in some shrines whose transverse roof beams are tenoned through the pillars, the protruding ends are carved into phalli. Tiled roofs, except for those on some modern, low-cost structures, incorporate decorative finials that serve as charms against fire and lightning. These are found at both ends of the ridge spine, the highest points on the roof, joined to the ridge pole, or at the corners of the roof at the terminals of the main roof members. Most common motifs are the fish, the stylized "fish" of obvious phallic intent, the mystic lion mask (the name for lion, *shi-shi,* is a homonym for the child's word for urinate), the mask of the evil-repelling *div* (also part of the armor of the Buddhist guardian gods and worn just above the groin), and the peach or sheaf of rice grain, both standard Japanese representations of the female genitals. Many temples and shrines preserve ancient tiles, between three hundred and a thousand years old, showing the peach flanked by or in association with mushrooms or undisguised phalli, and various other representations of pudenda. Shinto shrines of traditional pre-Buddhist architecture indicate the sex of the spirit enshrined within by their *chigi,* scissor-shaped bargeboards set as finials and extending above both ridge ends like V's, much as tent poles extend above a tepee. If the upper end of each board is cut so that the edge is parallel with the ground, the enshrined genius is female; if cut roughly perpendicular to the earth or to its own axis so that it forms a point aimed at the sky, the genius within is male. There are no known hermaphroditic geni, but Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto, which houses, temporarily in seasonal transit, a multitude of spirits, mixes its *chigi* genders. The bottom end of the main pillar, embedded into the earth and under which the human sacrifice or its later substitute was laid, is priapic.

An important source of income for Shinto shrines and some Buddhist temples is the sale

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of pictorial or calligraphic charms against fire. Shrines associated with fertility rites usually sell representations of the sexual organs. These charms are sealed in paper, not meant to be seen by mortals, and are pasted, never mailed, to the main wooden vertical beam, preferably near the ridgepole or close under the eaves.

Most lightning repellors are male or, in the case of the sexual act and the peach (which symbolizes not merely the vulva, but the pregnant womb near delivery), male-repellent. Lightning is the manifestation of Siva's masculinity. Among the Buddhist priest's ritual paraphernalia is a small wand called variously the mystic lightning bolt of Siva or the vajra. Vajra is also used as a "decent" and mystical synonym for the male member, as the lotus, *padme,* is for the female.

Sadhana Rite

Full communion is the second phase of the Sadhana rite. A predominantly spiritual interpretation is Tantricism of the Right Hand, manifested in Vedantism, Yoga, and Shingon Buddhism; a predominantly carnal interpretation is Tantricism of the Left Hand, practiced by Saivite cults, Mahakalatantra, Tibetan Sakhti, the Boga aspects of Yoga, and the "heretical" offshoot of Shingon, the purely Japanese Tachikawa sect. The Tachikawa sect began in Japan about the time of the Mongol world empire, in the thirteenth century, contemporary with the rise of similar Manichaeo-Christian heresies in Europe, and probably inspired by the exiles who also were responsible for the rise of Zen Buddhism. It is the source of some of Japan's finest erotic art, especially sculpture. It was probably exterminated during the Imperial restoration of the 1860's as part of the suppression of rural Buddhist revolts, although rumors have it still existing in isolated mountain hamlets.

The devotee enters the second phase of the Sadhana rite as his summons to the deity is answered by the appearance of (to use the basic Indian terminology) Kumari, the non-virgin, or the vajrayogini (literally "phallus-yoga practitioner-female"), female divinities. Buddha is traditionally represented to have three bodies or manifestations, but the left-hand school believes it is his third body which is the only true body, the Body of Bliss, the Vajra, "with which the eternal tathagata or Bhagavat embraces eternity" in the body of Sakti. Thus, in order to actualize his attainment, or degree of attainment, of Nirvana, the ascetic must perform rites of sexual union. "Buddhahood abides in the female organ/ Everything is pure to the Pure Man/ Do not fear, you do not sin."

Tachikawa Buddhism further popularized this doctrine by explaining that Nirvana could be attained while incarnate, by advancing through the stage of the Western Paradise of Amitabha, a Buddha of Persian origin (which by their interpretation was almost identical to the Moslem Paradise of the houris), and by obliterating the self into Nirvana when ready. Paradise was earthly existence without restriction, and was manifested mainly in orgies. Whereas conventional asceticism and monasticism attempt the conquest of desires through repression, the Tantrism of the Left Hand abandons the self to desires, either mentally or in reality, so that, once sated, they no longer exist and have thus been conquered.

This parallels various interpretations of the Temptation of Buddha. When it was seen that Gautama Shakyamuni, meditating under the Bodhi tree, was about to attain Buddhahood, Evil manifested itself in the form of the ideal of sensuous womanhood in order to tempt him back to the realm of desires. The conventional Buddhist interpretation has Gautama resist and pass on to become the Buddha. The Tachikawa interpretation is that "everything being pure to the pure man," he becomes the Buddha because he need not resist.

Temptation of Budda

The Temptation of Buddha is a popular subject for Buddhist artists. Tachikawa sculptors show the becoming-Buddha seated in meditation, his face in the ecstacy of perfect communion, while in front of him Mara the temptress is portrayed with a combination of Indian romantic idealism and Japanese reality in caricature that results in the most erotic examples of female beauty. To the casual observer, these figures are merely renditions of the tradi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tional subject. But viewed from any angle other than frontal, as a supplicant before the altar would see it, a priapic Buddha is seen to be in heroic physical communion with Mara. Japanese mask-makers are famous for their ability to carve three or more expressions into a single mask that will alternate with changes in the angle of illumination or view. In these Tachikawa sculptures, Buddha's expression of meditative ecstasy changes to a knowing smile, erotic ecstasy, or any other expression the sculptor may have seen fit to include. A play of light as slight as the flicker of a candle also will give Mara and Buddha the appearance of erotic motion in rhythm with the light change.

In traditional iconography Buddha sits upon a lotus pedestal before a backdrop of a ray-splashed auriole; in Tachikawa art Buddha is a phallus, the lotus a scrotum, and the auriole a vulva with the light rays pubic hair. Other Tachikawa representations include the lotus as a vulva, pictorial representations of the meditative positions applied to sexual concourse, mudras or mystic hand symbols (similar to those used in the Cabbala) with sexual interpretations or new ones with sexual meanings. A Mandala is a picture meant to induce meditation and these of course became natural mediums for Tachikawa erotica, usually in caricature of the traditional, the eightfold path, for example, being indicated by the spread arms and legs of a couple in intercourse.

Shakti and Kanki

These Japanese representations can be considered a vulgarization or practical application of the concept of *shakti* (var. *sakhti*). This takes artistic form in Tibet in representations similar to those of the Tachikawa "temptation of Buddha" sculptures. The Sakhti is the metaphysical force generated by the Absolute and is represented as a divine female who enters into orgiastic embrace with the representation of the divinity which generated her. This symbolism became very popular in Tibet, especially as a subject for painting and sculpture. In Japanese Shingon Buddhism, a right-hand Tantric school, it is known as *Kanki*, the representation as *Kanki-san*. "San" may mean "person" or it may mean "temple." When applied to a divine sculpture it may thus mean a temple personified. As we shall see, it develops along a different line in Japan in Buddhism and Shinto (both Ryobu and Reformed).

The Jewel is in the Lotus

Om mani padme Om—The Jewel is in the Lotus—is the ultimate truth. The Tachikawa devotee could depart for Nirvana when he felt himself ready. If the lotus is the vulva and the vajra is the phallus, the concourse of the two brought one into the presence of Buddha, or into Buddhahood. The sword is a form of the vajra. (The "swords" of the days of the gods of Japanese mythology were not blades but polished stone priapic sceptres from the second century A.D.). The devotee, seated upon a special lotus platform, went into the Sadhana rite reciting the self-hypnotic magic syllables. When the attending priest beneath the platform believed him at the proper pitch of ecstacy, he thrust a sword up through a slit in the vulvar-lotus, above which sat the devotee, who was thus dispatched directly into Nirvana.

If Tachikawa art is brazen, Shingon art is suggestive in a way that invites meditation. Ganesha, the elephant-headed wisdom deification, is prominent in Shingon art but is always represented as two identical figures in face-to-face embrace, suggestive except that no sex is so much as hinted at for either. Properly illuminated, the figure casts a detailed and naturalistic phallic shadow.

Sculptures were common in Shinto shrines during the period when the syncretic Ryobu Shinto was dominant, or until the purging of Buddhist elements from Shintoism a century ago. Until that time Buddhist and Shinto deities were considered to be avatars of each other. Despite the wealth of its pantheon, Buddhism had few atavars for the variety of erotic and fertility deities of Shinto. The period of this identification as Ryubu Shinto enabled Shintoism to develop a minor iconography which in rural areas survived the purifications and idol-smashing of the 1860's. Paired Ganeshas, called *Kanki-san* in Japanese, are still enshrined in Shinto shrines, *Kanki-gu*, which obviously survived the purge. But in most Kanki-gu, the embracing Ganeshas have been replaced by a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

large phallus, the folds of the foreskin duplicating the folds of the robes of the Ganeshas, the scrotum often in the shape of two rice bales.

Often the Kanki-gu shrine will be set near a female shrine, usually a cave or a tree whose roots resemble, or at some distant time did resemble, a vagina. In Shirahama, Wakayama prefecture, a Kanki-gu stands outside another shrine set against the cliff face, covering a small natural cave bearing a close resemblance to a vagina, slightly open. Records trace the history of the shrine for twelve centuries, to about the time that the nearby hot springs, Japan's oldest, were discovered.

Hot springs almost always have Kanki-gu or similar pudenda-form deities in association. Springs are curative, sterility is an ill. In North Japan, women attempt to cure their barrenness by bathing, taking into the natural bath a wooden phallus and leaving it there as an offering, so that there is soon little room left for bathers and old phalli must be allowed to overflow and wash away.

The seven lucky gods are a Sinification of several major Shinto deities, having been given their present stylized human forms only three or four centuries ago. These in turn are of great antiquity, probably once being the principal deities of lesser tribes, the deities of the major tribes having become the principal gods of national Shintoism. In rural areas images of these gods, almost always enshrined singly, evidencing their old role as tutelary deities for an area or tribe, are often phallic. Daikoku, the god of prosperity, stands astride two rice bales, his cloak falling so as to give him a phallic silhouette, his hood taking the shape of the head of the penis.

Fertility Deities

Two Neolithic fertility deities who survive today as popular folk heroes noted for their genital development are the Monkey and the Mushroom Girl. In folk literature monkeys and primitive men are often confused; even the present-day pygmy of Africa reportedly believes the chimpanzee to be a type of man. The erotic adventures of Hanuman, the monkey general, are a source of subplots in the literary and pictorial Thai versions of the Ramayana epic, as in the Temple of the Reclining Buddha, Wat Po, in Bangkok. In South China, the monkey general is a guerilla chief who kidnaps maidens. In Japan he is the aboriginal Japanese who, as Saru-ta-hiko, monkey fellow, senior deity of the native clans conquered by the mainlanders or Yamato people, becomes the god of both fertility and the dance. His most common representation is in the form of a coarse doll, occasionally stone or wood but usually clay, cradling in his arms his penis, which is almost as big as his torso. The identical representation in life-sized stone sculpture is found in Javanese temples and the motif is used by Hokusai in his comic pornographic sketches. Clay monkey dolls are sold in folk crafts shops today, but occasionally, because of modern squeamishness, are changed so as to pass a superficial examination as "Monkey mother and child." Folk representations of the three monkeys, See, Speak, and Hear No Evil, often show them as simian phalli with thin wispy arms sprouting from the foreskin roll. In view of this lightness with which the monkey god of fertility is treated, it is difficult to evaluate the priapic tomb figurines of 1,200 to 1,800 years ago that are found in the pre-Buddhist tumuli. The exact significance of these Haniwa, clay figures, usually a human figure above the hips but a cylinder below, has not been established. Figures of animals and houses occasionally have the cylinder bases as well, but are otherwise complete. A few armored warriors have an exaggerated erection extending out from the joint between torso and cylinder. In other pieces, it is not a human in armor but a phallus. An aid to intercourse of later centuries was a tortoiseshell jacket fitting over the penis, with a shell cap for the penis head, which were called "warrior's armor and helmet." These also are valued in proportion to their craftsmanship and esthetic qualities, thus consciously are "art."

At Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (2500–1500 B.C.), in association with the Siva Linga, are found small, coarse terra cotta figurines of a kneeling person, probably female, the significance of which is not yet known. In Wat Po, Bangkok, around the Siva Lingam in the temple courtyard, are many small terra cotta figurines of a kneeling person, obviously female, placed

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

there as offerings by women desiring children. Newer offerings are colorful, clothed in light silk, with human hair on the heads, but the coloring is a water-base gesso which washes off after a few months of weathering, leaving only the almost indestructible terra cotta base form. Japanese phallic shrines, to which is attributed the power to cure barrenness, often receive as offerings small, squat river-stone or ceramic figurines of squatting, oval-faced women. The Japanese add many refinements. The female often carries mushrooms, her face is suggestively vaginal, with puffy cheeks and forehead and a pudgy clitoral nose. The bases of the Thai figurines are unfinished spherical indentations; those of the Japanese may be worked into oversized vaginas, finished in great detail. Finer pieces may be themselves enshrined as objects of veneration, if not of worship, or kept in homes as charms. The degree of artistry and craftsmanship demonstrated in some privately owned figurines ranks them as masterpieces of the potter's art and they are treasured more as such than as religious objects. In some, there may be a man concealed under the figure's garment, engaged in sex play or intercourse. The same treatment is often found in other purely secular china figurines portraying various activities of work and play.

In the Kojiki, an eighth-century publication of older oral tradition, the supreme Sun Goddess hides in a cave, plunging the world into darkness, and is lured out by the Goddess of the Ritual Dance, Ame-no-Uzume, who bares her breasts, lifts her skirts, and performs a parody of her own dance. Marukawa interprets this as being an offering of her genitals, credited with a power to please gods and exorcise evil spirits, in the same way that Pliny suggests that a nude woman will dispel a storm.

The hand gesture imitating the vagina, the "fig," making a fist over the thumb with the thumb tip protruding from between the fore and middle fingers, has the same significance as it has in the West. It is found on both Shinto and Tantric Buddhist fertility-associated images. In Java a large stone sculpture of such a fist is worshipped as a cure of barrenness.

According to the Nihon Shoki, Ame-no-Uzume marries Saru-ta-hiko. In folk tradition the former is often known as Ota-fuku, and the figurines always as Ota-fuku. Saru-ta-hiko is portrayed with a long, phallic nose. At spring rites near Nara and elsewhere, male dancers masked as these two enact rice seeding in the shrine, using phallic implements, Neolithic originals of which have been excavated. Saru-ta-hiko then rapes Ota-fuku, duplicating it symbolically with his nose in her face. Talismanic plaques of the two masks so positioned are sold. Small bronze votive plaques from Luristan, Iran (eleventh to seventh centuries B.C.), portray a fertility goddess in intercourse with a large nose of an "offstage" face.

Many of the masks of Ota-fuku and Saru-ta-hiko in his various *tengu* manifestations are masterpieces of folk art. In the highly developed art of Noh mask carving which evolves out of this folk art, the Ota-fuku loses much of her physical symbolism but the audience continues to associate erotic qualities with her characterization. The erotic character of the *tengu* in Noh is completely lost. However in such proto-Noh forms as Mibu Kyogen his mask and stage characterization attain their highest level of erotic connotation.

The Hachiman temple-shrines of Shinto are better described as proto-Buddhist. Hachiman is the "War God" of Shinto, in actuality the deity of the Scythe and Sword. The associated gods have sculpted human forms, of which some are avatars from Hinduism through Buddhism and others are possibly original. One such is Benzaiten, or Benten, the sole female among the seven lucky gods, sometimes considered an avatar of Kwannon-Avalokatesvara. In Hinayana (Southeast Asian Buddhism) are nude Buddhas such as the Emerald Buddha of Thailand and the Walking Buddhas, on some of which actual clothing is draped as on a human. In Japan the Buddha at Ren-jo temple in Nara has in place of its member a lotus vulva, although the human Gautama was a male and the Absolute is represented as masculine. Metaphysical force, manifest as worldly action, is female. Benzaiten is often naked, to be dressed in cloth. The sculpture of her at Tsurugaoka Kamakura is shown in most books on art in Japan, but in this she wears a breech cloth. A more beautiful piece, also twelfth-thirteenth century and of wood, is at nearby Enoshima and is seated fully naked. "The factual taste of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the Kamakura period has bestowed earthly charms on heavenly beings with an obvious relish which would have shocked the over refined sensitivies of . . . patrons" of the earlier epochs, says Paine in *Art and Architecture of Japan*. The Enoshima Benzaiten, is fully bestowed with genitals, depicted in as great detail as in the Ota-fuku figures.

Many other fertility deities not associated with avatars of Buddhism do not take on a human form. They may manifest themselves as a natural object such as a rock, cave, or tree, and they have a gender. Common among such objects of worship are natural phalliform rocks and hillocks, vulvar-form caves, rock outcroppings, and root formations, forked trees, or combinations of these, especially if representing both sexes in proximity. The Japanese landscape seems to abound in such natural phenomena. Near Nagoya is Tagata Shrine, which boasts a small forest full of trees with crotch-like forks and vaginalike roots, and several outcroppings of feminine rock. During the middle of every March at the time of the great spring rites this forest abounds in a peculiar vegetable parasite that resembles pubic hair except under the most exacting scrutiny. Not a mile away is another enshrined glade abounding in natural phalli. The pubic moss is carried home as a charm for crops and personal virility. Portable phallic or vaginal stones, tree knots, vegetables, especially Siamese-twin radishes and carrots joined so as to resemble hips, thighs, and legs, are offered to the shrines by supplicants.

The shrines also sell charms, besides the ubiquitous fire-prevention charms, that vary from sanctified talismans and souvenirs to objects of worship (for family god-shelves) and are enclosed in the plain, white paulownia box which comprises the holy of holies of all Shinto shrines. More usually the box is empty or contains folded paper strips (paper is a homonym for god, or "above") sometimes inscribed with a religious saying. Objects of worship may be a vagina or phallus, either sculpted of fired ceramic or carved of wood. Other charms include sake wine cups shaped like vaginas or a vaginal cup with a phallic straw; phallic cigarette holders; ordinary wine cups with an incomplete magnifying lens in the bottom, which is optically completed by the addition of a clear liquid, thus revealing a colored miniature of a vagina or a penis or of intercourse; seated dolls (sometimes Ota-fuku), fully clothed but which when upturned reveal heroic or caricatured genitals; genital chopstick rests; teacups decorated with semisacred carnal scenes; or nonfunctional representation of pudenda, either singly or combined. One interesting combination is a foreshortened penis which when turned over is seen to be joined to its scrotum in such a way as to form a vagina. Most of these objects are in a serio-comic vein. As in Greece at the Orphic rite of Liknophoria, the Eleusinian mysteries, and marriages, sacred cakes (sacra) in phallic or vaginal shape are also sold.

In the Far East, especially in Japan, the dividing line between the sacred and the profane has rarely been very clear. Some antique glazed ceramic phalli, purportedly intended as objects of worship in household shrines, are actually phallic clay bottles meant to be filled with warm water and used as instruments of masturbation. Thousands of these charms have been bought to use as conversation pieces at stag meetings or romantic rendezvous. Some of these, made as "pop-outs" in otherwise innocent-looking objects such as cigarette holders or ordinary key chain charms, may be given as a Valentine-type of gift by girls of traditional families who would consider it immoral to be seen speaking to the male recipient without a chaperone.

The use of these erotic charms as key chain fobs is of course a modern adaptation. An older adaptation was for use as medicine box fobs or tobacco pouch fobs, known as *Netsuke*. During the Tokugawa period the carving of these *netsuke*, in wood, bone, and ivory, reached its highest artistic development. Erotic subjects were popular similar to both the charms and the ceramic figurines. The challenge of the medium invited greater imagination and the artists rose to the challenge, creating numerous masterpieces of miniature sculpture.

Most shrines have treasure picture scrolls, few dating back more than three centuries but of undoubtedly more ancient tradition and ex-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ecuted in the Yamato-e style. These may portray some event in the mythology or history of the shrine or illustrate its main rite or festive procession. Most of them are comical or satirical, even when done by artists noted for serious work. All these shrines have at least one annual festival that includes one or more elements such as a procession of the objects worshipped or treasured (where male and female shrines adjoin, they will hold a wedding procession), perhaps carried by men costumed in sexual symbols or dummy organs (as in Rome until stopped by the Council of Tours in 1396); a ritual dance or play that is often lewd; a tug-of-war at two giant ropes of obvious gender joined in intercourse; a scramble of naked youths for a magic phallic wand; midwinter naked bathing; a female buttocks-pinching melee in the dark; and (in parts of Kyushu on rare occasions) a "ritual" of real rape. Such festivals are widespread, numbering in the hundreds. Shrine scrolls draw on these for subject matter.

Erotic Paintings and Prints

Buddhist pilgrims returning home from Kyoto three hundred years ago passed Otsu. Here an artist of the Kano school, circa 1630, mass-produced delightful little paintings on coarse paper that illustrated Buddhist deities, stories, and parables. They were usually of a satiric, humorous burlesque, or risqué nature: A man walking a dog on a leash, his fist upraised, his kimono gathered up, baring his legs so that the cloth gathers in two gigantic lumps before his groin and his upraised arm appears to be the erection to match the gargantuan testes, with a splotch of red formed by his sash-knot to suggest where he has just been; a courtesan, or perhaps a fox in human female form, standing coyly so that the folds of her multi-layered kimono drape to form a gigantic vulva; etc. These Otsu-e, pictures from Otsu, became a tradition and were reproduced for several generations.

This was a period of great peace and prosperity during which plebeian art, the Ukiyo-e or Floating World pictures, attained mass circulation through assembly-line production of woodblock printing. The woodblock print was later "discovered" as a great art form by the West, having been looked down upon in its homeland as intended only for the ignorant masses and therefore beneath the attention of the connoisseur. It is probable that this was because the pictures treasured in the West were considered secondary by the natives, who preferred, and treasured, the same artists' magnificent erotic prints. These prints have been completely overlooked, except for passing mention, by Western art authorities.

The Floating World erotica, whether paintings or prints, have a double heritage: the Chinese "Fire Prevention Maps" and the folk-religion fertility charms and mementos. The Japanese institutionalized the Chinese tradition, as they have so many others. As Western art students must draw the nude as a drill, the Far Eastern art students drew erotica, not as an exercise in anatomy but as an exercise in composition and suggestion. Most Chinese erotica were painted by students or tyros, which may account for their coarseness and lack of esthetic qualities. The Chinese themselves admit this and it is probably the only art form in which the Chinese recognize Japanese superiority.

The great incentive to the development of erotic painting, such as of the Ukiyo-e school, was the discovery of Western art as introduced into Japan by the Portuguese in the mid-sixteenth century. Chinese artists subordinated the human figure to nature, but the Japanese from earliest times were fascinated by humanity as a subject for painting. Tradition-bound Japanese painters forced their works to remain within the bounds of the adopted Chinese tradition. Japanese artists excelled in Buddhist formal religious portraits. The Yamato-e horizontal scrolls of the eighth through fourteenth centuries dealt with mankind on a scale unknown in China, but it was mankind in the mass and as an integral part of the landscape. European copperplate etchings inspired the Japanese to adapt the older native religious woodblock print technique to secular art. They soon excelled in this technique and developed multicolor printing. Geometric perspective also fascinated the Japanese. The Portuguese

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

brought in their own erotica and pornography, which was both copied and adapted upon, wedded with the Fire Prevention sketches and tempered with native wit and love of exaggeration.

The Japanese never developed an esthetic appreciation of the nude but under Western influence they did discover anatomy. Western medicine and the science of anatomy appeared at the same time. To the Chinese the nude was immoral, and the development of medicine in China suffered accordingly. The Chinese never saw a nude person—even few long-married Chinese men have. Unclothed peasants were unknown and only subhuman aborigines and monkeys bared the body. The Japanese masses, on the other hand, were apathetic to clothing until the present century, and felt that nothing natural could be immoral. Culturally, the rural Japanese is more Polynesian than Chinese, and has the Pacific Islander's respect for an able (as opposed to an esthetically pleasing) body. Nude bathing, working in the seminude (and sometimes complete nude), gave the artist many opportunities to observe the naked form. The upper classes, however, were prisoners of Chinese tradition. Erotic art, rather naturally, was a plebeian development.

Japanese print artists experimented with the problems of geometric perspective, combining it with their traditional perspective of impression, which was born of their fixation for arrangement. They developed a trick to draw attention to a noncentripetal character by placing him slightly out of geometric perspective —a trick of contortion. Nowhere else has geometric perspective posed more fascinating challenges than in erotica, with the problems of portraying simultaneously all of the areas of erotic interest of a female body in intercourse with a male. Similar seemingly impossible problems in design were repeatedly attacked and often completely solved by the adaptation of geometric perspective.

All the woodblock artists created erotica except two: Sharaku, a mysterious artist who was known for only ten months in 1794 and then disappeared into obscurity as suddenly as he had appeared from it, and Hiroshige (d. 1858), who was noted for his landscapes and who never successfully dealt with people as a subject matter beyond their being objects in his landscapes. They catered to the same audiences as did the newly rising Kabuki and Bunraku puppet theaters and the gay red-light "play areas," which were all also the principal subjects of their prints. The production of erotic art was a major source of income even to the name artists, and to some it was their main source. To most Oriental connoisseurs, and to some Western ones, the greatest masterpieces of the Ukiyo-e woodblock prints are to be found among the erotica.

Sex Censorship

The government imposed limits on their work, as it did on the theater, for its "immorality." The government was becoming almost a caricature of the Confucian superbureaucracy. Editions of prints were seized and destroyed and artists and publishers fined. However, portions of the prints, with the actual carnal areas expurgated, were published. The discovery of the individual proved a new medium for the traditional art of arrangement with its perspective of impression, wherein scholars had been shown as serene, warriors as fierce, rulers as benign by their bearing and a shorthand rendition of facial expressions. Artists soon mastered the portray of full facial expressions and body attitudes (as opposed to the old posturings). Prints of a woman's face and shoulders were censored although she was fully clothed, as her facial expression showed that she was obviously engaged in intercourse and it was so masterfully executed as to be considered excessively stimulating and therefore immoral.

The erotic picture often served an educational purpose—in China to teach the upper-class male the techniques of approaching his bride, whose mother had briefed her well, and in Japan to show the well-protected city or upper-class bride (the peasant was not likely to be inexperienced) how to keep her husband satisfied so that he would not lead them to the financial ruin of addiction to the "gay quarters" and the geisha. These bride books are a dying, but not yet dead, tradition. They explain the mechanics of intercourse, its preliminaries and positions, and sometimes they provide primitive

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

hygienic information, although the scientific advances of the past century have been ignored.

References

Braun, Waldo, and Braun, Alicia, "The Kansai Chronicler." Tokyo: *The Asahi Evening News,* Feb. 1, 1958, p. 5.

Buckley, E., *Phallicism in Japan.* Chicago, 1898.

Casals, U. A., *A Discursive Essay on Phallicism, Phallic Symbolism and Related Manifestations in Japan.* Kobe: Manuscript (6 carbons privately circulated), 1952.

Empson, William, "The Nude." Peking: *Tyro 2;* 5, 1948.

Fanti, Silvio, "They Prefer Sex to Invention." Tokyo: *Orient Digest 12;* 26, March, 1955.

Gluck, Jay, "Rape Me, It's an Old Japanese Custom." Tokyo: *Orient Digest 3;* 1954.

Gluck, Jay, "Ribbing the Gods in Rural Japan." Delhi: *Thought 11;* 38, Sept. 19, 1959, pp. 15, 16.

Gluck, Jay, and Gluck, Sumi, "Springtime in Japan." Tokyo: *The Japan Times,* Spring Tourist Supplement, 6th Edition, March, 1960, pp. 3-7.

Kanda, T., *Notes on Ancient Stone Implements of Japan.* Tokyo, 1884.

Kato, Genchi, "A Study of the Development of Religious Ideas Among the Japanese People as Illustrated by Japanese Phallicism." Tokyo: *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 1924.

Kidder, J. Edward, *Japan Before Buddhism.* London: Thames & Hudson, 1959.

Kinsey, Alfred, Private Collection of Japanese Erotica, unpublished.

Marukawa, Hitoo, "Sexual Observances as a Religious Rite in Japan." *Tenri Journal of Religion 2;* 5-17, December, 1959.

Miki, Fumio, *Haniwa.* Tokyo: Dai-Nippon, 1958 (plates 40, 49, 53).

Mizuhara, G., "A Study of the Tachikawa School as a Heretical Religion." Kyoto, 1937.

Munro, Neil Gordon, *Prehistoric Japan.* Yokohama, 1911.

Nishioka, H., *History of Phallicism in Japan.* Tokyo: Myogi Pub. Co., 1958.

Waddell, L. A., *Buddhism of Tibet.* London, 1895, p. 152.

Welken, G. A., *Verspreide Geshriften.* Hague, 1912.

"Yukai," from *The Precious Mirror* (Hokyosho), translated and quoted in Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, Eds., *Sources of the Japanese Tradition, Sex & Buddhahood.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1958.

JAY GLUCK

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Femininity

Definition

A PRECISE definition of femininity, applicable to all human females, is impossible. Even the term "female" is not always easily defined, for there are freaks of nature in whom the reproductive organs of the two sexes are mixed. One finds people with both testes and ovaries or, more frequently, with the reproductive organs of one sex and the external genitalia of the other. However, these hermaphrodites are relatively infrequent, and in general one can define a female of the mammalian species as a being who, at some time at least, has had ovaries, a uterus, a vagina, mammae, and the appropriate accompanying endocrine system. However, what is feminine is subject to wide variation. Every culture has its stereotype of femininity, and there may be wide variations from culture to culture. A Japanese woman, for example, has quite different characteristics from a Samoan or American woman.

Our first consideration is, are there any characteristics of woman's nature that are anatomically based and, therefore, common to all womankind, or is a woman, apart from her sexual organs, just like a man, as some of the ardent suffragettes of the early part of this century maintained? The answer is that woman's anatomy and physiology leave marks on her character that cannot easily be eradicated, but that there are, in addition, many culturally induced traits that vary not only from culture to culture, but from time to time in the same culture.

The Anatomical and Physiological Bases of Femininity

From puberty on, the female usually tends to be smaller and to have less powerful skeletal muscles than the male (although anthropologists tell us that, as civilized man depends more and more on machines to do his heavy physical labor, and as women become more and more athletic, there is a tendency for the two sexes to become more and more alike in skeletal musculature). Nevertheless, in general the distinction still holds, and this undoubtedly contributes to the fact that woman looks to man for physical protection in times of danger and tends to use other than physical methods in competing with or fighting with men. The day that the younger brother knocks his older sister down in a scuffle is a warning to her that her days of physical prowess are over. There are tomboys, of course, who continue to hold their own far into adolescence, but they are the exceptions. Women are not weaker than men in general, but their particular areas of physical strength are different from those of men, and this difference leaves its mark on their characters.

The other important area of anatomical and physiological difference is that of sex itself, and all that immediately relates to it. To a great extent, sex dictates the body structure. The feminine form in most societies has wide hips and narrow shoulders. The breasts are more developed than in the male. There is no beard, and the pubic hair is distributed in the form of an inverted triangle, whereas in the male the pubic hair usually extends upward in a point to the navel. However, there are individual exceptions to each of these—there are women with boyish builds, little breast tissue, masculine hair distribution, and more or less facial hair growth. Such females may still be feminine in personality (unless being built differently from the average has socially conditioned them), and quite capable of carrying on their biological functions. In the United States, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

boyish build has at times been the fashionable figure, although facial hair has never been popular.

From puberty to the menopause, a rhythmical ovarian and uterine activity, called the menstrual cycle, occurs in the female. When this cycle is normal it does not interfere with her daily activities and, in all areas except that of sexual interest and activity, may have no effect on her life pattern or character. However, since it differs radically from the male physiological picture, it has acquired a significance in every culture as a symbol of differentiation between males and females. In the animal species, the estrous cycle determines the female's availability for sexual activity—that is, the female will accept the male only when she is "in season." This is not true of the human female. Although many women report waves of increased sexual interest at the time of ovulation and premenstrually, this does not seem to be true of all women. Furthermore, many women continue to have sexual desires after the menopause—when no ovulation is acting as a stimulant. One explanation for this constant receptivity to sexual excitation in women is that the human, with his capacity to remember and recreate—and create feelings through phantasy—can produce stimuli apart from those of biological need. Nevertheless, in general the female is not as continuously receptive to or desirous for sexual activity as the male (although in our civilization not every male is either—again we have difficulty in basing a description on a purely physiological basis).

Nobody will deny that pregnancy, childbirth, lactation, and nursing cause women to play a role in life that is definitely different from that of men. Whatever her other interests, if a woman gives birth to a child her way of life is altered, temporarily at least. The experience has a profound effect on her nature, and it is an experience that no man can have. However, this natural response of peace in creation, of mothering tenderness for the newborn, can be extensively altered by social attitudes. For example, the illegitimate or unwanted child can cause a pregnancy to be filled with bitterness and despair. A narcissistic overvaluation of beautiful breasts can lead a woman to abhor or forego nursing.

Another important difference between males and females is the nature of the sexual experience. Although coitus is a mutual act, the experience of the two people is different; one gives and one receives—or gives differently. This difference will be discussed further.

We can sum up the characteristics of femininity as: a body musculature weaker than the male's, a sex life based on periodic rhythms, an accepting attitude towards pregnancy, a nurturing, responsible attitude towards the newborn child, and a receptive attitude towards the male in periods of sexual excitation. Each of these facts influences the personality of the woman, and when she can react to them in a positive, constructive way we have an individual representing basic femininity.

Cultural Influences on Femininity

In no culture is the picture of femininity simple and clear cut. There have been societies in which women wielded the power and later, for many centuries, societies in which men had the power. Today, men still have it, although there is a tendency to share it more and more with women. These differences in cultures have left their mark on the concept of femininity.

In the early matriarchies, the whole culture was feminine—that is, it centered around child-rearing, homemaking, and food-getting. The women tilled the fields and discovered and cultivated the edible vegetables and herbs. Men had little responsibility. They brought food from the hunt and they helped with the heavy work at certain times, but for the most part, they were free to wander. Being feminine meant being strong, courageous, hard working, and responsible. What power there was in organized society rested in the women.

Men began to dominate when, with the domestication of animals, movable personal property was acquired. A man's success was measured by his personal wealth and he began to acquire women for a price—so many cows, goats, or sheep. Although women still had a dignified role and work to do that was respected, their position began to be considered inferior to that of men. This became more and more the case as they had less and less responsibilities, and eventually they became chiefly the pets or toys of men. In the age of chivalry, woman's

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

helplessness was glorified and she became correspondingly useless and degraded at the same time that she was put on a pedestal.

For centuries, it was not considered worth educating women, except in some light amusement, such as harp playing, where it was more important that she display her beautiful arms and hands than that she play well. Women had no legal rights without the consent of the husband. Since to be feminine meant being weak, helpless, inferior, and the property of the male, women cultivated this femininity. They fainted on the slightest provocation. Headaches and general indisposition were the accepted accompaniments of menstruation. Pregnancy was something to be ashamed of; a pregnant woman was too embarrassed to appear in public. Sex was something in which a "good" woman had no interest. In short, everything that was truly feminine as we know it was belittled or denied.

It is no wonder that women with spirit and intelligence resented their status, and that they had, as Freud discovered, penis envy. Femininity was a mark of inferiority and, as women began to rebel against their fate, they naturally assumed that equality lay in the direction of being as much like men as possible. They fought for equal education, equal voting rights, the opportunity to work at so-called men's jobs. During World War I, when their services were in demand, they won a great part of this battle and went a step further, demanding equal sexual freedom. In the 1920's, there was a tendency to deny femininity in our society because it was still considered a sign of weakness and inferiority. A woman was proud of having a mind like a man, of being able to do anything a man could do, and so forth. To be a flapper, bob one's hair, smoke, drink, wear slacks, and conceal breasts was being a modern woman.

The extreme reaction of this period has abated, but the woman of today is different from the woman of pre-World War I. She still smokes and drinks. She often wears her hair short, but usually it is attractively arranged. She still wears slacks on occasion. She has achieved equality of education and has made much progress towards equal work opportunities. But some of the rebellion against being a woman has disappeared, and she is more willing to consider and make adjustments to her physiological differences. For example, work situations based on women's needs are being created. Considerations of pregnancy and the early days of care for the small child are a part of her work plans as a matter of course. The concept of femininity of the age of chivalry does not apply today. Women are strong and self-respecting. Although their position in society is still in a state of rapid change and the feeling of self-respect and acceptance of being a woman is not universal, even in the United States, much has been accomplished toward a new ideal of femininity.

What Is Femininity?

Femininity is created out of a combination of physical and cultural factors. There have been many cases of the femininity of female children being submerged when the parents were disappointed in their sex. When the desire for a boy is strong, boyish characteristics are often cultivated in the girl child. On the other hand, many mothers have an opposite attitude toward girl children. One mother, who also had two sons, told the author that in spite of herself she found herself being more protective of the daughter. She was less willing to have her take physical risks, she was more concerned when she got into fights with other children. Many say their daughters are neater and more docile than their sons, but it is impossible to say how much of this is due to different training and how much is innate.

The attitude of the father and mother tends to be different toward the child of the other sex; the father is less likely to be ambitious for his daughter's career unless he has tried to have her take the place of a son. The mother is more likely to identify with the girl child and to enjoy teaching her the ways of the home. It has been said that girls are more teachable than boys in the early years, possibly because of the greater motor restlessness of male children. This may be a part of their natural endowment, but it is also possible that mothers are more permissive with their male children and less insistent on their obedience. Whatever the cultural and family situation, by the time the child has reached the age of 6, the foundation of his sex personality has been laid.

There is no doubt that at puberty the distinc-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

tion between the sexes becomes much more apparent, both physically and characterologically, and that a significant part of this change stems from the appearance of the new sex hormones. Also, society develops new attitudes toward adolescent boys and girls and some of these attitudes are not based on anatomy. The physical differences between the sexes at puberty will not be described for they are sufficiently obvious. One point might be mentioned, however, and that is that in general girls mature about two years earlier than boys. A practical result of this is that they suddenly find their former male companions "just kids." This is a confusing experience to a girl and may add temporarily to her difficulties in understanding her new role. What she experiences is a new kind of interest in boys and a need to attract their attention in a new way, which presently becomes clarified as sexual.

From the observation of animals, it is apparent that physiologically motivated female activity is related to attracting the male for sexual purposes. The adolescent girl in every culture has the same drive, but in each culture she is taught certain controls and acceptable ways of expressing it. In the Victorian era she expressed it by being modest and shy, possibly exposing her ankle a bit on occasion or casting a discreetly seductive glance. Any more forthright assertion of interest was considered unfeminine and usually repelled the male, who had also been indoctrinated with the cultural standards. The male, of course, did not make a sexual advance toward a woman he respected until they were properly married. If in the heat of passion he did make such an advance and she responded, she immediately lost status and was no longer a respectable woman.

Today the standards are quite different. Sexual intimacy before marriage is very frequent and does not, among many groups, entail any derogation of the woman.

Now women strive to have an orgasm and there is less need to conceal or deny sexual desire, although the complete freedom of the animal in expressing sexual need is still not considered quite womanly in our society. Today's woman is no longer ashamed of being pregnant. She does not have to hide. In fact, she is often proud of her condition. So femininity in these respects has come closer to its physiological basis.

Is woman's place in the home? In some cultures women leave their babies with older children or old women while they work in the fields. In these situations the home is certainly not the only place for the woman. In present-day Western society, is housekeeping an essentially feminine job? One practical reason for considering it so is that, during the years when it is essential to mother small children, being in the home and always available is convenient. But women are not innately fond of housekeeping, and raising small children is not a lifelong occupation. So women are coming to realize that they need more in their lives, other interests, even in many instances gainful occupations, if they are to lead full and satisfying lives; and men are becoming less antagonistic to this. Less frequently do we meet a man whose manhood is threatened by his wife's contributing to the family income. As a result, femininity is no longer inconsistent with many interests and activities outside of the home, nor is it necessary to accept being sheltered, protected, and supported in order to be considered feminine.

Femininity is a changing concept in a changing culture. It need not include a feeling of inferiority, for a woman does not have penis envy unless her life circumstances have made her feel that men are superior. Woman can only fulfill herself by being a woman. In being a woman her role is fully as important as that of a man, although necessarily different. The basic differences between the sexes are physiological; all else is culturally determined and capable of endless change as the culture changes. Care of the young, apart from breast feeding, for example, is not an essentially feminine duty. In some animal species the father does the postnatal "mothering," and in the United States today men often share in the care of the infant without loss of face.

Being feminine includes a desire, or willingness, to be a mother and a desire and capacity to be sexually attractive to the male. Capacity to be attractive does not necessarily mean being beautiful, although conforming to the standards of beauty of the particular culture is an asset. Thus, slender women are desirable in some cultures and fat women are at a premium in others. The ability to be attractive to the male

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

also springs from deep roots in the character and may be observed even in women who are considered plain. A feminine woman today may have many characteristics that were formerly considered masculine. A woman may be educated, have a profession or career, or be active in politics—and still be completely womanly if these activities are not engaged in as a form of rebellion against her sex. She will not work like a man or think like a man but will bring to the task a special female orientation.

Qualities that are inescapably feminine are based on anatomical and physiological facts. It is conceivable that women, basically, have less need to achieve success than men because their creative urge is satisfied physiologically. As the need to procreate diminishes, women will doubtless turn more to the "masculine" creative fields. A woman who became pregnant after several years of active participation in her husband's work told me of a reaction that I think may well be characteristic of this. During her pregnancy her husband was worried about some experimental work he was doing. As usual, he talked over the problem with her. Her former attitude had been one of deep concern and she had actively contributed to the solution. On this occasion, however, she suddenly realized that the problem was of little importance to her. She thought, "I am busy at something much more important. Why all this fuss? Supposing it doesn't work out. He'll find some other solution." Since, today, a woman is not continuously pregnant, this blissful state of creation by the simple method of sitting and waiting can no longer completely satisfy her. She is beginning to feel the need to create in other spheres.

Another aspect of woman's physiology that influences her character is that in the sex act she plays a receptive role. She does not have to participate beyond permitting coitus, although normally she gives much more than that. The male on the other hand must achieve and maintain an erection and, in our present sex-enlightened era, he must also be concerned with satisfying the woman. This conceivably puts a greater emphasis on achievement in the male's life than in the female's. The female on the other hand has a great need to be accepted unconditionally, i.e., without proving her worth. Also, possibly she finds deception more acceptable than does the male, as she can appear to participate in the sex act when actually she may not be sexually aroused. However, this situation may also involve nonphysiological factors: deception for manipulative purposes is the weapon of the underdog, and to the extent that woman has been treated as an inferior, she has learned to get what she wants by indirect methods. It is probable that as equality of status is more firmly established women will become more direct, and forthrightness will be included as an aspect of femininity.

Conclusion

Femininity is a quality greatly dependent on cultural attitudes. What was unfeminine in 1900 is not necessarily unfeminine today. What is acceptable female behavior in the United States may be all wrong in Japan. Certain anatomical and physiological differences from the male should furnish a basis for true femininity, but these may be frustrated or exploited by the culture in such a way as to distort their impact on the character. The desire to be a man (penis envy) is not part of a normal woman's life. It appears when the cultural attitude is one of derogation of women or when the individual's personal life experience has made her feel that being a woman is a calamity. In recent years many traits formerly considered masculine have been included in the feminine picture, and as the need for large families diminishes, women will be driven to seek self-expression more and more in ways hitherto considered masculine. So the femininity of the future may be quite different from that of today.

References

Abraham, Karl, *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham, M.D.* London: Hogarth Press, 1942, Ch. 22.

Benedek, Therese, *Psychosexual Functions in Women.* New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1952.

Briffault, Robert, *The Mothers.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931.

Deutsch, Helene, *Psychology of Women* (Vol. I). New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1944.

Deutsch, Helene, *Psychology of Women* (Vol. II). New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1945.

Fliess, Robert (ed.), *The Psychoanalytic Reader* (Sect.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

II). New York: International Universities Press, 1948.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Freud, Sigmund, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1933, Ch. 5.

Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers* (Vol. V). London: Hogarth Press, 1950, Chs. 17 and 24.

Fromm, Erich, "Sex and Character." *Psychiatry 6;* 21-31, 1943.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Komarovsky, Mirra, *Women in the Modern World.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953.

Landes, Ruth, *The City of Women.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.

Mead, Margaret, *Male and Female.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1949.

Thompson, Clara, "The Role of Women in This Culture." *Psychiatry 4;* 1-8, 1941.

Thompson, Clara, " 'Penis Envy' in Women." *Psychiatry 6;* 123-125, 1943.

Thompson, Clara, "Some Effects of the Derogatory Attitude Towards Female Sexuality." *Psychiatry 13;* 349-354, 1950.

Thompson, Clara, "Towards a Psychology of Women." *Pastoral Psychol. 4;* 29-38, 1953.

CLARA THOMPSON

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Fertility in Men

Male Sterility

Definition

ABSOLUTE male sterility in the otherwise normal individual may be defined as that deficiency of the male reproductive tract which is manifested by a complete absence of spermatozoa in the ejaculate. This condition may be caused by (1) a congenital failure of development of the germinal epithelium, (2) a failure of existing germinal epithelium to develop spermatozoa to maturity, (3) obstruction of the ducts through which the spermatozoa pass from the testes to the urethra, or (4) a failure of development of all or part of the duct system in the presence of normal spermatogenesis. Male sterility is not to be confused, as it often is, with impotence. The potential fertility of the impotent individual may be high; he lacks only the ability to deliver the spermatozoa to the female reproductive tract by normal intercourse.

What Is Normal Male Fertility?

This question does not allow a facile answer. Theoretically, since only one spermatozoon is required to fertilize the ovum, the presence of a single active sperm cell in the ejaculate would connote a fertile male, but it is all too obvious that millions of active spermatozoa must be deposited in the female genital tract to ensure that one will reach the vicinity of the ovum and thereafter produce conception. Conversely, hundreds of millions of spermatozoa may be present in the ejaculate but if a certain percentage of them do not possess a degree of motile activity, the chances of conception are remote. The assessment of male fertility, therefore, resolves itself around an analysis of the cellular components of the ejaculate to determine (1) if enough spermatozoa are present and (2) if a sufficient number of these spermatozoa possess a degree of motile activity to facilitate their journey through the uterus and Fallopian tubes to the ovum. A third criterion is concerned with the morphology or structure of these cells, but this factor is so closely bound with the motility of the spermatozoa that for all practical purposes they can be considered together.

In males between the ages of 20 and 45 years, the average ejaculate volume after three days of continence is about 3.50 cc. The mean sperm count will range between 90 and 110 million cells/cc., and of this number, approximately 60 per cent will show progressive motile activity of a degree considered adequate. These characteristics of semen quality are predicated upon a period of continence of three days, but will vary considerably according to the period of continence. Since the average marital frequency of intercourse in this age group is about twice weekly, the figures above may be considered as representative of the semen quality likely to produce conception in an average married population. But there is a very wide range of sperm counts in a normal population of men, that is, in men whose wives have become pregnant and produced normal children. The sperm count in such a population may vary from 5 to 500 million/cc., but the great majority lie in the range between 20 million and 100 million/cc. The essential difference in the frequency distributions of sperm counts in fertile and infertile populations lies in the range under 20 million/cc. Certain authorities in the field

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

have taken these figures to mean that sperm counts between 20 and 30 million/cc. may be considered as the lower end of the normal range consonant with fertility.

There is, however, sound reason to believe that the male fertility potential does not increase above a certain sperm count level but rather is more directly related to the motile activity of the cells. The question is where to fix, in terms of the sperm count, the minimal level under which an individual may be considered infertile. The answer to this question in the human is fraught with so many complexities that to attempt to supply the answer in any individual case of marital infertility is impossible. Conceptions have occurred under the most extraordinary conditions of poor semen quality and have failed to occur under apparently ideal physical conditions in both partners. The psychosomatic aspects of human infertility are most important, but the problem is so very complex that it cannot be brought into sound statistical focus. But if large enough populations are studied, certain imponderables can be reduced to a minimum and allow us to draw conclusions that will hold reasonably true if applied to large populations and not to individual cases.

The latest findings are that the sperm count per se is not the most important factor in human male fertility, but that the motility and morphology of the sperm population in the ejaculate have greater significance. After three days of continence the sperm count should be at least 20 million/cc., at least 40 per cent of the total sperm population should show vigorous forward progression, and at least 60 per cent of the cells should be normal in structure. The chemical nature of the ejaculate and its volume will be considered under a separate heading, but it should be said that the volume should be at least 2.0 cc. It is seldom that good motile activity is found in the presence of many cells of poor structure (morphology). Indeed, this writer believes that poor sperm morphology in itself is seldom the major cause in male infertility.

The Nature of the Ejaculate

The human seminal fluid—and, indeed, the seminal fluid of most species—is a complex medium. Its primary function would seem to be to act as the carrier of the spermatozoa from the male to the female reproductive tract, but its chemical complexity suggests that it contributes some factor or factors to the economy of the spermatozoa. The secretions that comprise the ejaculate are derived from the testes, the ducts of the epididymis and the vasa, the seminal vesicles and the prostate, and, in small part, from the bulbo-urethral glands. The major volume is contributed by the seminal vesicles and it is this secretion that supplies the simple sugar, fructose, which is so essential in initiating and maintaining the motile activity of the spermatozoa. So far as can be determined at present, the very high concentrations of citric acid, vitamin C (ascorbic acid), and other chemical substances (including many enzymes) found in the ejaculate do not impose their influence upon the spermatozoa. The buffering (antiacid) properties of the fluid in the form of bicarbonate and phosphate may well protect the spermatozoa for a time against the high vaginal acidity. Similarly, the volume of the ejaculate may be important in the transport of the spermatozoa after ejaculation from the posterior fornix of the vagina into the cervical canal of the uterus. A low ejaculate volume could hinder this transfer and an unduly high volume may cause such dilution of the spermatozoa that the appropriate number cannot reach the relatively safe zone of the uterus before the hostility of the vaginal environment kills off the cells.

Complete absence of external ejaculation in the presence of orgasm and normal erection is, although uncommon, frequent enough to warrant mention. The condition is seen frequently in the diabetic male. Normal ejaculation may be present in the early stages of the disease, but the diminution in its volume becomes progressive even though the diabetes is controlled. The failure would appear to be partial loss of function of the smooth muscle of the reproductive tract and may be part of the neurogenic disturbance that is so common in diabetes.

Failure of external ejaculation in the presence of otherwise normal sexual functioning is seen, too, in the condition known as retrograde ejaculation, in which the semen is forced back into the bladder instead of outwards in its nor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mal urethral pathway. The anatomical failure in this case would appear to lie in the smooth muscle of the internal sphincter of the bladder, the closure of which normally prevents the entrance of semen into the bladder. Dramatic results (pregnancies) in such cases have been produced by removing the spermatozoa from urine produced after orgasm and depositing it in the cervical canal at the appropriate time in the menstrual cycle.

Causes of Male Sterility

1. Complete *absence of spermatozoa production* in the otherwise normal individual is rare. The testicular biopsy picture will show seminiferous tubules that contain supporting cells but none of the cells of the germinal line. The male hormone-producing cells usually are normal in appearance and these individuals do not show any signs of hormone deficiency. The reason for this defect is obscure, but failure of the primitive germinal cells to migrate into the developing testes at an early state of embryonic development is a possible cause. There is no treatment for this condition.

2. Germinal epithelium may be present but *lacking the terminal states of its developing spermatozoa.* This condition is known as "maturation arrest." The cause is unknown and hormone therapy fails to correct it.

3. Prior to the appearance of the antibiotics, *obstruction of the ducts carrying spermatozoa* from the testes to the urethra was a common cause of male sterility. In particular, gonorrheal infections, which were slow in responding to treatment, produced inflammatory conditions in the duct which, in turn, led to the formation of scar tissue and ultimate occlusion of the narrow ducts. If these occlusions did not involve the entire epididymis and if the occlusion of the ductus deferens (the duct leading from the epididymis to the urethra) was at a point in the duct that would allow the patent portion to be brought over to the epididymis, surgery could be attempted. This procedure involves severing the duct above the obstruction and joining the open end by anastomosis to the duct of the epididymis. Normal spermatogenesis usually is not affected by gonorrheal infections nor does an ensuing obstruction inhibit the normal production of spermatozoa. The success rate in the surgical approach to this problem varies according to the claims of the operators, but it is by no means 100 per cent. Since the advent of penicillin, gonorrheal obstruction of the ducts is seldom encountered and the incidence of infections other than gonorrheal producing sterility is not high.

4. *Congenital absence of part of the duct system* as a cause of male sterility is more common than was once supposed since it can be determined only by exploratory surgery. This condition is due to a failure in the embryonic development of the ducts and may involve a mere fragment of the duct system. If spermatogenesis is normal and the gap in the duct is at a point where uniting of the patent ends is feasible, the same surgery as that used for obstruction may be attempted.

5. *Failure of descent of the testes* (cryptorchism) prior to puberty may be a cause of future sterility. The testes should be in the scrotum at birth. Either one or both may not be, but subsequent, spontaneous descent usually occurs during the years of infancy and before the years when the first indications of spermatogenesis are seen. Normal spermatogenesis cannot proceed at body temperature. The temperature of the scrotum is 1° to 2° C. below that of the body and it is this small differential that allows normal development of the spermatozoa. During the years prior to puberty (birth to 8 years of age) the cells of the germinal epithelium are undifferentiated and apparently not affected by temperatures that, at a later age, would inhibit spermatogenesis. Unilateral failure of descent is much more common than bilateral and the usual position of the affected testicle is the groin (inguinal canal). In this instance, and if the cryptorchid testis does not descend spontaneously, the descended testicle may later possess enough normal activity to ensure normal fertility. However, there is certain evidence to suggest that the failure of descent, whether unilateral or bilateral, is due to inherent testicular deficiencies and that the descended testicle in the unilateral cases may also be deficient. In any event, if only for cosmetic reasons, an attempt should be made to "bring down" the undescended organ.

If the testes do not descend spontaneously

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

before the age of 7 or 8, it is mandatory, if future fertility is to be ensured, that they be brought down either by surgery or by hormone therapy. There is still some dispute as to whether therapeutic measures should not be taken at an earlier age, but certainly they should be taken before age 10. Hormone therapy (chorionic gonadotropins) first should be attempted, but only for a short time inasmuch as excessive administration of the only hormone effective in such cases may induce precocious puberty. If hormone therapy fails, then surgery is necessary, if the testis or testes are in a position where surgery can have any hope of success. If the testes are not in the scrotum by age 14 at the latest, irreversible damage to the germinal epithelium is almost inevitable.

6. *Permanent damage to the germinal epithelium results from x-irradiation.* This has often occurred when physicians have failed to protect the genital region while performing fluoroscopy, or when the testes of a patient have not been fully protected during irradiation of the pelvic region. Isolated cases are on record of permanent sterility being produced in males of known fertility after direct irradiation of the scrotum for fungus infections. This type of therapy for a minor disease in so sensitive a region is inexcusable. However, if the number of roentgens applied in such cases is low enough, regeneration of the germinal epithelium may occur even after prolonged periods of azoospermia in the ejaculate, as evidenced by the reappearance of adequate numbers of active spermatozoa therein. One would have to question in such cases whether or not irreversible damage had been inflicted upon the genetic components of the spermatozoa.

7. Temporary sterility in the adult male may be induced by *relatively minor diseases* such as chicken pox and even by streptococcal and other infections which may otherwise not incapacitate the individual. Debilitating illnesses of any kind are notoriously prone to cause disturbances in spermatogenesis. The temporary sterility in these cases usually does not appear for several weeks after the onset of the infection or the illness and may overlap their terminations by several weeks or months. Semen examinations, therefore, that are performed within weeks after such disturbances should, if the results are poor, be interpreted with care. Recovery of normal spermatogenesis usually occurs.

8. *Mumps in the adult male* may be a dangerous disease if only for the possibility that the testes may be involved. Mumps in the prepubertal male seldom involves the testicles or, if it does, does not produce permanent damage thereto. In the adult male it may induce swelling of the testes although, oddly enough, usually only one testicle is involved (unilateral mumps orchitis). Atrophy of the affected testicle and cessation of all germinal activity usually ensues after the swelling subsides. If the other testicle is not involved and normal spermatogenesis was present in it prior to the mumps, the potential fertility of the individual usually is not affected. Bilateral mumps orchitis is rare. When a complete absence of spermatozoa, or a relative sparsity of cells, is found in the ejaculate after mumps orchitis, in the absence of a semen examination prior to the disease, it is not always safe to attribute the sterility or infertility to the mumps. The individual concerned may have always had a poor fertility potential.

Male Infertility

For reasons already stated, the definition of this state must always be controversial. Two individuals, the male and the female, always are concerned in any given infertility problem. If active spermatozoa, however small the number, are present in the ejaculate of a male capable of having normal intercourse, the possibility of conception must always be present. The female partner may have passed all the known tests for potential fertility, but it is by no means certain that the *known* tests for the female cover all the defects that may be present in the wife. Therefore, when our statistics tell us that conception is not likely to occur when the sperm count in the ejaculate is below a certain level, even though the spermatozoa present may show normal structure and activity, they are based on the assumption that the female partner has, by test, been given a clean bill. But standards (such as they are) have been set up by various authorities for the nor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mal range of human male fertility. To say that the authorities agree on these standards would be an exaggeration. There are those who will insist that sperm counts below 60 million/cc., regardless of the other qualities of the semen, are not likely to produce conception, and others who would feel more comfortable in an optimistic prognosis if the sperm count were well above that level. More liberal thought in the field would allow a 40 million/cc. count level, provided that the spermatozoa met other requirements in structure and activity.

Unfortunately, most of the standards promulgated are based upon studies of infertile populations and on the semen quality found in men who sought medical help because they *had* an infertility problem. They do not consider the possibility that the semen of many men who have fathered one or several children in a marital union and who had no need at any time to submit their semen for examination, may show defects that usually are associated with infertility. The writer and his associates have taken the most liberal stand in this matter after a study of the semen of a large number of men of proven fertility and of those who had an infertility problem. Earlier in this article, we indicated that counts below 20 million/cc. seemed to be below the danger level emerging from these studies. The most liberal standards suggested to date are those that have emerged from the above statistical analysis. These standards demand that the sperm count be above 20 million/cc., that at least 40 per cent of these cells be active with a normal degree of forward progression, and that at least 60 per cent of the cells display normal structure. These standards suggest further that less emphasis be placed upon the sperm count and more upon the motile activity of the cells. If this point of view is accepted, then we must also accept the fact that from 5 to 10 per cent of our American adult male population will fall into the infertile category. If the more conservative standards are used, a much higher percentage would have to be considered as infertile. We should add, perhaps, that the same essential data have been derived from studies in every country in which sound records have been kept. We feel that it would be more reasonable to accept the liberal standards. It does not seem logical to suppose that nearly 30 per cent of the adult males (otherwise normal) in any population selected at random would be infertile and this would be true if the high sperm count levels were accepted as the minimal levels of normal fertility and if only the sperm count was used as the criterion.

If, in the presence of an adequate sperm count, poor sperm motility is accepted as another reason for infertility (as it must), then to the infertile group with low counts must be added another significant percentage of men whose fertility is questionable only because of poor sperm motility.

Reasons for Male Infertility

The maturation of the spermatozoa in the human testicle is detected first at about age 10 and appears to be initiated by a secretion from the anterior lobe of the pituitary known as the follicle-stimulating (FSH) hormone. The same hormone in the female stimulates the growth and certain stages of development of the ovum. The secretion of this hormone in the female is cyclic. It appears to be constant in amount in the male, and is responsible not only for initiation of spermatogenesis at puberty but for its maintenance thereafter in the adult. Is inadequacy of this hormone responsible for the infertility due to impaired spermatogenesis? There is no sound evidence that this is so. Indeed, the excretion of the hormone in the urine may be elevated under certain conditions of germ cell deficiency. This would suggest that (1) there was a failure to utilize the hormone by the testicular tissue, or (2) there was increased secretion by the pituitary. Administration of the FSH hormone to individuals with low sperm counts has not met with success and there are suggestions that this approach may actually produce depression of the count. It should be stated, however, that the only pituitary hormone containing FSH available for general use is extracted from the pituitaries of animals (sheep, bulls, etc.) and probably is destroyed rapidly in the human.

Generally speaking, the causes of oligospermia are unknown. The men concerned usually are normal individuals without obvious physical or endocrine deficiencies. Nutritional deficiency is seldom apparent. Activity of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

thyroid has often been considered as one of the possibilities, but thyroid therapy, even its empirical use in individuals with normal thyroid activity, has not been an effective approach. There are certain possibilities that are not susceptible to easy proof. The first is that a rather steady percentage of the male population is born with a deficiency of the germinal epithelium which does not allow the testicle to respond in appropriate fashion to the hormones of the pituitary or to any known therapy after the oligospermia has been detected. The second is that the childhood diseases such as measles, chicken pox, and whooping cough may, in some individuals, affect the undifferentiated germinal epithelium so that spermatogenesis, when initiated at the proper time, is subnormal. The truth is that we just do not know why oligospermia should be so common.

A less frequent but still common cause of male infertility is concerned not with numbers of spermatozoa, but with their motile activity. Complete absence of motile activity (necrospermia) in the total population of spermatozoa in the ejaculate is rare. Its cause is unknown and in most cases it is not associated with obvious structural defects in the cells. Inherent defects in the chemical components of the cells is probably the answer. Much more common, however, are the semen specimens that contain adequate numbers of spermatozoa of which too few show motile activity of good quality, i.e., the forward progression of which is too sluggish. The reason for the defect again is difficult to assess, but in many cases is apparently not due to an inherent deficiency in the chemistry of the cells since an improvement in sperm motility can be obtained by certain therapeutic approaches.

Certain facts about sperm transport and its timing from the testicles to the exterior of the body must be understood. It is estimated that from the time the cells leave the testicle, nearly three weeks elapse before they appear in the ejaculate. In the interval, they must traverse the long duct system of the epididymis and the ductus deferens, and during this three-week span they must depend upon the cells lining the ducts for their sustenance since they are not in immediate contact with the blood circulation. The cells lining the ducts are in immediate contact with the circulation and are functionally dependent on the male sex hormone, testosterone. It is thought that the failure of motile activity of the spermatozoa may be related to a diminution in function of the duct epithelium cells.

Therapy

The only therapy for male sterility, the surgical approach where occlusion of the ducts is involved, already has been discussed. There is no known treatment for deficient or absent germinal epithelium. The treatment of relative male infertility, generally speaking, is most disappointing. When all the tests for physical well-being have been performed and any obvious defects such as anemia or dietary deficiencies have been corrected, there is little the internist can do to elevate a low sperm count, particularly when the count is very low (1–10 million/cc.). In recent years, the "testosterone rebound" approach has been suggested. The rationale of this therapy is that if enough testosterone is given to a male, the sperm count may be depressed to zero. This effect is mediated via the anterior lobe of the pituitary and its secretion of the hormone (FSH) necessary for spermatogenesis. High blood levels of testosterone inhibit this secretion and, as a result, spermatogenesis. Recovery will take place when exogenous testosterone is withdrawn, and it is claimed that the recovery is accompanied by a marked increase over the original number of spermatozoa in the ejaculate. The results of this treatment, however, appear to be equivocal. After years of intensive testing, the results in general are not encouraging. We already have indicated that other hormone therapy has failed.

The use of small amounts of testosterone may be beneficial where poor sperm motility is the factor in infertility. The rationale of this approach lies in the assumption of the possibility, mentioned above, that a failure of the cells of the duct system may not provide the appropriate sustenance for the spermatozoa and that stimulating the duct cells by elevating the blood level of testosterone may in turn restore normal motility to the cells. The approach has been used in the writer's laboratory and en-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

couraging results are being obtained. Thyroid therapy in this condition has not been as effective as might have been supposed.

One other approach should be mentioned as a possibility where none other can be expected to work. Oligospermia usually, if not always, is enumerated as the number of cells per unit volume of fluid (count/cc.). If the ejaculate volume is high (above 5.0 cc.), the count per cubic centimeter may be low, but the total count may be reasonably good if not high. For example, ejaculate volumes of 10 cc. after normal periods of continence are not uncommon. The sperm count may be only 10 million/cc. but the total sperm count in such cases would be 100 million. No matter what the total sperm count is, however, high ejaculate volumes never seem to produce conception easily. When this problem is encountered, advantage can be taken of the fact that the bulk of the spermatozoa appear in the first part of the ejaculate. The patient is instructed to produce a semen specimen in such fashion that the first portion of the ejaculate, preferably the first one-third, is caught in a sterile container. The remainder can be discarded. In this manner, the spermatozoa are concentrated physiologically and can be used for homologous insemination at the appropriate times in the cycle. Since only very low volumes of semen are required for insemination directly into the cervix, this approach can be used in the oligospermic individual whose ejaculate volume is within normal range. If the average sperm count is 10 m./cc. in the complete specimen (say of 3.0 cc. volume), it can be increased to nearly 25 m./cc. in the first part of the split ejaculate.

References

Bayle, H., and Gouygov, C., *La stérilité masculine.* Paris: Association Française d'Urologie, 1953.

Buxton, C. Lee, and Southam, Anna L., *Human Infertility.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958.

Farris, E. J., *Human Fertility and Problems of the Male.* New York: Author's Press, Inc., 1950.

Hotchkiss, Robert S., *Fertility in Men.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1944.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Kinetics of Spermatogenesis as Revealed by Changes in the Ejaculation." *Ann. New York Acad. Sc. 55;* 707, 1952.

MacLeod, J., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility; an Analysis of Ejaculate Volume in 800 Fertile Men and in 600 Men in Infertile Marriage." *Fertil. & Steril. 1;* 347, 1950.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility. II. Spermatozoon Count in 1,000 Men of Known Fertility and in 1,000 Cases of Infertile Marriage." *J. Urol. 66;* 436, 1951.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility. III. An Analysis of Motile Activity in the Spermatozoa of 1,000 Fertile Men in Infertile Marriage." *Fertil. & Steril. 2;* 187, 1951.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility. IV. Sperm Morphology in Fertile and Infertile Marriage." *Fertil. & Steril. 2;* 394, 1951.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility. V. Effect of Continence on Semen Quality." *Fertil. & Steril. 3;* 297, 1952.

MacLeod, J., and Gold, R. Z., "The Male Factor in Fertility and Infertility. VI. Semen Quality and Certain Other Factors in Relation to Ease of Conception." *Fertil. & Steril. 4;* 10, 1953.

Mann, T., *The Biochemistry of Semen.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954.

Meaker, S. R., *Human Sterility.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1958.

JOHN MACLEOD

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Fetishism

Definition

FETISHISM is a psychosexual aberration or complex in which the person's sex impulse or libido becomes attached to or *fixated* to something that constitutes a *sexual symbol* of the love-object. By "fixated" is meant the sexual interest is centered entirely on some inanimate object or "fetish."

The term was coined by Binet (1888), who introduced the concept of this particular sexual deviation to science. The word is derived from the Portuguese *fetico,* meaning charmed, a term originally stemming from the Latin *facere,* to make. It conveys the idea of something artificially made. Eulemburg proposed the use of the phrase "sexual symbolism" but it was never permanently adopted. Havelock Ellis preferred the term "erotic symbolism."

Types of Fetishists

The fetishist may be erotically attracted to a woman's shoe, stocking, glove, handkerchief, corset, undergarment, ornament, hair, or other material or wearing apparel. Thus we have shoe-fetishists, glove-fetishists, fur-fetishists, silk-fetishists, velvet-fetishists, lingerie-fetishists, rubber-fetishists, leather-fetishists, or hair-fetishists. Fetishism may involve hair-snipping or stealing women's clothing. The act of stealing the garment produces great erotic satisfaction. According to Karpman (1954), some fetishists may even commit burglary, theft, or assault to secure the object. Because of this fact fetishism has forensic importance. Fetishists are very often aggressive and antisocial.

Psychodynamics

Fetishism occurs almost exclusively in men. Psychoanalysts classify this peculiar sexual phenomenon as a highly symbolic form of *psychic masturbation.*

Sadomasochism and Exhibitionism

We speak of fetishists as "symbolists." Fetishism is a form of sexual regression, a retreat from adult sexuality, what Stekel (1940) referred to as psychosexual infantilism. Many fetishists harbor the delusion of being sexually impotent with women, even though they have never made an attempt at coitus. Their aberration assumes the nature of an obsession. It is compulsive in nature and is associated with sadomasochistic features. To illustrate, one fetishist expressed the following sadomasochistic fantasy:

"I would imagine having women that I knew and liked as captives in my fortress and making their position so desirable that they liked being there and being my mistress. But the dreams and phantasies that aroused me most were those wherein some persons who had been mean and quarrelsome to me were my captives and I would build them up only to humiliate them and then to satisfy my sexual desires."

Fetishism is akin to exhibitionism insofar as it is motivated by a compulsive impulse that the offender cannot control because of his lack of understanding of the psychodynamic factors involved.

A young married man, aged 26, was referred for a psychiatric examination because he got into difficulty with the law: he was a fetishist

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and had been arrested for stealing ladies' panties from clotheslines.

During his early adolescence, at the period of sexual awakening, he had become fascinated by panties that his sister had carelessly left about in her bedroom. He had become sexually stimulated whenever he entertained phantasies of what women looked like clad in panties, and had finally developed the idea of acquiring ladies' panties by stealing them from clotheslines. The stolen panties played a role in his masturbatory activities. The court recommended psychiatric treatment, which led to his rehabilitation.

A strange epidemic occurred several years ago that gave the newspapers material of an unusual nature. Young high-school girls who wore their hair in pigtails, a fad at that time, were surprised by having one of the braids clipped off while riding in a trolley or bus. The offender or "braid-cutter" was undoubtedly a hair-fetishist. The police immediately set out to apprehend the "mystery man," but he was never found. The incidents aroused curiosity and wonderment as to what would make an individual go around clipping girls' hair. The offender probably used the lock of hair as a masturbation stimulus, and the cutting of the hair (sadism) represented what psychoanalysts call "symbolic castration."

Incest Wish

In many cases of fetishism there exists an unconscious incest wish. The incestuous striving is directed at some symbol or representative of the person toward whom the wish is directed. In a case of hair-fetishism reported in *Sexual Deviations* (1951), a book that I coauthored, the patient's mother and sister had black hair, which was the symbol chosen to represent the love-object. The patient's incestuous attachment to his mother and to his sister could not be attained in reality, so he chose a symbol of them, their hair, and used it in his autoerotic phantasies. His primordial attachment was to his mother, and his incestuous fixation to his mother remained hidden at the root of the sexual impulse, as was shown by his description of the beauty of his mother's hair when he was a child. According to Stekel, fetishism has been found in every case to have had its origin in early life, and it is rare for the child to seek a direct genital symbol before puberty. In this particular case, the patient became aware through analysis that when he was 12 years old the hair of his sister had had a definite stimulating effect on his autoerotic life.

Thus we see that the object in many instances may be associated with an incestuous phantasy and may represent the hair, glove, shoe, or undergarment of the mother or sister. Stekel tells us that "because of his obsession with the object for which he has so strong a sexual attraction the fetishist very often becomes a collector of these objects, or of representations of them." He refers to such a collection as the "harem cult," inferring that each additional object represents in phantasy a substitute symbol for another woman (a mother- or sister-surrogate).

Further enlightenment regarding the psychology of the compulsive fetishist is shed by Dr. John Oliven (1955), who writes, "his need is usually for possession; he is an inexhaustible collector of 'his' kind of fetish; and he may keep books punctiliously about the date and the origin of his acquisitions. Periodically, he looks at, fondles, manipulates, smells, or kisses his objects, and this may suffice to gratify him. Some have spontaneous ejaculations during this activity; others 'use' the objects to produce masturbatory orgasm."

The object thus becomes for the fetish-lover an emotional short circuit, leading to erotic stimulation and satisfaction.

Psychic Impotence

Fetishism is closely related to psychic impotence. For most fetishists, the contact with the fetish or object is a *conditio sine qua non* for the satisfactory performance of the coital act.

Franz Alexander sums up this phenomenon psychoanalytically by saying that "It has always a phallic connotation and denies the absence of the penis in the woman." This theory is also shared by Fenichel (1945) and other psychoanalysts, who explain fetishism on the basis of the fetishist's refusal to acknowledge that a woman has a penis. Stekel adds that it always develops into a depreciation of the female regardless of the causes. According to Freudian

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

symbolism, the shoe, foot, hand, or any other elongated object represent penis symbols. Fur is a symbolic substitute for pubic hair.

Karpman expresses the opinion that there is no fetishism in women because "the feminine experience of world and love is more bound to a concrete, personal level," adding that "males have active visual imagery, while masturbating; women do not."

Fetishism is often confused with partialism. In partialism, the individual is erotically attracted to a certain part of a woman's body. The sexual fixation may involve such parts of the female anatomy as the breasts, buttocks, thighs, legs, ankles, feet, or hands. Some observers regard partialism as a type of body-fetishism.

Combined Forms

It is not uncommon for the compulsive fetishist to indulge in other types of sexual aberrations such as exhibitionism, homosexuality, voyeurism, transvestism, coprolalia, etc. Various combinations coexist in the same individual.

One particular fetishist would cut out pictures of women from magazines, and would masturbate while looking at them. He also would call up strange women on the telephone and use obscene language, masturbating while he was talking. He described his activities as follows:

> I would lay these pictures out on the floor nearby and masturbate while talking to these women while at the same time looking at the pictures of the women. As I reached a climax I would use an obscene word, phrase or ask a question of great personal intimacy. In several of these calls I would introduce myself with a fictitious name, inform the women that I was a total stranger to them, and then tell them a lurid story of being a war casualty whose need of sexual stimulation was great and who was deprived of normal outlets due to convalescence. In several cases of phoning, I was sharply rebuffed, threatened with police action or smartly told off. When a woman quarreled with me over my use of obscene language, I seemed to enjoy it most and would sometimes pretend to be overawed and apologetic to them, in the meantime I would masturbate up to the point of climax and then would inject a filthy remark. . . .
>
> Throughout the summer, window peeping was my main source of sexual satisfaction. For a short while I had stolen women's underthings from clotheslines such as brassieres, slips and silk stockings and would then use them to stimulate my sexual desires by rubbing them against my body and then masturbating.

An editor of a magazine brought to my attention the case of a restaurant owner who had collected, over many years, hands made of marble, wood, ivory, stone, metal, crystal, and ceramics and ranging in size from miniature to oversize. In addition, he had collected plaques, paintings, drawings, and sketches of hands. The editor asked me to evaluate this unusual hobby in terms of the psychological motivation. Since the hands were actually inanimate objects inso far as they were reproductions of human hands, the phenomenon came under the category of fetishism rather than partialism.

In speculating about the psychology of this particular case of hand-fetishism, we have to take into consideration the various associations connected with hands. An individual may have been deeply impressed as a child by the hands of his mother, sister, or friend. The impression may have become a fixation or obsession and the person may find himself in adult life making hands the central theme of what appears to be an innocent hobby.

Or the hands may be associated with some past sexual experience that the person cannot forget. Psychoanalysts would say in this case that the hands had become *genitalized*. The individual would therefore find anything in connection with hands highly erotic.

If the hand-fetishism involves the hands of both sexes, we might conclude that the person's erotic attraction to hands is bisexual in origin.

Distinction from Hobby Collections

The urge to collect certain objects is not abnormal by itself, nor does every collector's item have to have a sexual meaning. There are stamp collectors, women who collect teacups or spoons, men who collect first editions, and others who buy and collect valuable paintings. Their motivations are not necessarily erotic.

Nevertheless, one can speculate as to what

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

would make a person go to so much trouble to acquire a particular object to add to his collection. For one thing, a collector is somewhat of a *narcissist*. He enjoys the vanity of knowing he has something that most other people do not have. He derives a vicarious thrill from seeking something "new" or "different." His hobby may be an outlet of some kind for an inner frustration, and he harbors a certain amount of exhibitionism (nonsexual) insofar as his collection attracts the attention of his friends.

All these and many other psychological factors enter into the phenomenon of hobby collections. In other words, there is a normal type of fetishism that exists among normal persons.

By the same token, one must also realize that there are kinds of fetishism and types of fetishists that come under a different category. If an individual boasts of an extensive collection of pictures of nude women and is sexually inadequate, the psychiatrist is justified in assuming that he is suffering from some type of sexual neurosis. The same applies to pornography.

The man who collects guns may be normal or neurotic. According to Freudian psychoanalysts, a gun is a phallic symbol. Hence it would follow from their point of view that a bachelor who collects guns and was never too interested in women and marriage might be suffering from some form of neurosis.

Psychoanalytical interpretations and speculations regarding anything are justified so long as one is cautious about making sweeping generalizations and allows for exceptions to which the theory may not necessarily apply. Thus, we might say that although it is true that every collector is not necessarily a fetishist, the compulsive fetishist is often a collector.

Causes of Fetishism

Binet was one of the first to conclude that fetishism is caused by some association of an object with the first awakening of the *vita-sexualis*. His conclusion was that "in the life of every fetishist there may be assumed to have been some event which determined the association of lustful feeling with the single impression."

Thus fetishism has its roots in childhood. It can be traced to some "accidental" experience during childhood or adolescence when the individual became sexually aroused by contact with some object belonging to or associated with his mother, sister, aunt, grandmother, or some other woman. It is somewhat like a conditioned reflex.

It develops as a result of psychosexual immaturity, a fixation of the libido at some early stage of development. In most cases, the patients are able to recall associations in childhood of an early sexual arousal with specific experiences that brought into a sexual focus a particular object (their mother's or sister's shoe, glove, or undergarment).

Treatment

Every case of fetishism must be studied and treated on the basis of the particular factors involved.

Since fetishism is a neurosis it can be eliminated with proper treatment. Disclosing the original experience of the episode that channeled the libido does not by itself necessarily effect a cure. If the condition has persisted for a long time, it may require intensive psychotherapy and re-education.

References

Binet, A., *Études de Psychologie Expérimentale*. Paris, 1888.

Caprio, Frank S., "Hand Fetishism." *Sexology 24;* 578–583, April, 1958.

Caprio, Frank S., *Variations in Sexual Behavior*. New York: Citadel Press, 1955.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Fenichel, Otto, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1945.

Karpman, Benjamin, *The Sexual Offender and His Offenses*. New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1954.

Kinsey, A. C., *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

London, Louis S., and Caprio, Frank S., *Sexual Deviations*. Washington: Linacre Press, 1951.

Oliven, John F., *Sexual Hygiene and Pathology*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Sexual Aberrations*. New York: Liveright Pub. Corp., 1940.

von Krafft-Ebing, R., *Psychopathia Sexualis*. New York: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1934.

FRANK S. CAPRIO

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS



Freedom, Sexual

THE most distinctive characteristic of man as compared to nonhuman animals is that man's behavior is essentially learned, it is not innate or biologically determined. Thus, man's behavior is a social psychological phenomenon. And so is his sexual behavior. Furthermore, according to such authorities as Leuba, as well as Ford and Beach, it is suggested that, *without* specific sexual experiences, man outside of culture—that is, so-called feral or natural man—or the extreme social isolate does not generally engage in sexual behavior upon reaching puberty. There is no sexual instinct in man. And since man's sexual behavior is symbolic, since it is social, learned, it is *always* shaped in a particular cultural milieu and oriented by the values of the society maintaining that milieu. The nature of sexual behavior in man, like *all* his truly human behavior, *varies* with his culture, with reference to the society in which he is socialized and in which he becomes a human, social being.

When, consequently, sexual freedom is discussed, it must be qualified with reference to the behavior of specific groups of men (societies) with specific patterns of behavior (cultures). Only in this way can sexual freedom (or, as a matter of fact, any behavior of man) be dealt with objectively and with understanding.

A Definition of Sexual Freedom

Freedom in popular usage is a term of little scientific precision. From the modern behavioral scientist's point of view, there is, in reality, no such thing as *freedom* as the word is generally used in everyday language. That is, the idea that every person has an ability, freedom, to act in accordance with his own inner conviction, independent of the situation-process in which he is operating, is a fiction. The idea of free will, a concept closely related to the idea of freedom, must also be rejected. It too is fictitious. Man in culture and in society, *Homo socius,* social man, as compared to *Homo sapiens,* natural or feral man, is never free, nor does he have a free will. His behavior is *always* anchored and shaped by his culture and society. There is no such thing as sexual freedom, popularly defined, there are only *limited alternatives of action,* of behavior, open to the individual in regard to sex relations. These limited alternatives are generally explicitly defined in the ideology of the group or groups in which an individual has membership and/or with which he identifies. Thus, all freedom, including sexual freedom, merely represents the social-psychologically based choice a person has among several alternatives of culturally defined actions. There is, then, sexual freedom in this limited sense only where man has the right to select and does select any one of several behavior alternatives with reference to sexual values and goals.

Perhaps the following illustration will clarify matters. In American culture two married persons not strongly identified with or not affiliated with a particular traditional church group have some of these alternatives, with regard to family planning and sex relations: (1) they may practice planned parenthood using mechanical and chemical means of contraception, an action consistent with the value orientations of Methodists, Reformed Jews, Scientific Humanists, the upper classes, and with most college grad-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

uates, but inconsistent with Roman Catholics, Orthodox Jews, the lower classes, and those persons with a limited formal education; (2) they may practice the rhythm method of planned parenthood, an action acceptable to Roman Catholics under special circumstances, unacceptable to most college graduates and liberal Protestants and Jews; (3) they may practice complete abstinence except when children are desired, a view unacceptable to almost all groups; (4) they may practice *coitus interruptus*, unacceptable to Roman Catholics and Orthodox Jews on religious grounds and to Reformed Jews, Methodists, and Scientific Humanists on secular grounds, but commonly used among the poorly educated, the lower classes of society, regardless of religious affiliation.

Theoretically, an independent married couple has at least these alternatives in regard to family planning and sex relations. But, in reality, is any couple really free to select any of the alternatives? Generally speaking, no. A couple having a liberal college education is likely to be strongly in favor of planned parenthood using the best available methods. Couples with little formal education are likely to reject or even be unaware of the significance of the best planned-parenthood techniques. The specific backgrounds of a particular couple always work toward setting limits on alternatives of action by circumscribing choice within a circle of value orientations.

If then we define freedom as the right and ability of the individual to make a choice among a limited number of alternatives of action in regard to a particular value or goal, we might define *sexual freedom* as *the right and ability of the individual to make a choice among a limited number of alternatives of action in regard to sexual values or goals.* A society which permits the individual a relatively large number of constructive alternatives in sexual behavior is said to be one that is *prosexual;* one that rigidly adheres to few constructive alternatives or rejects all but one is said to be *antisexual.* In examining the idea of sexual freedom it will be seen that there is a kind of continuum of sexual freedom, ranging from strongly antisexual to strongly prosexual societies.

Sexual Freedom in Cross-Cultural and Trans-Temporal Perspective

The most extensive cross-cultural studies of sex behavior have been done by Ford and Beach, and by Murdock. The former studied 185 societies, the latter 250. Both depended much for their data on the Yale's Cross-Cultural Survey, now called the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. Seward has accomplished almost as much, perhaps, in an intensive study of a few contrasting societies, depending heavily on the works of Kardiner, Malinowski, and Mead for comparative analyses. Using the materials available on nonliterate and literate societies past and present, an attempt will be made to construct a continuum of sexual freedom in terms of prosexual and antisexual behavior patterns in 12 different societies. Figure 1 illustrates the continuum.

The Shakers (The United Society of Believers)

The Shakers founded numerous communities in America during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The community at Mount Lebanon (New Lebanon), New York, is the oldest and largest Shaker community and is

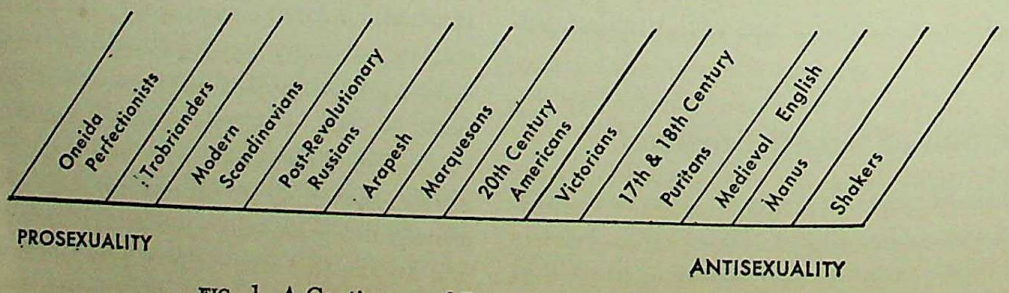


FIG. 1. A Continuum of Prosexuality and Antisexuality

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

recognized as the central executive of all the Shaker communities. Ann Lee, born at Manchester, England, in 1736, was the founder of the Shaker movement. She believed that in Christ's second appearance, which was imminent, he would appear in a woman's form and that she was that woman. Ann Lee regarded the sexual relationship as the most sinful of all human relationships. Therefore, she demanded chastity of all permanent residents of the Shaker communities. There was no marriage (nonogamy); the two sexes occupied separate parts of houses, and when married couples joined the community, they regarded each other as brothers and sisters and never again engaged in sex relations. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were about 6,000 Shakers in America scattered in more than 25 communities. Today, there are less than 500 members. Historically, the Shakers represent, perhaps, one of the most antisexual societies known to the world. According to Ditzion, the view of sex expressed in Shakerism is closely related to the personal experiences of Ann Lee, whose husband ran away with another woman after fathering four children who died in early infancy and childhood. To Ann Lee, therefore, the most vile feature of life on earth was sex. As a self-ordained prophetess, she endeavored, along with her followers, to expiate this original sin for all mankind.

The Manus

According to Margaret Mead, the Manus (a nonliterate people) of New Guinea regard sex as a necessary evil, as inherently shameful and unpleasant. Frigidity and painful sex relations are experienced by most Manus women, who regard sex as a humiliating experience. Manus culture is unique in the sense that there is no word for love in its language, no romantic stories, songs, or dances. As Mead points out, the Manus are "a puritan society, rigidly subduing its sex life to meet supernaturally enforced demands which are closely tied up with its property standards." In this sense the Manus are very much like certain segments of American society, particularly the status-striving upper middle class. It is also interesting that among the Manus, kissing is unknown, and breast stimulation and similar forms of love play in sex relations are generally lacking. Tenderness and playfulness are dissociated from sex relations. To the Manus, sex is sin.

The Medieval English

Feudalism placed a great emphasis on Medieval English family life. The Christian Church, with its antisexual attitudes and policies, had gained in strength and influence. As the wife of Adam, woman was the instrument of the devil and inferior to man. Sexual desire in itself was regarded as sinful and sexual intercourse excusable *only* if offspring were the desired outcome. The feudal lord's power over his serfs was exemplified in the practice of *jus primae noctis*—his right to have coitus with any new bride among his serfs. Women were generally regarded as sexual property and sex practices were developed which concerned rights and privileges with reference to that property. The emergence of Chivalry was the only hopeful light in this dark period, the only challenge to feudalism and the treatment of women as chattels. But while knights treated women of rank with respect and dignity, they often treated women of low rank with scorn and cruelty.

This does not mean that the Medieval English were wholly antisexual in their practical social mores. Orthodox church teaching was not always followed to the letter; and the practice of *jus primae noctis* itself was neither ecclesiastically upheld nor was it, in spite of its undesirable aspects, entirely antisexual. In fact, some of the sex customs of medieval days, like those of some of the more modern oriental peoples, were prosexual just because they were anti-equalitarian: since when males subjugate females, they frequently do so to their own sex advantage. In the broadest usage of the term, this still results in antisexualism, since females constitute approximately one-half the human species, and neglect of their sexual urges and full consent to participation is hardly conducive of fully enjoyed sex relations. But in a narrower sense, it cannot be said that anti-equalitarians are necessarily thoroughly prudish; and in this sense there was much that was prosexual about Medieval English attitudes—

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

at least, below the surface of the church-influenced laws of the day.

New England Puritans

Perhaps, aside from the Shakers, no historical people, after medieval times, has been as antisexual as were the New England Puritans. The childhood years of the Puritans were overshadowed by Calvinistic doctrines of original sin, predestination, and election, and the punishments of a flaming, material hell. Puritans accepted unequivocally the view of the ancient Hebrews, of Paul, and the early Church Fathers that women were an inferior order of beings, to be held in control by their lawful spouses and masters. Like the early Church Fathers, the Puritans looked at women as the cause of original sin, the personification of sex as sin. To them adultery was the most heinous of all sins and they did not shrink from prescribing and carrying out the death penalty for violators. The records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony show that in 1644 two persons were executed for committing adultery, and a third execution is mentioned in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi*. While Plymouth and Rhode Island did not prescribe the death penalty, they did call for a severe flogging for adulterers. In addition, Plymouth also required the offender to wear a scarlet letter A upon the breast until death. Wearing the scarlet A for adultery became law in Plymouth in 1658 and in Massachusetts in 1794. The meaning of adultery in Puritan New England was described by Nathaniel Hawthorne in his *The Scarlet Letter*.

So antisexual were the Puritans that unwed mothers, even those seduced and deserted, were often whipped, fined, and imprisoned. Very much like the Manus, the Puritans frowned on any public demonstration of tenderness and affection between man and wife.

Besides being the epitome of sex and sin, women were also very much like breeding animals. Green, a Boston printer, had thirty children. Families with fifteen or more children were quite common. Both infant and maternal mortality were extremely high.

The Victorians

In the nineteenth century, Western culture suffered under the yoke of Victorian repression, which had more than a superficial resemblance to Shaker, Manus, Medieval English, and Puritan sex values. Sex was regarded as a sin. There was a kind of cult of idealized feminine purity supported by masochistic tendencies. Sex had to be concealed at all costs. The taboos of the day extended to what a virtuous woman might see or hear as well as do. A gentleman would call a leg a "limb" and he would ask a "clean" woman for permission to smoke in her presence. The stage and the novel were desexualized. In all social classes the age at marriage was later than today, for people tried to keep "untainted" by sex as long as possible. Even in marriage sex was restrained. A virtuous wife was not supposed to show or even suggest that she enjoyed sex relations. Love play was regarded as "unnecessary" sex and "beastly." Russell Lynes notes that it was fashionable for the Victorian lady never to smoke because only sinful actresses did that, never to cross her knees, never to go out unchaperoned in the evening even when in a crowd, never to use lip rouge, and always to sit with the base of her spine against the back of the chair, since only "sinful sirens" slouched. While many Victorian habits of behavior have vanished from our present way of life, many still persist. It is still commonplace for many husbands to interpret their wives' aggressiveness in sex relations as unladylike. Likewise, many American women feel guilty and sinful if they enjoy or desire sex relations.

Twentieth Century Americans

According to Ford and Beach (1951), American attitudes toward sex are somewhat unique in that, although they are fairly representative of those existing in modern industrialized society, they consist of an unusual combination of Puritan mores inextricably accompanied by considerable sexual stimulation. Theoretically, modern America is one of the few societies that recognizes only one form of sexual partnership —that of one man "legally" married to one woman. Multiple sex partnerships as well as premarital and extramarital liaisons are socially and often legally forbidden. In the Ford and Beach sample of 185 societies only 16 per cent similarly restricted sex relations to single partnerships.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

On the side of actual American sex practice, however, Kinsey's data suggest that, in spite of our Puritan-Victorian attitudes, approximately 50 per cent of our women and 85 per cent of our men have engaged in premarital intercourse; and that about 25 per cent of American wives and 50 per cent of American husbands have had extramarital coitus. As Albert Ellis has shown in his *Folklore of Sex* and *The American Sexual Tragedy,* American sex attitudes and behavior reveal numerous conflicting elements. On one hand, our mass media continually bombard us with sexually stimulating materials; on the other hand, our consciences are filled with Puritan-Victorian promises of hell and eternal damnation if we engage in the great, though necessary, sin of sex. Like the Manus people, Americans seem to place economic values above sexual ones. Unlike the Marquesans, Americans overeat as a compensation for frustrations and anxieties related to sex hunger. The Marquesans do the reverse, that is, they use sex as a compensation for frustrations and anxieties related to food hunger (see below). In line with the Calvinistic conception of predestination, Americans consider it safer and wiser to suppress sex and accumulate material possessions so that they may find out if they are damned or saved for the life after death. It seems strange to many that in our democratically oriented society we are so undemocratic, so authoritarian, and sometimes so inhuman in our sex attitudes and practices. There are very few authoritative voices that have spoken for sex sanity in our country, with the exception of such courageous persons as the late Alfred Kinsey, Walter Stokes, and Albert Ellis. As the Harpers (1956) recently pointed out, even those persons especially trained as family-life educators are often so afraid of sex that they do little but perpetuate those very attitudes that make American society fundamentally antisexual.

The Marquesans

It is suggested by Seward that the Marquesans (a nonliterate people), somewhat like some lower-class Americans, have resorted to sex as a means of compensating for their frustrations, particularly those concerning food hunger and starvation. The overvaluation of sex occurs at all stages of development in Marquesan society. Thus, for example, masturbation is used by adults as a pacifier for infants. There are systematic efforts to elongate the labia, thereby increasing female sexual attractiveness. Regular coitus is begun *before* puberty by boys and girls, and sexual play is a favorite form of activity. The Marquesans are also known for their extensive love play before coitus. Men are adept at stimulating a woman's breasts and genitalia with the lips and tongue. Exclusive sexual possession is socially disapproved. Sexual jealousy is considered to be in poor taste. Because there is a shortage of women, every woman attempts to become a skilled artist in sex relations in order to get and keep the best men for husbands. Consequently, Marquesan society is neurotically prosexual, using sex activity as a means of compensating for the food hunger frustrations and anxieties, according to Kardiner. Americans are neurotically antisexual, overeating as a means of compensating for sexual frustrations and anxieties.

The Arapesh

In contrast to the Manus and Marquesans, the nonliterate Arapesh have an extremely mature and healthy conception of sex. The Arapesh women and men are betrothed in childhood. At that time the girl goes to live among her husband-to-be's family and after long years of living together like brother and sister, sex relations occur as a natural outgrowth of their growing affection for each other. While there is no specific interest in erotic satisfaction, sex relations are accompanied by and are an outgrowth of mutual affection. Sex to Arapesh men and women is always an expression of affection that enhances the processes of growth around which their world revolves, according to Margaret Mead. The Arapesh are a cooperative, friendly, and peaceful people.

Post-Revolutionary Russians

According to Seward, post-Revolutionary Russia had an extremely wholesome, prosexual orientation of values. Sex was not regarded as either sacred or profane but as a natural thing that was an intrinsic part of the individual's life from early childhood. Not shrouded in mystery, not continually the focus of morality,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sex was not the center of neurotic anxiety nor an expression of a need for security. Instead sex was freed, to become a constructive force uniting men and women. There was but a single standard of sex morality, both men and women having complete freedom in sex relations as long as there was no violation of the dignity of the individual. Birth control was legal and its practice was encouraged. Without it, sexual freedom would have been impossible. As in the modern Scandinavian countries, children born out of wedlock enjoyed the same social privileges and legal rights as did those born of wedded parents. Marriage and divorce laws were relaxed. Abortions were legal and free or inexpensive. But in 1936, as Hindus pointed out, the Soviet Union began to reverse its former policies relative to sexual behavior. Individual responsibility in sex relations was called bourgeois and against Soviet ethics. Abortions were outlawed except in matters of life or death. Birth control was frowned upon and literature on the subject vanished. Divorce was no longer free and easy. Marriage registration became compulsory. Women who gave birth to eight or more children were made heroines. Everything was now geared to increasing the population.

Today, according to Geiger and Inkeles, the attitudes the Russians hold toward sexual relations are generally characterized by considerable reticence about the open discussion of sexuality and a rather puritanical attitude toward showing interest in sexual matters. The double standard again prevails, as in pre-Revolutionary Russia, and wives are expected to take a passive role in sexual relations. In fact, oddly enough, sex in the Soviet Union nowadays is reminiscent of the bourgeois sex attitudes the post-Revolutionary Russians so strongly denounced.

Modern Scandinavians

Svalastoga has recently stated that "Coitus before marriage now may safely be considered the rule and chastity the exception in Scandinavia. The taking up of a going-steady relation frequently marks the beginning of regular sex relations." For those persons going steady and particularly for those who are engaged, "a certain amount of recognition of rights of privacy and sexual intercourse may be granted." Approximately one-half of the first births come *before* nine months of marriage and almost 10 per cent of the births are out of wedlock. Because premarital coitus is not connected with casual daters but rather with persons going steady or engaged, paternity, unlike that in America, is never difficult to establish and a child born of the union is *not* in jeopardy. Also, unlike America, Scandinavian countries have taken steps to guarantee equal freedom in the sex act for male and female—to enforce a single, prosexual standard of sex morality. Thus, financial protection is provided for the woman and her child if premarital and extramarital relationships result in pregnancy, and both mother and child are granted equal status with women having children in wedlock.

Effective contraception and moral acceptance of its use is considered to be a deterrent to abortion. Generally speaking, the Scandinavians are prosexual on a mature level. Their society does not have a sex-centered morality. Rather it is a morality based on a respect for human dignity in all human relations, of which sex is but one small part. There is a tolerance for prostitution in the sense that it does not come within the province of the law as long as it is practiced *without* public disorder, spread of contagious disease, or profit to a third party. Male homosexuals in Scandinavia are organized in an association which has its head office in Copenhagen. There seems to be relatively little overemphasis on or dread of sex in Scandinavia, as there is in America.

The Trobrianders

Perhaps few existing societies have been as constructively prosexual as the nonliterate Trobrianders, made famous by the writings of Malinowski.

Among the Trobrianders, children become acquainted with sex at a very early age by witnessing their parents in sexual intercourse and by imitating with their playmates their parents' sex behavior. The art of love is gradually developed from the sexual games and play of Trobriand children into the passionate liaisons and partnerships of adolescence and adulthood. Adolescent couples find privacy in premarital coitus in the so-called *bachelor's houses*. Sexual experimentation precedes rather than follows marriage.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Sex for pleasure alone after marriage is regarded as childish. In marriage sex is a means of expressing affection and companionship, an attitude similar to that of the Arapesh. But at certain seasons the Trobriand people gather together to play games involving the erotic features of body contact, rhythm, singing, and, at times, outright sexual license.

Because of the Trobrianders' use of sex as recreation after marriage, due to their custom of sexual experimentation before marriage and their positive attitudes toward sexual expression, the Trobriand society is one of the few free from sexual perversions. In general, the Trobrianders are great lovers, who devote a considerable period of time to precoital activities (oral and manual stimulation of the genitalia and breasts, kissing, etc.), to variations in coital position (they are not, as most Americans, fetishistically attached to the coital position in which the woman is supine with the man above and facing her), and to expressing sex in song, dance, and story. While Americans suffer from a society that is both sex-stimulating and sex-repressing, Trobrianders achieve much happiness in a society in which sex serves as an expression of affection and companionship and as a form of pleasureful play and recreation.

Oneida Perfectionists

Most students of sexual freedom agree that the Oneida Community, led by John Humphrey Noyes, was one of the most daring and rational sex experiments in the history of mankind. According to Ditzion, Noyes believed that "a choice of motherhood had to be added to a free choice of wifehood to make a reality of sex equality. The thought was that a man should not embrace one woman exclusively any more than he should hold on to private property. All men in the community should ideally be potential husbands of all women; and all children the pride and joy of all adults." Thus, the Perfectionists had no marriage ceremonies nor permanent ties between couples. This kind of marriage Noyes called *complex marriage*. The community assumed all responsibility for the support and education of children.

When children were wanted by a couple, the community decided if they were eugenically fit to reproduce themselves. If longevity and health are evidence of success in this revolutionary type of parenthood and reproduction, the Noyesian Perfectionists at Oneida were most successful, and according to reliable reports, one of the healthiest communities this nation has ever had.

Sex to the Perfectionists was both an art and a science that could be learned. Young adolescent males and females were taught sexual skills by adult members of the community. Women who had passed the menopause would teach young males the art of "male continence" (*coitus reservatus*), the ability of withholding ejaculation indefinitely, a practice which Noyes made widely known by the distribution of his pamphlet entitled *Male Continence* (1872). (This method of birth control was later revived by the teachings of Madame Karezza.) Likewise young females were taught the art and science of sex by skilled "continent" men in the community. But sex to the Perfectionists was not, as many laymen believe, a neurotic means of compensation; it was a constructive force handled in a way that liberated these people for vigorous living in all aspects of life.

Economic security and pleasant living conditions were accepted as basic necessities. Outside labor was hired for work—particularly household chores—considered to be mere drudgery. There was no asceticism in this community. Both children and adults enjoyed a program of amusement and recreation reminiscent of Brook Farm, which included plays, concerts, games, sports, lectures, and readings. When Noyes was asked what relation there is between religion and sex, he answered: "The next thing a man wants, after he has found salvation of his soul, is to find his Eve and his Paradise." John Humphrey Noyes found that Paradise at Oneida—until Puritan-Victorian groups outside Oneida forced Noyes to abandon his Paradise and to end what Holbrook has called "The Perfect Society." No men since then have founded a New Oneida.

Individual Views of Sex Freedom

William McDougall

Calverton and Schmalhausen (1929) have hopefully called the late distinguished psychologist and social philosopher William McDougall "the last of the mid-Victorians," for his views on sex were more prudish than those of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

almost any distinguished recent scholar. Thus, McDougall stated that "Promiscuous mauling and pawing [his terms for petting and necking] are not only extremely undignified and in the worst possible taste; they are fatal to happiness." He also believed that sex was unnecessary for "strong men," and that if a man did not marry he should remain as chaste as a Shaker under all circumstances. In keeping with these views he applauded every rigid law against homosexuality and sex deviation. But, perhaps, his most authoritarian view concerned the place of jealousy in marriage. McDougall was of the opinion that "Jealousy is the grand preservative of family life and marital faithfulness. . . . Jealousy is the inseparable companion of love and its intensity is a pure gauge of love's strength." He believed that it was indecent for young married women to attend dances—particularly dances in which partners were changed frequently—with their husbands, as it might lead to adultery.

Pitirim Sorokin

Today's outstanding sexual conservative in America is Pitirim Sorokin, who has been the first professor and chairman of the Sociology Department at Harvard University and who is presently the director of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism. In many of his writings, and particularly in his book, *The American Sexual Revolution* (1956), Sorokin has roundly condemned "loose behavior and false values" and has almost hysterically warned that American civilization is threatened by the possibility of complete sex anarchy. Using a historical approach, and emphasizing the now generally discredited views of J. D. Unwin (1934) on sex and culture, Sorokin has contended that any kind of premarital or extramarital relations are intrinsically harmful to human well-being and that there should be a return to ultra-Victorian sex attitudes and practices.

Dorothy A. Mohler

Although not so distinguished a pedagogue as McDougall or Sorokin, Professor Mohler is a social scientist who presents the view that, in essence, *only* penile-vaginal coital orgasm is normal sex behavior and noncoital orgasm is fundamentally unnatural, perverted, and even sinful. Furthermore, she continues, such penile-vaginal coitus must *only* take place in marriage and primarily for procreation. Sexual satisfaction is *always* a secondary matter.

David R. Mace

Dr. Mace is one of many outstanding marriage counselors and family-life educators who is quite entrenched in Christian sex-centered morality. He contends that sex is so complex a topic we can provide no final answers and he opposes sex behavior outside of marriage as being inconsistent with Christian ethics.

Alex Comfort

One current authority seems to have a consistent attitude to the problem of premarital sexual intercourse—Alex Comfort. He suggests that *premarital petting, up to and including orgasm,* is the intelligent and logical substitute for the premarital penile-vaginal coitus which parents and protectors of public morals fear will lead to numerous unwed mothers, illegitimate children, abortions, venereal disease, and general human depravity. Since, according to Kinsey and others, *any* kind of orgasm prior to marriage generally leads to a more satisfactory sexual adjustment in marriage, Comfort's suggestion seems a reasonable answer to one of the most controversial issues of the day.

Havelock Ellis

One of the most distinguished champions of greater sexual freedom in the first half of the 20th century was undoubtedly Havelock Ellis (1922). Concerning sexual freedom he had this to say: "It is not until a child is born or conceived that the community has any right to interest itself in the sexual acts of its members. The sexual act is of no more concern to the community than any other private physiological act. It is an impertinence, if not an outrage, to seek to inquire into it. But the birth of a child is a social act. Not what goes into the womb, but what comes out of it concerns society. The community is invited to receive a new citizen. It is entitled to demand that that citizen shall be worthy of a place in its midst and that he shall be properly introduced by a responsible father and a responsible mother. 'The whole of sexual

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

morality,' as Ellen Key has said, 'revolves around the child.'"

If we interpret Ellis liberally, he seems to be saying that sex behavior should involve a greater degree of individual responsibility and need not be the concern of the community until and unless a child is conceived as a result of the sexual union. But such individual responsibility cannot be, in any society, independent of the social responsibilities an individual act implies.

Alfred Kinsey

Landis (1956) has recently summed up the late Kinsey's contributions in relation to greater sexual freedom: "Dr. Kinsey of recent years has crusaded for a more rational approach to the control of sex deviant behavior. His studies show that most sex offenders in prison are there for sex acts which he considers not to be in any way socially damaging. He would confine social concern to sex acts which are socially damaging, namely sex acts that involve an adult and a child, sex acts that involve compulsion of one party, and sex acts involving incestuous relations. Most male sex offenders are in prison for homosexuality or other acts which Kinsey considers normal forms of mammalian behavior; although they violate rigorous taboos, he believes they are not in any rational sense socially damaging. . . . Kinsey, in fact, makes a strong case for the biological desirability of premarital sex experience, holding that long abstinence, restraint, and avoidance of physical contacts and emotional responses before marriage may well lead to the building of inhibitions which damage the capacity of the organism to respond sexually in marriage. Petting to orgasm, intercourse to orgasm, or even masturbation to orgasm, he believes help prepare the organism to react physiologically."

Walter R. Stokes

Dr. Stokes (1953) is a courageous psychiatrist, physician, and marriage counselor who states publicly that he strongly believes that the best sexual development is possible through premarital sex experiences under emotionally favorable conditions. Stokes also believes that in women there is a relationship between sex response and the development of the vaginal musculature which can be aided by premarital coitus. In his practice he has found that almost invariably those very chaste young men who reach marriage without any sort of overt sex experience, including masturbation, have turned out to be completely impotent to a degree requiring extensive psychiatric treatment. He rejects the idea that sex is beautiful only in marriage.

Albert Ellis

Few scholars, scientists, clinicians, or laymen in recent years have contributed so much to promoting a sane view of sexual freedom and morality as has Albert Ellis (1954, 1958a, 1958b). In his *The American Sexual Tragedy* and *Sex without Guilt,* Albert Ellis asks for sex sanity not based on subjective, biased mystic beliefs but on the basis of scientific clinical evidence. In November, 1958, *Pageant* magazine published an article by Ellis entitled "10 Indiscreet Proposals," in which he asked Americans to live up to their democratic ideals and not support *sexual fascism*—the double standard of morality, treating women like second-class citizens, and intolerance of any sex behavior except penile-vaginal coitus in marriage.

Dr. Ellis maintains that American women are in large part responsible for the creation of homosexuality. Masturbation, he states, is not self-abuse but rather one of man's best friends and has done more good for civilized living than innumerable sermonizings to the contrary. He also advocates premarital sexual relations for adult, bright, well-informed, and reasonably well-adjusted unmarried adults. His is one of very few refreshing voices in a world full of warnings of sin and damnation for those desiring to express rather than suppress love and affection.

Recent Trends in Sex Behavior around the World

In spite of the inhibitory attitudes persisting today with regard to sex, there are signs everywhere that in the real behavior of persons, as opposed to their stated Puritan-Victorian ideals, people are putting into practice some of the scientifically valid proposals of Kinsey, Stokes, Comfort, and Albert Ellis. In the United States the traditional sex code has been weak-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ening. Thus in the Davis study in 1923, only 70 persons out of 1,000 married women (7 per cent) had premarital coitus. But in Burgess and Wallin's recent study of 666 married women (1953), 306 (46 per cent) had had premarital sexual relations, and, furthermore, 275 (90 percent) of those women *said that it had strengthened their relationship.* In general, Reiss (1957) has indicated there is a trend toward greater permissiveness in sex relations, toward less exploitative, body-centered types of sex activity, toward more affectionate, person-centered relations.

The "International Issue on the Family," an entire issue on family life in more than sixteen countries and geographical areas throughout the world appearing in the November, 1954, issue of *Marriage and Family Living*, suggested that the increased permissiveness of sex attitudes and behavior is due in large part to the spread of democratic Western ideology, particularly with relation to the status of women. Fascistic and feudalistic countries are likely to have strong antisexual double standards of sex morality, whereas more democratic countries are more likely to have a single, prosexual standard. The Scandinavian countries seem to have the most progressive sex standards among the civilized nations. Early post-Revolutionary Russia for a time had a sane sex morality but this was engulfed by Communistic imperialistic ambitions in the late thirties.

What happens to sex relations in the future is always related to what happens to human relations in general. In a peaceful, democratic world, a sane sex morality is more likely to prevail than in a brink-of-war or fighting world.

Summary and Conclusions

Human sexual behavior is learned. It is learned in the context of particular cultural values supported by particular societies. Sex behavior in human beings can never be free in the sense that freedom is popularly defined. Scientifically, freedom in man's behavior is always related to his ability to make a choice among limited alternatives. In this sense, some societies, as we have seen, are freer than others but *all* societies control the sexual behavior of their members.

Those societies which have permissive attitudes toward sex and allow numerous alternatives in regard to sexual behavior we call prosexual. The Oneida Perfectionists, the Trobrianders, and modern Scandinavians can thus be said to have been or to be prosexual. On the other hand, we also have societies which have extremely repressive and restrictive attitudes toward sex. Such societies can be said to be antisexual. Shaker society reached the nadir in antisexuality, very closely followed by the Manus, Medieval English, Puritans, Victorians, and some segments of the modern American population.

Various individuals have also expressed antisexual and prosexual views. The late Professor William McDougall was so antisexual that recent sexologists have called him "the last of the mid-Victorians." At the zenith of prosexuality stands the contemporary psychotherapist and author, Albert Ellis.

Despite a powerful remaining element of fascistic ideology, there seems to be, generally speaking, a strong, persistent democratic trend toward more rational sexual behavior both in the free world and certain areas behind the iron curtain. Even though since 1936 there has been a strong antisexual trend in the Communist world, some of the gains, particularly relative to the status of women, have persisted. What is needed now are a few thousand Walter Stokeses and Albert Ellises in private clinical practice and particularly in our schools and colleges.

References

Burgess, E. W., and Wallin, P., *Engagement and Marriage.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

Calhoun, A. W., *A Social History of the American Family.* Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co., 1919, Vol. I.

Calverton, V. F., and Schmalhausen, S. D. (eds.), *Sex in Civilization.* Garden City, N.Y.: Macauley, 1929.

Comfort, A., *Sexual Behavior in Society.* New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1950.

Davis, K. B., *Factors in the Sex Life of 2200 Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

Ditzion, S., *Marriage, Morals and Sex.* New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1953.

Ellis, A., *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Ellis, A., *Sex without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958a.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Ellis, A., "10 Indiscreet Proposals." *Pageant.* November, 1958b.

Ellis, H., *Sex in Relation to Society* (3rd ed.). Vol. VI in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1922.

Ford, C. S., and Beach, F. A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Geiger, K., and Inkeles, A., "The Family in the U.S.S.R." *Marr. & Fam. Living 16;* 397-404, 1954.

Harper, R. A., and Harper, F. R., "Are Educators Afraid of Sex?" *Humanist 16;* 122-127, 1956.

Himelhoch, J., and Fava, S. F. (eds.), *Sexual Behavior in American Society.* New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1955.

Hindus, M., "The Family in Russia." In Anshen, R. A. (ed.), *The Family.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Holbrook, S. H., *Dreamers of the American Dream.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957.

International issue on the family. *Marriage and Family Living 16;* 291-404, 1954.

Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Landis, P. H., *Social Control* (rev. ed.). Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1956.

Leuba, C., *The Natural Man.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954.

Leuba, C., *The Sexual Nature of Man.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954.

Lynes, R., "Is There a Lady in the House?" *Look 22;* 19-21, July 22, 1958.

Mace, D. R., "Discussion: Premarital Sexual Behavior." *Marr. & Fam. Living 15;* 239-242, 1953.

Malinowski, B., *Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge, 1932, 2 vols.

Mead, M., *Male and Female.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1949.

Mohler, D. A., "Letter." *Marr. & Fam. Living 15;* 253, 1953.

Murdock, G. P., *Social Structure.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

Reiss, I. L., "The Treatment of Premarital Coitus in 'Marriage and the Family' Texts." *Social Problems 4;* 334-338, 1957.

Seward, G. H., *Sex and the Social Order.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946.

Sorokin, P., *The American Sex Revolution.* Boston: Porter Sargent Pub., 1956.

Stokes, W. H., "Discussion: Premarital Sexual Behavior." *Marr. & Fam. Living 15;* 235-239, 1953.

Svalastoga, K., "The Family in Scandinavia." *Marr. & Fam. Living 16;* 374-380, 1954.

Unwin, J. D., *Sex and Culture.* London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

ROBERT M. FRUMKIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Frigidity

Definition

FRIGIDITY is a term that has, unfortunately, been used to cover a multiplicity of sexual disorders and disabilities. It has been applied to women who are anesthetic, indifferent, incompetent, and inorgasmic. Included among females who have been labeled frigid have been those who are not easily stimulated; who have pain or displeasure in intercourse; who are unable to reach a climax; or who have little or no satisfaction even when they do attain a sex peak (A. Ellis, 1952; Oliven, 1955).

Most of the sexologists of an earlier day, including the orthodox Freudians, tended to consider a woman frigid, no matter how high her sex desire or how climactic her performance, if she did not achieve full sex release "vaginally"—that is, during coitus (Bergler, 1956; Hitschmann and Bergler, 1949; Stekel, 1926). Most contemporary authorities give the term frigidity a considerably narrower connotation and do not include under its heading females who are able to achieve a satisfactory climax through clitoral or other noncoital means (A. Ellis, 1954, 1958; Hirsch, 1957; Kelly, 1953; Kinsey *et al.*, 1953).

Causes of Frigidity

The main factors that result in a woman's being difficult to arouse or satisfy sexually may be summarized under three major rubrics: organic causes, relationship causes, and psychological causes.

Organic Causes

Although sexual insensitivity and incapacity usually have no organic basis, they sometimes do. Physical reasons for frigidity may include innate or constitutional lack of sexual responsiveness; inborn defects of or injuries to the sex organs; infection or inflammation of the clitoris, cervix, ovaries, or other accessory organs; serious nutritional lacks; lesions or defects of the central nervous system; circulatory defects; irritations or pathological conditions of parts of the body located near the sex organs; general organic ailments or diseases, such as diabetes, heart disorder, anemia, or leukemia; fatigue and low vitality; overindulgence in alcohol or drugs; and normal aging processes.

Two organic causes of frigidity may be singled out for special comment. It has recently been shown (Kupperman, 1959) that the male sex hormone, androgen, plays an enormously important role in the sexual activation of both males and females; and that if a female is low or deficient in the secretion of androgen she may well be sexually anesthetic. Treatment of such females with proper doses of sex hormones may effect dramatic changes in their sexual proclivities.

It has also recently been pointed out by Kleegman (1959) that a very large proportion of women who suffer from dyspareunia (painful intercourse) and are consequently frigid actually have small and correctible lesions of the external genital tract which may easily go undetected in a routine gynecological examination. If these lesions are found and surgically or medically treated, frigidity may completely clear up in these cases.

Therefore, although virtually all authorities agree that most cases of female sex inadequacy result from psychological rather than physical factors, the latter should by no means be overlooked. Whenever frigidity is in evidence a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

complete medical and gynecological examination should first be made before it is assumed that the disturbance is of nonorganic origin.

Relationship Causes

Relationship causes of frigidity arise from the fact that human sex proclivities are frequently disorganized and unfulfilled when one partner in a sex, love, or marital relationship becomes disturbed about her own or her mate's attitudes or actions (Caprio, 1953; Knight, 1943; Stekel, 1926). Thus, a woman may be sexually inhibited because she does not love her husband or feels that he does not sufficiently care for her; because she consciously resents him for things he has or has not done; because she is not physically attracted to him; because his sexual technique or capacity is, in her eyes, deficient or insufficient; because she thinks that his sex demands on her are too great; or for a host of similar reasons concerned with her personal and sexual relationship with her husband. In such a case, a woman may be said to be relatively or maritally rather than absolutely frigid, inasmuch as she may be theoretically capable of a high state of arousal and satisfaction with someone else than her spouse or may be quite unfrigid with her spouse, providing that some of the conditions of their relationship improve.

Psychological Causes

Aside from relationship difficulties between mates, a number of other psychological reasons may exist for a particular woman to become sexually indifferent or inadequate (A. Ellis, 1955, 1960; H. Ellis, 1936; Oliven, 1955; Terman, 1938). Thus, she may have been raised to have severe feelings of shame or guilt about all sex relations, including marital intercourse. She may fear her mate's disapproval or her own lack of self-control if she fully lets herself go sexually. She may be consciously or unconsciously afraid to become a mother and hence find sex relations irritating. She may fear sexual disease or injury. She may have homosexual or fetishistic tendencies that block her interests in heterosexual relations under all or certain circumstances. She may have a deep-seated attachment to her father or some other male relative, which arouses guilt reactions and inhibits her releasing herself sexually with her husband or lover. She may have masochistic or self-punitive tendencies that interfere with her allowing herself full satisfaction. She may be so childish and narcissistic that cooperating with another human being, even for her own pleasure, may be beyond her ken. Or she may be so generally disturbed—that is, severely neurotic or psychotic—that she is incapable of focusing adequately on sexual stimuli and coordinating her physical movements sufficiently well to achieve full sexual arousal and climax.

It has been customary for past and present authorities, such as Bergler (1956), Freud (1924-1950, 1938), and Knight (1943), to stress the importance of an overpowering sense of guilt as a causative factor in frigidity. The present writer as well (*The American Sexual Tragedy* and *Sex Without Guilt*) has presented considerable evidence to the effect that women in our society are often warped by the anti-sexual attitudes with which we indoctrinate them from birth; and that consequently they are inordinately guilty about letting themselves go and fully enjoying themselves sexually. Varying degrees of frigidity in their sexual behavior result.

Sex Shame

Be that as it may, another phenomenon has come to exist in contemporary society that is different from and in many ways even more pernicious than the sexual guilt that was so prevalent in previous days. This phenomenon is that of intense shame—which overlaps with guilt in some significant respects but which is also somewhat different. Whereas, when he feels guilty, an individual believes that he has acted wrongly or wickedly in the eyes of some God, fate, or social value system, when he feels ashamed or inadequate, he is more likely to believe that he has acted ineptly or weakly in his own eyes and in those of the people with whom he has immediate contact. As Piers and Singer (1953) and several other psychological and sociological thinkers have recently pointed out, shame and its concomitant feelings of inadequacy (as distinguished from guilt and its concomitant feelings of sinfulness) are likely to be particularly enhanced in a society, such as our own, that stresses success rather than goodness, achievement rather than sainthood.

As a result of our having so many millions of shame-inculcated individuals in this country, I

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

and my colleagues have recently been seeing, in our psychotherapy and marriage counseling practices, one woman after another who, in spite of her having had rather adequate sex education, is distinctly frigid. These sexually inadequate women are often highly "sophisticated" individuals who do not feel that sex is wicked and who have little or no sense of guilt about engaging in premarital or marital relations. Indeed, they almost universally want very much to experience orgasm and will do anything in their power to help themselves experience it. Whereas, in previous years, it was frequently the husbands who would come to complain to the psychotherapist or marriage counselor that their wives were not too interested in sex relations, today it is just as likely to be the wives who complain that they want greater satisfaction than they are receiving.

Ironically, one of the major reasons these women are not achieving full gratification is that they are so overdetermined to achieve it. Because of their culturally inculcated need for success, they are so ashamed if they do not reach the greatest heights of expressive sexuality that they are rarely doing what they should be doing to attain orgasm and are, instead, tragically sabotaging their own desires. That is to say, instead of focusing clearly on the real problem at hand—which, baldly stated, is "How can I think of something sufficiently sexually exciting and how can I concentrate on movements that are stimulating enough to bring on my orgasm?"—these women are focusing on quite a different problem—namely "Oh, what an idiot and an incompetent person I am for not being able to have an orgasm without any difficulty."

Stated differently: women who are sexually anesthetic or nonorgasmic are often obsessed with the notion of *how* rather than *what* they are doing when they are having sex relations. Sex desire and fulfillment are largely mediated through the central nervous system and the cerebral cortex; and in order for arousal and satisfaction to be maximal there must be a concerted focusing, by the individual who would achieve orgasm, on specific sexual ideation. If, instead of concentrating on sexually arousing stimuli, a woman keeps telling herself, over and over, that it would be terrible if she did not have an orgasm; that this would prove that she was worthless and inferior; that she simply must be able to get as many orgasms as her best girl friend; that when she gets a climax, bells should ring and lights should flash; and so on—if this is the kind of nonsense that a female sex partner keeps repeating to herself, it can only be expected that she will rarely if ever achieve a high degree of excitement and fruition.

Another form that sex shame currently takes in our society is equally inhibiting—that is, when it acts as a block against varied coital and noncoital technique. We may note that today fewer and fewer college-educated and middle-class females are desisting from trying various coital positions or types of noncoital sex play which once were erroneously called "perversions." Having little sex guilt, in the old-fashioned sense, they do not deem these aspects of sex wicked.

At the same time, however, literally millions of women are employing noncoital sex methods only as "preliminary" or "love play" techniques and are not using them, when necessary, up to and including the achievement of orgasm. Their reasons for so restricting themselves are again bound up with shame: that is, they feel that they "should" be able to achieve an orgasm through "natural" coital means and should not require digital manipulation of the clitoris, oral-genital relations, or other techniques of coming to climax. If they do require such methods—as innumerable women do and always, probably, shall—they feel that there is something "wrong" with them and that they are sexually "inferior" or "incompetent." This feeling, of course, is perfectly illogical and is almost entirely a consequence of their arbitrary notions of what is "shameful." To compound the problem here, many of the husbands of these women also believe that they are "inferior" when they cannot give their wives an orgasm with their penises but have to resort to noncoital methods.

In increasing numbers of instances, then, it would seem to be shame rather than guilt that produces frigidity today. Worrying and catastrophizing about the possibility of lack of fulfillment actually brings on that very lack. As soon as a woman tends to believe that she *must* be sexually competent and begins to tell herself

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

how frightful it would be if she did *not* achieve a tremendous state of desire and climax, her very exaggeration of the *necessity* of her being sexually successful will frequently prevent her success. Any time an individual believes that she *must* succeed in some endeavor, rather than that it would be *preferable* if she did, disaster in that endeavor is likely to befall. This is particularly true of women who feel that they have to succeed at achieving orgasm and that it is catastrophic if they do not.

By the same token, whenever a woman convinces herself that she must achieve sexual arousal and satisfaction in a particular manner —such as in certain coital positions, or within a few minutes after intercourse has begun, or in the same manner that most other women presumably achieve gratification—she is setting herself on the road to failure. The first and main law of psychology is that of individual difference; and in the sexual as well as nonsexual areas of life each woman tends to be significantly different, in many respects, from every other woman and to require specialized modes of physical and psychical participation which are experimentally and open-mindedly tailored for her own requirements. Any notion she may have, therefore, that she should or must be satisfied the way *others* are satisfied will probably doom her to sexual inadequacy.

Ignorance

Another common psychological block to sex satisfaction that is frequently ignored in the psychiatric literature (and especially the Freudian literature) is that of simple ignorance. Millions of civilized (and primitive) women, because they have never received any incisive knowledge of the psychology and physiology of sexual response, seem to be completely ignorant of the fact that sexual arousal and satisfaction are not a function of proper physical stimulation alone but are largely a cerebral function—a result of what the individual *thinks* and *imagines* while she is engaging in sex relations. They do not realize that women, in particular, often have to *focus persistently* on sex-love objects and relations while their bodies are being adequately stimulated. When they fail to do so, and focus instead on nonsexual objects and concepts while they are engaging in sex acts, they frequently set up insuperable psychological blocks to satisfaction. If the facts of frigidity were fully known, it might well be found that guilt and shame, although important factors in creating frigidity in many instances, are often less important than a woman's failing, out of sheer lack of sex knowledge and proper training, to try to focus on stimulating things and events when she is having sex relations.

The Treatment of Frigidity

The treatment of frigidity may be subdivided into two main forms; self-treatment and medical or psychological treatment. Both forms should be tried simultaneously, since self-treatment will frequently be ineffective without competent medical or psychological supervision.

Self-Therapy

The first part of self-therapy of frigidity consists of arousing sufficiently strong desire in those instances where this kind of arousal is difficult (A. Ellis, 1960). Pointers that may be helpful in this respect include the following:

1. The woman who is not easily arousable should engage in sex relations at a time best suited for excitability: for example, when she is relaxed, well rested, not pressed for time, and away from troubling circumstances.
2. The woman's partner should make overtures at a time when the mates have been getting along excellently together and when there is a minimum of strain and hostility between them.
3. Kindness, consideration, and love by the mate is likely to be more effective than any rough kind of treatment.
4. Special care should be taken to locate and adequately to stimulate the special erogenous zones of the woman after these have been experimentally explored and determined.
5. Intercourse itself, even though at first not too stimulating, may lead to arousal in some instances.
6. Periods of rest in between arousal attempts may sometimes be desirable.
7. The application of ointments or hand lotions (such as camphor-menthol ointment or

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

K-Y jelly) to the woman's external genitals may sometimes be advisable. Saliva is sometimes an adequate and easily available lubrication material.

8. Considerable direct genital stimulation by the male partner's fingers, or tongue, or penis, particularly in apposition to the female's clitoris, may be required before any intravaginal penetration is attempted.

9. Mild intake of stimulants (such as alcohol) may be employed.

10. Focusing by the woman on sexually exciting things and incidents is particularly important. She should literally practice thinking of various things that excite her and should, if necessary, keep forcing herself to think of these things as she is having sex relations. Stories, pictures, past sex participations, thoughts of future pleasures—anything and everything that excites the woman mentally—may be used to keep her mind focusing on arousing subjects and events.

Assuming that a woman with a tendency toward sexual anesthesia has achieved sufficient arousal, there are several techniques that she and her mate may employ to help her attain full climax:

1. If the woman is found to have special areas of sex sensation, such as the clitoris or the upper wall of the vagina, her partner should exert steady, consistent, rhythmic pressure on these areas until she approaches or reaches climax.

2. In certain instances, special kinds of strokings—such as intermittent, irregular ones or very forceful massage—of the woman's sensitive parts will be desirable.

3. Verbal or attitudinal expressions by the woman's partner—such as protestations of love—may sometimes be helpful in bringing her to fulfillment.

4. Deep, forceful penile-vaginal penetration, which can best be obtained in certain coital positions (such as the position where the woman surmounts and sits astride the male) may sometimes be preferable.

5. Multiple physical contact is desirable in many instances, such as the male's kissing or caressing his wife's breasts or caressing her clitoris while they are having coitus.

6. A variety of noncoital stimulations and coital positions is often necessary, since a relatively low-sexed woman may today become bored with the same tactic that yesterday was terribly exciting. Varietism in sex play is often more desirable for the female than for the male, since the latter tends to have an orgasm more easily and quickly in most instances.

7. Undue emphasis on the achievement of simultaneous climax should particularly be avoided when a woman has difficulty obtaining an orgasm, as she will otherwise become so concerned about obtaining it *at the right time* that she will probably not obtain it at all. Orgasm, however and whenever achieved, should be the goal of any woman who has difficulty coming to climax. Whether she obtains her orgasm exactly at the same moment as her mate obtains his is relatively unimportant—unless she erroneously *thinks* that this is important.

8. There is no law against a woman's stimulating herself at the same time that her husband is also endeavoring to help her to climax. Self-stimulation is often the most effective method for a female who has difficulty achieving orgasm.

9. As emphasized earlier, females who do not easily achieve orgasm should practice focusing on maximally exciting things and ideas and try to prevent themselves from being distracted by nonsexual and nonloving thoughts.

Medical or Psychological Treatment

If consistent use of all or some of the foregoing techniques fails to help a woman become fully aroused or to achieve orgasmic release, it should be assumed that she may well have a medical or psychological problem and that she should seek professional help. On the physical side, she should preferably be examined by an experienced gynecologist and should also receive a complete medical examination. Treatment, on the basis of such an examination, should be prescribed by the physician and closely followed. It may consist of administration of hormones or vitamins, use of other medication, minor surgery, or other medical measures indicated in individual cases.

On the psychological side, the frigid woman (and usually her husband as well) should see a recognized psychologist, psychiatrist, psychiatric caseworker, or marriage counselor.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Treatment will usually consist of the therapist's discovering what set of blocking or inhibiting ideas the woman has, how these ideas originated, how they have been sustained, and what can be done to challenge and contradict them and replace them by realistic, rational ideas. Although prolonged, depth-centered psychotherapy is sometimes indicated, a competent and active therapist can frequently get to the root of a woman's psychological sex problems in a relatively short length of time and show her how to overcome these problems.

As a very brief case in point, I recently saw a 25-year-old wife who had never achieved an orgasm with her husband and was ready to divorce him because of her shame about her own and his sexual ineptness. Without even attempting to uncover any of her so-called deeply unconscious feelings of guilt, hostility, or anxiety, I quickly and forcefully explained to this woman how she was forestalling her own orgasms by telling herself, almost constantly, how horrible she was, how she could never get an orgasm, how she could not be successfully married to anyone, etc. I insisted, in session after session, that she could focus on sexually exciting stimuli and that she could bring herself to have fully satisfying climaxes.

My patient at first resisted these suggestions; but after eight sessions of fairly repetitive psychotherapy, I began to convince her of the truth of my statements. She began to focus more and more on sexually arousing stimuli and for the first time in her life started, some of the time, to achieve climax. On one occasion, she tried mutual oral-genital relations with her husband and found that she was extremely aroused by this method but that it was so exciting that she could not focus adequately on her own climax. When her husband was independently practicing cunnilinctus, however, she was able to focus on her own genital sensations and soon was having strong orgasms.

After some practice, this patient was able to focus on her own climax during coitus as well as during extracoital sex relations. She was recently in to see me and reported that, after her husband had been away on a business trip for a few days, they spent almost the entire night having sex relations in many different positions and ways—with complete satisfaction.

Summary

Sexual inadequacy or incompetency on the part of a female may result from organic, relationship, or psychological causes; and in most instances seems to arise from irrational, guilt- and shame-invoking ideas which have been inculcated in the frigid woman early in her life and which she has been unconsciously reiterating to herself for many years. Usually, frigidity can be considerably lessened or overcome if the afflicted woman accepts her own sex participation as a fine and valuable act of living and practices focusing on sexually exciting stimuli.

When self-therapy does not work, the frigid woman should have a complete gynecological examination and should obtain psychological help. In most instances, a highly active, directive, rational psychotherapist can help her get to the core of her problem in fairly rapid order and forcefully to see, understand, and challenge and contradict her own irrational notions that underlie her sexual disability (A. Ellis, 1958b). There are very few cases in which frigidity cannot be largely or completely ameliorated, when medically and psychologically attacked in a forthright manner.

References

Adams, Clifford, *An Informal Preliminary Report on Some Factors Relating to Sexual Responsiveness of Certain College Wives.* University Park, Pa.: author, 1953.

Berg, Louis, and Street, Robert, *Sex: Methods and Manners.* New York: Robert M. McBride Co., Inc., 1953.

Bergler, Edmund, *Neurotic Counterfeit-Sex.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1956.

Burgess, Ernest W., and Wallin, Paul, *Engagement and Marriage.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953.

Caprio, Frank S., *The Sexually Adequate Female.* New York: Citadel Press, 1953.

Clark, LeMon, "Female Sex Sensation." *Sexology 25;* 208-212, 1958.

Davis, Katherine B., *Factors in the Sex Life of 2,200 Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929.

Dickinson, Robert L., and Beam, Lura, *A Thousand Marriages.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1931.

Ellis, Albert, "Applications of Clinical Psychology to Sexual Disorders." In L. E. Abt and D. Brower

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

(eds.), *Progress in Clinical Psychology*. New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1952.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *The Art and Science of Love*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960.

Ellis, Albert, "Guilt, Shame and Frigidity." *Quart. Rev. Obst. & Gynec.* Oct., 1959.

Ellis, Albert, "Rational Psychotherapy." *J. Gen Psychol. 59;* 35-49, 1958b.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt*. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958a.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. New York: Random House, 1936.

Ford, Clellan S., and Beach, Frank A., *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Freud, Sigmund, *Basic Writings*. New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1938.

Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers*. London: Hogarth, 1924-1950.

Hamilton, G. V., *A Research in Marriage*. New York: Boni, 1929.

Hirsch, Edwin W., *Modern Sex Life*. New York: New American Library, 1957.

Hitschmann, E., and Bergler, E., "Frigidity in Women —Restatement and Renewed Experiences." *Psychoanal. Rev. 36;* 45-53, 1949.

Kegel, A. H., "Sexual Functions of the Pubococcygeus Muscle." *West. J. Surg. 60;* 541-542, 1952.

Kelly, G. Lombard, *Sex Manual*. Augusta, Ga.: Southern Medical Supply Co., 1953.

Kinsey, A. C., *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kleegman, Sophia J., "Frigidity." *Quart. Rev. Obst. & Gynec.* Oct., 1959.

Knight, Robert, "Functional Disturbances in the Sexual Life of Women." *Bull. Menninger Clin. 7;* 25-35, 1943.

Kupperman, Herbert S., "Frigidity: Endocrinological Aspects." *Quart. Rev. Obst. & Gynec.* Oct., 1959.

Oliven, John F., *Sexual Hygiene and Pathology*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955.

Piers, Gerhart, and Singer, Milton B., *Shame and Guilt*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953.

Pillay, A. P., and Ellis, Albert (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual*. Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology*, 1953.

Shuttleworth, Frank, "A Biosocial and Developmental Theory of Male and Female Sexuality." *Marr. & Fam. Living 21;* 163-170, 1959.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Frigidity in Women*. New York: Liveright, 1926.

Terman, Lewis M., "Correlates of Orgasm Adequacy in a Group of 556 Wives." *J. Psychol. 32;* 115-172, 1951.

Terman, Lewis M., *Psychological Factors in Marital Unhappiness*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938.

Van de Velde, Th., *Ideal Marriage*. New York: Covici Friede, 1926.

Woodside, Moya, "Orgasm Capacity Among 200 English Working Class Wives." *Internat. J. Sexol. 1;* 133-137, 1948.

Wright, Helena, "A Contribution to the Orgasm Problem in Women." *Internat. J. Sexol. 3;* 8-12, 1949.

ALBERT ELLIS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Great Britain, Sex in

Historical Survey

SOCIAL attitudes to sex in Great Britain have shown great fluctuations since the Reformation, when the State took over powers that had previously been held by the Church. The immediate result of the change was to impose more drastic penalties. Thus, in 1533 an act was passed that introduced the death penalty for sodomy. Later, under the Commonwealth, a law was added that made "incest, adultery, and fornication" capital offenses, but it did not survive the Puritan regime.

For a period morals became more relaxed, only to be tightened again with the rise of the middle class in the mid-eighteenth century. A continental visitor wrote in 1700 that "the women of this country are much given to sensuality, to carnal inclinations, to gambling, to drink, and to idleness." (*Londres et l'Angleterre,* J. E. Zetzner, Strasbourg.) This may be compared with the advice given by Dr. J. Gregory in a widely read book, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters,* published in 1774, in which he urges women to be shy, blushing, and genteel. They must show no interest in sex, and preferably be ignorant of its existence unless married; then they must submit to their husbands without giving any sign of pleasure. Mary Shelley could write in 1811 that "Coarseness is completely out of fashion." And the cult of delicacy was carried to such extravagant lengths that in a scientific work, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs* (1857), Dr. W. Acton roundly stated that it was a "vile aspersion" to say that women were even capable of sexual feeling.

The swing of the pendulum had less effect on the laboring classes and was rather slow to be felt in the upper classes until Queen Victoria came to the throne. The author of the play in which the redoubtable Mrs. Grundy appeared died as early as 1838, but the character he created became subsequently a symbol of Victorian prudery. In its heyday the very legs of pianos were draped with crinolines. It was thought indelicate to offer a leg of chicken to a lady at the dinner table. One did not speak of breasts, but of "necks"; or, at the most daring, "bosoms." Artificial aids were used by women to make them look flat-chested until about 1860 when evening *décolletés* once more became low.

Yet all through this period of false modesty prostitution was rampant in England, homosexuality defied the savage penalties of the law, and the immorality of the very poor was notorious. The fact that divorce was available only to the rich—since it required a special Act of Parliament—is no proof of the absence of adultery among those who could not obtain legal redress. Its existence was merely concealed.

Nor was the taboo on mentioning sex in polite society any evidence of a lack of interest. Although Bradlaugh was indicted for defiantly publishing a book on birth control, there was a vast underground traffic in pornography. As

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

might be expected, the repressive atmosphere gave rise to unsavory phantasies and a spate of books dealing with perversions.

Why the standards of one age are rigorous and of another lax is a matter for speculation. The significant change that took place in the twentieth century was hastened by World War I but not entirely caused by it. The main factors were the spread of education, the demand for sex equality, and the decline of churchgoing. The war, of course, opened up new opportunities for women to enter what had been masculine preserves, and this proved to be an irreversible process.

The seeds were sown in the nineteenth century thanks to the energy of a few ardent reformers. Divorce law ceased to be administered by the ecclesiastical courts in 1857 and the way was then open—though by no means easy to follow—for subsequent modifications. The Married Women's Property Act profoundly changed the status of women, and the granting of the right to vote, after a bitter campaign, set a seal upon their legal independence.

The repercussions of the emancipation of women on sexual morality were indirect. Perhaps the most decisive factor was the fact that this emancipation was paralleled by improvement of contraceptive techniques. A woman who had economic as well as legal independence and to whom the fear of pregnancy was no longer the great deterrent, naturally looked upon sex relationships differently from her Victorian predecessors.

The decade following World War I was undoubtedly marked by a sexual freedom that would have been unthinkable for the middle classes in the nineteenth century. A new outlook on sex was shaped by the literature of the period, which included popularizations of psychoanalysis and cheap books on birth control. On a more serious level there were the writings of D. H. Lawrence (some of which were banned), Bertrand Russell, and others.

No doubt the new freedom was often abused and the theories of Freudian psychology travestied, but the old taboos had been lifted and nothing could be quite the same again. Sex education was increasingly seen as a necessary preparation for life. The last barriers went down when it was introduced into school curriculums.

Divorce was made easier in 1937, and after World War II, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into still further reforms. A Departmental Committee on Prostitution and Homosexuality published a remarkably outspoken report in 1957. Although no action has as yet been taken on homosexuality, the fact that it was possible to discuss even homosexuality on radio and television shows how far public opinion in Great Britain has moved since the times of Mrs. Grundy.

Some think it has moved too far, others not far enough. In 1935 Canon Bickersteth wrote in *The Times*: "The increase in adultery and the breaking of the marriage laws are greater dangers to national safety than bombing from the air."

There is no way of establishing the prevalence of adultery either now or in the period when divorce was a privilege for the few. Obviously we cannot gain the information from statistics of divorce alone. The following analysis of different aspects of sexual behavior suggests that the most striking change has been within social classes, and that adultery is no longer so restricted to prostitution. More "broken homes" do not necessarily mean less happy homes. Statistics show that marriage was never so popular in Britain as today.

Marriage and Divorce

The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce (1956) failed to agree on any radical changes in the law. One of its conclusions was that "matrimony is not so secure as it was fifty years ago." If this is merely taken to mean that today there are more divorces the statement is obviously correct, but it does not give the whole picture. In the Victorian age the marriage rate was declining. Between 1911 and 1954, however, the proportion of married women has risen by one-third. Only 13 per cent of women today are spinsters, and that is fewer than at any time since 1881, when the population was only 60 per cent its present size.

Against much loose talk about the collapse of family life there is the testimony of a report

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

issued by the Church of England Moral Welfare Council in 1958, which stated categorically: "Far from disintegrating, the modern family is in some ways in a stronger position than it has been in any period in our history of which we have any knowledge."

More people in Britain are getting married than ever before and the average marriage lasts longer. Yet it is also true that more people are getting divorced. The reason for this apparent paradox is that marriages tend to take place at an earlier age, owing to the improved economic situation, and that there are fewer broken homes caused by death, thanks to the progress of medicine.

It is sometimes forgotten that divorce is not the sole cause of broken homes. The tragedy of the loss of the breadwinner—doubly serious when large families were the rule—is not only less common today, but is softened, when it occurs, by various forms of state aid.

The increase in divorce cannot be taken by itself as an index of a decline in moral standards because changes in the law have made divorce available to a far greater number of people.

When it became possible in 1857 to dissolve a marriage by judicial decree the theory was that divorce was relief granted to an injured party. At first a husband could obtain a divorce on the ground of his wife's adultery, but the wife had to prove desertion or cruelty as well as adultery in order to divorce her husband. This anomaly was abolished in 1925 and there were no further important changes until 1937.

It then became possible to obtain a divorce on grounds of desertion or cruelty without adultery. Another innovation was that no divorce in England and Wales (although not in Scotland) could ordinarily be obtained during the first three years of marriage. Also divorce could be granted on grounds of insanity even though no matrimonial offense had been committed.

These provisions opened the door to many more applications, but there was still the barrier that cases had to be heard in the High Court, and poor people could not afford to take advantage of the new Act. The provision of free legal aid in 1950 removed the last obstacle.

The divorce statistics reflect these changes. Before 1914 the number of annual petitions was below 1,000. They reached 5,000 in 1935, 10,000 in 1942, and rose to 47,041 in 1947. Since then they have fallen and would appear to be stabilized at about 30,000. The Registrar General has estimated that approximately 7 per cent of marriages end in divorce.

The postwar statistics show some interesting trends, although a great deal of vital information has yet to be analyzed. There has been a rise of 16 per cent in the petitions based on cruelty, for example, but it is more likely that the definition of cruelty has been broadened than that there is any increase in sadism. More than 40 per cent of all divorces are granted on grounds of desertion and insanity, the latter constituting only a small proportion. In these cases the marriage must have lasted at least three years and divorce is therefore legal recognition of an established situation.

It is still the case that only the injured party can petition for divorce. Thus, there are many couples living apart but legally tied because the injured party refuses to take any action. A Private Member's Bill to remedy this state of affairs was given a second reading in the House of Commons in 1950, but withdrawn on the promise that a Royal Commission would be set up. The Royal Commission, however, failed to agree to the proposal that if the parties had been separated for seven years there was sufficient ground to dissolve the marriage.

Two new grounds were recommended: first, if a wife accepted artificial insemination by a donor without the husband's consent; second, if one party had been detained for at least five years as a mental defective of dangerous or violent propensities.

Although the Report of the Royal Commission was shelved, the fairly even division of opinion on the main issues probably reflects the split mind of the public on these matters. Meanwhile, among the curious anomalies that remain is the law that permits marriage with a deceased wife's sister (or deceased husband's brother), but not with a divorced wife's sister or divorced husband's brother.

The views of the Church of England, as expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

reaffirmed at the Lambeth Conference by 300 bishops, are uncompromisingly in favor of regarding marriage as indissoluble. A few individual clergy, however, have taken an independent line in opposition.

Divorce in Britain today no longer carries the old social stigma, but it is still a barrier in court circles. The abdication of Edward VIII and the more recent episode of Princess Margaret and Group Captain Townsend show that it is not tolerated in the Royal Family. Divorced persons cannot enter the Queen's Lawn at Ascot, but in politics they need no longer fear ruin. The example of Sir Anthony Eden shows that to obtain a divorce and remarry is no bar even for a Prime Minister.

Family Planning

Birth control was an unmentionable subject in Victorian times. Malthus had provoked bitter controversy by his prediction that population must tend to outstrip the food supply, but the only remedy he proposed was late marriage and abstinence. Those who advocated other measures were called neo-Malthusians.

For selling an old American pamphlet called *Fruits of Philosophy* by Dr. Knowlton, a Bristol publisher was sent to prison in 1876. It was reissued by Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant and they, too, were convicted at the Old Bailey and sentenced to imprisonment. The judgment was reversed on appeal and from that time birth-control propaganda was tolerated.

After World War I matters were carried further by Dr. Marie Stopes, who not only wrote popular books on birth control, but opened a clinic in London. Her campaign met with strong opposition from Roman Catholics, but it was obvious that it could not be halted.

A further step was taken with the formation of the Family Planning Association in 1930. By stressing the positive as well as the negative side of birth control, the Association gained the support of many people who had hitherto remained aloof. The Association provided services to help infertile couples as well as those who wished to restrict the size of their families. Clinics have been started all over the country.

Books giving advice on birth control are on open sale and contraceptives can be bought without the slightest difficulty. One result has been a great change in the family life of women as compared with their situation in the last century.

In the 1890's the average wife spent fifteen years in pregnancy or nursing. Whereas the average working-class family had seven or more children, today only 2 per cent attain such a size. In the first thirty years of the present century the average number of children of working-class families has dropped from over six to two and one-half.

Other factors have entered into the general improvement in health, both of mothers and children, but smaller families have undoubtedly made an important contribution. A woman aged 20 in 1900 had an expectation of life of 46 years; today, she can expect to live 55 years and only 7 per cent of the time will be spent on maternal duties (Richard Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State*, 1958).

Indeed, women who reach the age of 60 now live four years longer than men, on the average —i.e., until the age of 76. The revolutionary consequences are seen in the labor market. More and more wives and husbands have jobs and can therefore afford better living conditions than formerly. Although fewer babies are born, more survive, and the population seems in no danger of declining.

The attitude of the Protestant churches has undergone a steady change toward the use of contraceptives. Early in the century two Lambeth Conferences condemned birth control. In 1930 there was a cautious modification of this attitude, but in 1958 the Lambeth Conference declared roundly that there was nothing Christian in allowing children to die as a result of pestilence and malnutrition. Married couples should not be selfish, but should make the welfare of children for which they are responsible the primary consideration.

By dropping the older view that the sole object of sexual intercourse must be procreation, the Church of England expressed the view of the majority of the public. The Non-Conformist churches are in agreement with Anglicans on this subject.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Abortion

Where Anglicans and Roman Catholics take a common stand is in their opposition to legalizing abortion. It has been estimated that there are about 200,000 abortions each year and that the majority are performed by unqualified persons at great risk to the mother's life. There has been a strong agitation to end this dangerous situation. In 1953 an attempt was made to introduce a Parliamentary bill rectifying an obsolete law, but the Government refused to support it.

As things are at present a doctor acts entirely on his own responsibility. If he can prove that the life or health of the woman would be seriously jeopardized by allowing pregnancy to continue, he may terminate it. This concession was won by two judgments before the war. Dr. Aleck Bourne, an eminent gynecologist, deliberately performed an abortion on the victim of an atrocious rape and informed the police. He was tried at the Old Bailey, but the jury refused to convict.

This case and the decision in Rex *v.* Bergman and Ferguson (1939) established the right to make serious danger to life or health a justifiable reason for therapeutic abortion. But as there has been no statutory change in the law every individual case has to be treated on its merits. Many doctors feel that it is unfair to place the onus upon them of convincing a jury of laymen that there would have been damage to physical or mental health if they had not intervened. There is a not unnatural reluctance on the part of the medical profession to incur the risk of a criminal prosecution.

Prostitution

The sight of streetwalkers in certain areas of London aroused periodical protests in Parliament and the press until 1959, when it was decided to implement the recommendations of a Departmental Committee and make street solicitation an offense punishable by imprisonment. There is no evidence, however, that prostitution in England has increased since Victorian times. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the professional prostitute has lost ground to the amateur or "good-time girl."

In 1839 the police estimated that there were about 7,000 prostitutes in London, rising to a peak figure of between 8,000 and 10,000 in the next decade. As the adult male population of London was then well under a million this works out to about one prostitute for every hundred males. Allowance must be made for males who were old or ill in assessing the proportion of customers.

It is unlikely that anything like this ratio of prostitutes to able-bodied males exists in London today. Admittedly the record of annual convictions shows a rise from 995 in 1930 to 11,878 in 1955, but this is a somewhat misleading figure since the same women may be convicted many times in a year. In 1953, for example, 6,829 arrests were made in the West End Central Division, but only 808 individual prostitutes were involved. Some of these were arrested twenty times or more.

A more interesting clue is provided by estimates of the male clients. The average number of customers a London prostitute receives in a week is thought to be between twenty and twenty-five, although we cannot know how many of these are "regulars." In relation to the size of the population, the extent of commercial vice is not large. What has increased is the number of casual pickups and the practice known as "kerb-crawling."

Prostitution itself is not a crime. The term "common prostitute" has not been given a statutory definition, but is taken to mean "a woman who offers her body for acts of lewdness for payment." In practice any woman convicted of importuning came automatically under this category. The immediate effect of the Street Offences Act of 1959 was to clear the streets and drive prostitution underground. Strip-tease nightclubs and the call-girl system promptly came into operation.

For a man to live on a prostitute's earnings is a serious offense punishable by imprisonment. The same is true of keeping a brothel or allowing premises to be used for immoral purposes. On the other hand, the law can be evaded by letting flats or rooms to individual prostitutes. Provided they ply their trade singly the landlord is not responsible.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Sensational stories of white-slave traffickers and organized gangs forcing unwilling girls into prostitution may be discounted. Most prostitutes have deliberately chosen their way of life. In the top grade they can earn big money, although they have to pay excessively high rents to unscrupulous landlords. In the lower grade they operate in public parks, taxis, and cheap hotels.

The Wolfenden Report, published in 1957, recommended progressively heavier penalties for solicitation. For the first offense the maximum fine should be £10 instead of £2; for the second offense £25; and for the third or subsequent offenses three months' imprisonment. At the same time it was proposed to close loopholes in the law affecting landlords. These changes succeeded in their objective, which was to drive the prostitutes off the streets rather than to eradicate the evil. It was frankly admitted that surreptitious prostitution would continue to flourish and that the public concern was mainly over the visible and obvious presence of the streetwalker.

One criticism of the changes was that they would leave the field wide open to the amateur. Certainly no study of sex life in Britain would be complete without reference to a type of girl who does not indulge in formal solicitation, but who hangs around army camps and is to be met in dance halls and public houses. She may or may not require cash payment for her favors, and she is not necessarily indiscriminate. But her promiscuity makes her a formidable competitor to the professional prostitute.

There is no possibility of computing the number of amateurs and the only records in which they appear relate to venereal disease. These prove conclusively that although the discovery of antibiotics has reduced the extent of disease, the amateur is more likely to be a carrier of infection than the professional.

Thus, the figures for known cases of female gonorrhea contracted in the United Kingdom in 1956 were as shown in Table 1.

Homosexuality

According to English law, male homosexuality is a crime, but female homosexuality is not. There are two main classes of offense, apart from assault: sodomy and gross indecency. Sodomy is a felony, which means that anyone who knows it has been committed must inform the police. If the offense has been committed with a minor the maximum penalty is imprisonment for life; otherwise imprisonment for ten years. Gross indecency became a criminal offense in 1885 and covers private acts between consenting adults.

The most contentious feaure of the Wolfenden Report was the proposal to bring English law into line with the law of those countries where acts performed in private between freely consenting adults are no longer punishable. Representative committees of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches supported the proposal. Public opinion polls suggested that the nation was almost evenly divided, a slight majority opposing the recommendation. In these circumstances, despite a strong agitation for reform, the Government deferred any action.

There are, of course, subsidiary offenses concerning procuration, importuning, and the keeping of homosexual brothels. The distinction between sodomy and gross indecency is preserved even in cases of blackmail. There are heavier penalties for extorting money by threat of exposure where sodomy is involved.

Judged by the number of prosecutions, there would appear superficially to have been a great increase in homosexuality during the present century, but all the figures really prove is the greater zeal of the police in bringing cases to court. The annual average of arrests between

TABLE 1.

	PORTS	INLAND CITIES	LONDON	QUIET AREAS	TOTAL
Total number of cases	446	199	466	42	1,153
Cases in which information is available	408	124	452	39	1,023
Cases due to prostitutes	89	8	114	4	215
Cases not due to prostitutes	319	116	338	35	808
Percentage of cases due to prostitutes	*21.8*	*6.5*	*25.2*	*10.3*	*21.0*

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

1900 and 1909 was 13 per million males; between 1920 and 1924 it rose to 32; and in the period 1950–1952 the figure reached 107. Statistics published by the Home Office for 1952–1953 show an eightfold increase over the decade 1930–1940 for acts of indecency.

The scale of prosecutions for many types of sex offenses depends to some extent on the personal predilections of the Home Secretary. If he decides to "clean up" the clubs or crusade against pornographic books or proceed more energetically against homosexuals, the police act accordingly. This explains the apparent lull, followed by a spate of prosecutions, in all these fields.

In any event, only a small proportion of homosexuals are detected. The majority even of these are not guilty of offenses against minors, as is popularly believed. Another fallacy is the belief that most of them are sodomists.

Naturally, little is known of the great bulk of homosexuals whose activities take place behind closed doors. We can only guess at the number of exclusive homosexuals. They do not usually betray themselves, as is mistakenly supposed, by peculiarities of speech and dress.

Kinsey estimated that in the United States about 4 per cent of the white males are exclusively homosexual. Over a third of the 4,000 American men interviewed admitted some adult homosexual experience. There seems no reason to expect the percentage in Britain to be less, especially as the segregation of sexes in schools and the older universities may even strengthen homosexual tendencies. On this basis it is probable that there are at least a million exclusive homosexuals in Britain.

A more understanding attitude toward the problem is gaining ground, thanks largely to the influence of leading churchmen and the spread of psychological knowledge. Although the facilities for psychiatric treatment are still meager, the results give ground for a more hopeful outlook than was possible not many years ago.

For example, nearly half the cases selected for therapeutic treatment in prisons in 1954 benefited, although they were not completely cured. Satisfactory results have also been obtained from treatment of outpatients referred by the courts to clinics.

Psychotherapy, including group therapy, is increasingly preferred to physical methods. In prisons the use of estrogens is forbidden in England and Wales, although not in Scotland. Castration, even with the consent of the offender, is totally forbidden and few people advocate it.

The Law on Obscenity

The degree of freedom allowed to periodicals and books dealing with sex has fluctuated since Elizabethan times. In this field also the relevant fact is not the letter of the law, but the manner in which it is applied. The amount of frankness tolerated is a barometer registering the climate of opinion.

Some of Shakespeare's plays contain such outspoken passages that an unexpurgated edition is still a rarity. The same is true of translations of the classics—e.g., Aristophanes and Petronius—the franker passages of which are usually left in the original language.

The eighteenth century was remarkably uninhibited in this respect and a blind eye was turned on many books that were unquestionably pornographic. But in 1824 it became an offense to expose obscene books and prints in public. The Obscene Publications Act of 1857 remained law for over a century. It gave the police power to seize and destroy stocks of such publications after a complaint had been laid at a magistrate's court. The author, publisher, and bookseller were liable to a criminal charge.

There is no formal censorship of books in Britain, although plays have to be passed by the Lord Chamberlain. Those responsible for the publication of books and periodicals issue them at their own risk and any private citizen has the right to lay information on which the authorities may act. Not only is this the same situation as that regarding libel, but the wording of the charge is similar. An obscene publication is called, oddly enough, an obscene *libel*.

The definition of an obscene publication given by Lord Chief Justice Campbell was a work "written with the single purpose of corrupting the morals of youth and of a nature calculated to shock the feeling of decency in any well-regulated mind." However, the qualifications were removed eleven years later by

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the ruling of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn. It was only necessary to convince a jury that any mind, well-regulated or not, could be "corrupted" by reading such a book. This could be interpreted in such a way as to ban many literary classics and even scientific works. For books recently banned see *Censorship of Sexual Literature*.

The demand for a change in the law was brought to a head in 1954 when several prominent publishing houses were prosecuted. One of the proposals was that expert evidence on the literary or scientific merits of the work complained of should be admitted. There was no such provision under the 1857 Act. Another sought to limit the power of the Customs authorities and Post Office who had hitherto been allowed to destroy books without a court order. The Obscene Publications Act of 1959 explicitly stated one of its objects to be "to provide for the protection of literature." Accordingly, it was made a good defense to call experts to pronounce upon the cultural merits of the disputed book. There is undeniably a much greater freedom of expression than was tolerated thirty or forty years ago. Novelists write frankly about sex, and even homosexuality and prostitution are acceptable themes. Isolated actions may be taken but a book that is seized in Blackpool may be sold freely in Brighton. The national sales are only stopped when a full-scale prosecution is initiated on grounds of obscene libel, and this is a rarity.

Changing Morals

The broad picture of sex life in modern Britain contrasts with that of preceding centuries. An indication of the changes of attitude that have taken place is given in *The Chesser Report*, which is based on questionnaires completed by 6,000 married and single women approached by their general practitioners. Altogether, 1,500 doctors cooperated in this social survey.

A steady increase in premarital sexual relationships is shown during the present century. Women born before 1904 came to sexual maturity during or right after World War I. For both married and single women the proportion in this group who had intercourse before marriage was one-fifth. This proportion rose to one-third in the group born before 1914. The trend continued upward among married women born in the following two decades.

The incidence of petting has also risen among both married and single women during the past fifty years and it is significantly higher among younger women. No doubt in many cases the liberties permitted were restricted to the future husband, but clearly twentieth-century women no longer accept the passive role assigned to them by Victorian standards.

The great majority of those who declared that they were happily married stated that they found intercourse enjoyable. Whereas this is not surprising today, such a fact would not have been admitted a hundred years ago.

The influence of social class upon sexual attitude cannot be ignored in such an analysis. Thus, women in the higher social groups appear to derive more satisfaction from intercourse and to indulge in premarital relationships at a later age than those of the working class. All classes make considerable use of birth control, but measures are more often taken by the woman only at the higher social level.

The real revolution in the attitude toward sex has been among the middle classes—among whom, 150 years ago, the prudery that infected English manners began. In the very lowest stratum, as among the very rich, morality has always tended to be lax. In modern Britain, however, extreme poverty has almost disappeared, and there is no longer a sharp income distinction between the manual and the white-collar worker. Inevitably, they tend to adopt the same standards.

Those who lament that morals are declining usually mean that Britain has departed from the standards of the nineteenth century. It is fair to point out that Victorian family life involved frequent pregnancies and a high death rate, great severity in bringing up children, and unhealthy repression. The status of women was inferior and their chastity was upheld by tolerating prostitution on a wide scale. The marriage bonds were often fetters from which there could be no escape.

Life in Britain nowadays is freer and franker. The sexes mingle with a lack of restriction that would have been inconceivable to their grand-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

parents. They marry early and they plan their families. Sex instruction is widespread and there are various organizations—birth-control clinics and marriage-guidance councils—to which all who need advice can turn. Such is the progress that has been made.

References

Abortion: Report of the Interdepartmental Committee. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939.

Artificial Human Insemination: Report of a Conference Held in London under the Auspices of the Public Morality Council. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947.

Bibby, Cyril, *Sex Education.* London, 1948.

Bloch, Iwan, *Sexual Life in England, Past and Present.* London, 1938.

Board of Education, *Sex Education in Schools and Youth Organizations.* Educational Pamphlet No. 119. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943.

Chesser, Eustace, in collaboration with Joan Maizels, Leonard Jones, and Brian Emmet, *The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman.* London, 1956.

Cole, Margaret, *Marriage: Past and Present.* London, 1939.

Comfort, Alex, *Sexual Behavior in Society.* London, 1950.

Craig, Alec, *The Banned Books of England.* London, 1937.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* London, 1948, New York: 1936.

Evidence for the Department Committee of Inquiry, Association for Moral and Social Hygiene. London, 1955.

Gorer, Geoffrey, *Exploring English Character.* London, 1955.

Laird, Sydney M., *Venereal Disease in Britain.* London, 1943.

London County Council, *Some Notes on Sex Education.* London, 1949.

Mace, David R., *Marriage Counseling.* London, 1948.

Pollard, Robert S. W., *The Problem of Divorce.* London, 1958.

Population: Report of the Royal Commission. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949.

Report of the Archbishop's Commission on AID. London, 1949.

Report of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (Wolfenden Report). London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957.

Report of the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956.

Rolph, C. H., *Women of the Streets.* London, 1955.

Scott, George R., *A History of Prostitution from Antiquity to the Present Day.* London, 1952.

Slater, E., and Woodside, M., *Patterns of Marriage.* London, 1951.

Sterilization: Report of the Departmental Committee. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934.

Taylor, G. R., *The Angel Makers.* London, 1958.

West, D. J., *Homosexuality.* London, 1953.

Westermarck, Edward, *A Short History of Marriage.* London, 1926.

Williams, Glanville, *The Sanctity of Life and the Criminal Law.* London, 1958.

EUSTACE CHESSER

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Guilt and Conflict in Relation to Sex

Outline of the Problem and Definition of Terms

IT IS important to observe that "sex guilt and conflict" is here used in reference to arbitrary, unrealistic, irrational interpretations of sex, not to the kinds of conflict about sex roles and behavior that might *reasonably* arise as a result of contacts between peoples of diverse cultures or persons from different segments of the same culture. Obviously, it is often difficult to be sure precisely what is rational and what irrational in culturally conditioned patterns of sex behavior, but the distinction is nevertheless one that should be attempted, since rational concepts (which accord with our best understanding of natural law) offer some prospect of universal understanding and acceptance, while irrational ones (at variance with natural law) lead to confusion and can never attain universal understanding and general acceptance.

A considerable number of scientific observations, notably those of Beach (1947, 1949, and 1950) and Yerkes (1939), on the sex behavior of animals, have indicated that for subhuman species the sex drive tends to assert itself in a manner that is relatively sure and predictable. That is to say, the sex urge is expressed in the behavior of the subhuman organism in a constant and foreseeable way, thus giving it the character of a true instinct.

Among humans, however, manifestations of the sex drive follow no such automatic behavior formula. It does not appear likely that the sex urge of man is weaker or less uniformly present than in his biological relatives. Rather, it would seem that man's more complex central nervous system, with its functional creation of cultural organization and ritualization, induces in him much distortion and conflict in his perception and evaluation of his sex feelings. Classical examples are seen in the Hebraic doctrine of sex as original sin and in the Christian corollary that the crucifixion of Christ was a necessary and divinely ordered atonement for man's original sin (sex).

In the modern cultures of Western Europe and America it has been traditional to impress upon children a frightened awareness of all sex feelings and manifestations. Our children have been (and generally still are) indoctrinated with the cultural illusion that the self-respecting and worthy child either possesses no sex feelings or recognizes them as basically evil, deserving only to be repressed with an intense sense of shame. Equally taboo is an interest in the excremental functions and any display of resentment against parental authority. Likewise, it is our custom to impress upon children that any form of self-love or pleasure-seeking through the satisfaction of inner needs is a selfish act; that the only truly sound motivation lies in serving others, accepting their motives as one's own, denying the self. Concerted effort to train children according to these irrational concepts form so flagrant a denial of the basic nature of children that it cannot fail to induce in them painful feelings of guilt and a great loss in sense of self-worth, whatever may appear superficially in their behavior.

The guilty child is a fearful one. He is filled

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

with feelings of hatred against forces with which he cannot cope. His capacity for love of a real, confident, spontaneous sort is hampered or lost. As he grows up he is therefore impelled to react to life through rigid use of the fearful, defensive attitudes and devices by which he learned to conceal his guilt-linked feelings of early childhood. His faith is not in his primitive appetites and drives but rather in the avoidance of them or in his ability to express them in a devious or undisguised manner. So, in his social functioning he is in effect a frightened hypocrite, mistrustful of himself and of his fellows and frantically devoted to maintaining an illusion of social acceptability by practicing the unloving rituals of defense that were forced upon him during his formative years.

In very broad terms, this is the picture of our common neurosis. From it emerges a great volume and variety of psychosexual disturbances. Among these are sexual impotence, frigidity, sexual deviations, pornography, sadomasochism, unreal ideas of romanticism and glamour, and the generally unhappy state of most contemporary marriages. In still broader terms of total personality adjustment, the irrational guilt factor is the principal contributor to neurosis, psychosis, alcoholism, psychosomatic illness, delinquency, and criminal behavior.

When contemplating any definition of guilt it is important to discriminate between guilt that is conscious and guilt that is unconscious but active in stimulating compulsive defenses against its conscious acknowledgment. Conscious guilt, such as over masturbation, may be very disturbing. But the most damaging guilt is often altogether unconscious, as in the more severe cases of sexual impotence or frigidity or as manifested through phobias or sexual deviations. Whatever the type and nature of sex guilt, it serves to make its victim feel isolated from his fellows and mistrustful of them. Warm, loving enjoyment of sex is possible only when men and women approach each other with a high degree of confidence in themselves and in each other. Feelings of guilt make the affectionate and satisfying enjoyment of sex impossible or impose a damaging handicap.

One of the by-products of sexual guilt is the inhibition of realistic sex experience and the substitution of unreal, unworkable phantasies about the nature of romance and sex. All human beings who attain emotional maturity must come to recognize the folly of excessive idealization of a love-object and must accept the sometimes painful phenomenon of ambivalence in the sexual relationship. That is, they come to realize that the most loving and sexually compatible men and women at times have hostile feelings toward each other. Through experience they acquire an ability to see episodes of hostility in realistic perspective and develop social skill in handling them. To view marriage adjustment in an aura of sentimental idealization that denies the universal problem of emotional ambivalence is to defeat empathic communication about areas of difference or disagreement in marriage. Empathic communication depends upon a respectful awareness (not necessarily with sympathy) of another person's actual feelings and attitudes. Such communication is indispensable to an ongoing and successful marriage and it can be attained neither when severe feelings of guilty defensiveness are present nor when the shattering of silly romantic ideals has created an acute state of panic and anger.

In the present-day stage of our cultural evolution we generally fail to realize how essential to emotional maturity it is to face in an open and courageous manner all ambivalent or conflicting emotional situations of life: dependent versus independent impulses; enjoyment of primitive appetites versus social restraint; good versus evil; and love against hate. These are areas of emotional experience in which our mystical and authoritarian heritage often serves us poorly. The philosophy of authoritarian righteousness insists upon many irrational solutions that inevitably create confusion, hate, and guilt. A humanistic and democratic approach, on the contrary, makes for realistic and successful adjustment of ambivalent emotions, greatly reduces feelings of guilt, and facilitates mutual trust and affection.

Clinical Manifestations of Sex Guilt and Conflict

Serious degrees of unconscious guilt about sex emotions produce a large array of disturbances in sexual behavior. Chief among these are a compulsive interest in the pornographic; sadomasochism (linkage of sex assertiveness

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

with cruel aggression and the degradation of a sex victim); the sex deviations, such as compulsive homosexuality, fetishism, partialism, transvestism, voyeurism, and exhibitionism; many cases of frigidity and impotence; and a wide range of neurotic and psychotic compulsive personality disturbances that may include any of the above-mentioned kinds of sexual behavior.

It is of critical importance to bear in mind that the specific sexual disorders listed above never exist as isolated personality characteristics but are invariably associated with more or less ramified instability in the general personality structure. That is, they are prominent (but not exclusive) evidences of a neurosis or psychosis in which many other functions of personality are impaired. Awareness of this is of the utmost significance in formulating any conceptions related to prognosis, therapy, or prevention.

No adequate appreciation of disturbances in sex behavior stemming from unconscious guilt is possible without a vivid awareness that this kind of sex behavior is rigidly compulsive in nature, altogether lacking the comfortable adaptability of guiltless sex expression. This quality of compulsive rigidity is clearly apparent in the frankly puritanical repudiation of sex. It is not so superficially obvious in sex deviations or in pornographic ritualism but will nevertheless be discovered upon close scrutiny.

Therapy of Disorders Arising from Sex Guilt and Conflict

Against compulsively rigid types of sexual behavior, springing as they do from unconscious feelings of guilt, superficial methods of re-education and persuasion are disappointingly ineffective. Indeed, persistent use of such therapy is likely to serve no purpose but to stimulate a sense of failure and to produce further loss of self-esteem. This is not to say that, in case of doubt about whether a certain sex behavior is truly compulsive, the therapist should not first test the possibilities of re-education and common sense. But when such an approach is ineffective it should be abandoned with reasonable promptness and deeper-level therapy, aimed at reaching the unconscious, should be initiated. This is a task for the psychiatrically trained therapist and should not be undertaken by others. Psychiatric training and experience are essential to a sharp grasp of the dynamics of unconsciously motivated behavior and to the recognition of certain serious risks associated with therapy, such as the hazard of precipitating a psychosis or suicide.

Since the early days of Freudian psychiatry it has been recognized that the compulsive behavior produced by feelings of unconscious guilt constitutes a defense against consciously acknowledging repressed feelings. Compulsive behavior nearly always has its roots in early childhood, when it was adopted as an expedient to reduce unbearable anxiety. In its inception it was, however unrealistic, the best defense that could be contrived to meet a terrifying threat.

The particular form of a defense reaction against sex is often seemingly unrelated to sex, as when fear of masturbation finds expression as a compulsion to wash the hands with excessive frequency, upon a rationalized basis of fear of dirt and infection. In other instances the sexual theme is retained but is converted into a form that seems less dangerous, as when genital interest is converted into erotic devotion to a fetishistic object. In any event, the purpose of morbid sex ritualism is to reduce, or seem to reduce, the fears aroused in a child by external (cultural, moral) threats to the open expression of his sexual feelings.

Ideally, it would seem that a child should receive adult approval of his basic sexual emotions and interests and should enjoy the benefit of affectionate adult guidance in their social expression. Instead, he is all too likely, in our culture, to acquire a powerfully negative cathexis (hostile feeling) about his sex urge so that he must appear to deny it altogether or to express it only in some furtive or disguised way. In so doing he is adopting a neurosis, which is in effect the complete or partial denial of an innate behavior drive.

In a provocative recent paper the Russells (1957) have pointed out that a true biological instinct produces a characteristically rigid, set pattern of behavior. They believe this sheds considerable light upon the rigidity of neurotic compulsive behavior, because such behavior is

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the product of an innate drive turned against itself by ego forces and under the constant lash of unresolved childhood terror. Certain it is that neurotic mechanisms are reactions initiated to reduce severe, unbearable childhood anxiety and that, once firmly established, they are not easily given up or readily modifiable. It is a tragic fact that although they served a useful purpose in reducing childhood anxiety they operate in adult life to defeat full, comfortable sex expression and to hamper warmth and trust in all social relationships.

In a broad sense, deep-level psychotherapy aims at bringing about abreaction (living over again) of traumatic, repressed childhood experiences, attitudes, and imaginings. Since these often involve painful feelings of guilt it is not easy to bring them into consciousness. Also, it does not follow automatically that insight into repressed sources of guilt at once dramatically dissipates neurotic defense reactions. But it is an indispensable step in that direction. Once the iron grip of compulsive behavior is relaxed there still remains the inescapable task of developing ego strength through the process of reality testing (the adaptation of guilt-freed feelings to the world of reality). Accomplishment of this takes considerable time, just as the healthy emotional growth of childhood demands time and actual experience with life. One might accurately say that after the arresting grip of neurotic compulsion is broken the patient still faces the assignment of resuming the emotional development that was interrupted in his childhood and of acquiring the ego strength that is possible only through appropriate realistic experience with life itself. A vital factor in the achievement of all this is the transference phenomenon, which is essentially the development by the patient of feelings of trust and affection toward the therapist, replacing the feelings of mistrust or extreme ambivalence that were felt toward persons important to him in childhood. Through the medium of positive transference the therapist should, like an ideal parent, supply much-needed reorientation, guidance, and support, but he cannot provide life experiences or magically grant the ego strength that can be attained only through personally directed living. However, the therapist's role, both in freeing his patient from compulsive, guilt-dictated motives and in providing him with a new set of values, is altogether necessary in making it possible for the patient to face life with the realism and sound self-awareness so essential to constructive social adaptation.

It needs to be stressed that most of man's cultures, including our own, operate in such a way as to fill children with unnecessary feelings of guilt and thus to undermine their self-image and ego strength. They are encouraged to seek relief by dependence upon the rigid demands of the culture for social conformity. So in the mass picture, individual neurosis finds expression through such means as racial intolerance, religious bigotry, chauvinistic nationalism, and puritanical sex mores.

Up to the present day man's culture does not reflect a very good appreciation of the real strengths and fine qualities of human nature; indeed, it seems frequently devoted to denying them. Some awareness of this appears to have been dawning slowly upon mankind during the past century. With our growing insights to aid us, new and improved cultural developments seem probable, perhaps coming at an astonishingly rapid rate, once our rigid attachment to guilt-saturated myths can be generally abandoned and replaced by a realistic appraisal of human nature.

Before leaving the subject of the application of psychotherapy to sex guilt manifestations it seems appropriate to give some estimate of how successful, by present standards, such therapy is likely to be. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in no event is therapy likely to be successful unless the patient is deeply serious in recognizing that he has an emotional illness and is determined to cooperate in treatment. Half-hearted dabbling with therapy or entry into it under coercion is almost certain to fail. On this account there is little therapeutic success when sex deviates or alcoholics enter therapy by court order or under heavy family pressure. Compulsive homosexuality and sexual exhibitionism have, in general, responded poorly to psychotherapy but this is not always so; some striking successes have been recorded.

Neuroses in which impotence or frigidity are prominent symptoms generally respond well to deep-level therapy but there may be exceptions

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

where the underlying pathology is particularly deep-rooted and complicated.

It is important to underline the observation that the therapeutic outlook regarding any special disturbance in sex behavior must take into account the entire pattern of the neurosis, the whole personality of the patient. Thus, a symptom such as frigidity may be part of a mild neurosis in one patient and part of a very severe one in another. The therapeutic prognosis will vary accordingly.

Avoidance of Sex Guilt and Conflict

Whatever we may still have to learn about human personality structure and development (and assuredly there is much both to learn and to correct), a few things are already fairly clear and available to guide parents and educators.

At the top of this list should be placed our recent awareness that treatment of children that causes them to feel guilty serves to destroy affection and trust; paralyzes honest interpersonal communication; creates a miserable self-image; leads to neurotic defensiveness; and in general impairs or destroys the ability to achieve affectionate and cooperative relationships with others. To state the matter in positive terms, it is becoming apparent that sound, constructive social motivation and behavior is fully attainable only by human beings whose ego structure contains a warm, comfortable self-image. This is not possible so long as we force children to believe that certain of their biological characteristics are thoroughly "bad" and unacceptable. I refer to such things as the urges of excrementation and sex and the universal tendency of children to resent frustration and angry domination. These are the three "master sins" of our culture, things of which the "good" child must be deeply ashamed in order to deserve the "respect and affection" of adults. This price for "respect and affection" is too high; indeed, it is irrational and impossible. A child cannot know the real meaning of love upon such terms. In bald truth he is simply being terrified into sharing the common neurosis of his culture, and so great are his fears that he can have no adequate conception of himself as a loving and lovable person.

Dimly we are beginning to realize that the emotionally mature, stable, loving personality is not richly attainable by our children unless we, as adults, can contrive a culture in which their complete biological natures can be understood and accepted by us with respect and affection. This is not to suggest that children do not need adult guidance. Rather, it is to emphasize that they should have a kind of adult leadership founded upon a respectful and empathic awareness of all their emotional needs, instead of the traditional adult attitude of scorn and hatred toward their innate qualities.

As we pass the middle of this century we are able to witness some remarkable evidences of favorable changes in adult attitudes toward children, such as demand feeding of infants; increased gentleness and patience in bowel and bladder training; acceptance of thumb-sucking; improved understanding and management of bed-wetting and stammering; more accepting attitudes about masturbation; the beginnings of realistic sex education at home and in schools; allowance of greater and more realistic sex freedom for children and young people; educational preparation for marriage and family life; and more widespread and tolerant understanding of the phenomena of sex deviation and other forms of sex-linked neurotic behavior.

It is comforting to observe that the new role of parents and educators in seeking to minimize feelings of guilt in children is likely to prove a far happier task than that of their ancestors, who were painfully forced by their culture and their own neurotic compulsions to treat children meanly and to foment hostility in them. The new role of parents and educators is likely to be attended by much more spontaneous affection and mutual trust on both sides than was possible under the traditional procedure. The net gain in human happiness and in wiser management of our society seems to have favorable possibilities beyond present imagination and would seem to be our principal hope in the human struggle to win the emotional maturity that is our sorest need and can well become the happiest of all our achievements.

References

Baruch, Dorothy, *How to Live with Your Teen-ager.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953.

Baruch, Dorothy, *New Ways in Discipline.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Beach, F. A., "A Cross-species Survey of Mammalian Sexual Behavior." In Pitti Hoch and J. Zubin (eds.), *Psychosexual Development in Health and Disease.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1949.

Beach, F. A., "A Review of Physiological and Psychological Studies of Sexual Behavior in Mammals." *Physiol. Rev. 27;* 240-307, 1947.

Beach, F. A., *Sexual Behavior in Animals and Men.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1950.

Bergler, Edmund, *The Basic Neurosis.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1949.

Briffault, R., *The Mothers.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

Briffault, R., *Sin and Sex.* New York: Macaulay, 1931.

Comfort, Alex, *Sexual Behavior in Society.* New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1950.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1954.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

Fromm, Erich, *Man for Himself.* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1947.

Guyon, René, *The Ethics of Sexual Acts.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1934.

Huxley, Julian, "Knowledge, Morality and Destiny." *Psychiatry 14;* 129-151, 1951.

Kardiner, Abram, *Sex and Morality.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

LaBarre, Weston, *The Human Animal.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

Malinowski, B., *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia.* New York: Halcyon House, 1929.

Mead, Margaret, *From the South Seas.* New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1939.

Reich, Wilhelm, *The Sexual Revolution.* New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1945.

Russell, Claire, and Russell, W. M. S., "An Approach to Human Ethology." *Behavioral Sci. 2;* 169-200, 1957.

Stokes, Walter, *Modern Pattern for Marriage.* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1948.

Wolbarst, A. C., *Generations of Adam.* New York: Stokes, 1932.

Yerkes, R. M., "Sexual Behavior in the Chimpanzee." *Human Biol. 11;* 78-111, 1939.

WALTER R. STOKES

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Hermaphroditism

Definition

FROM classical times until the present century the definition of hermaphroditism was simple: a hermaphrodite was a person who possessed elements of the sexual anatomy of both sexes. Hermaphroditus, in the statues and murals of antiquity, was represented as having normal masculine genitals and female breasts and hips. In the sixteenth century, Ambroise Paré, famed French surgeon, described four varieties of hermaphrodites, each having ambiguous looking, malformed external genitals. By the nineteenth century it was known that people with apparently normal genitals could be hermaphrodites, their ambisexuality concealed. Surgeons found cases of "normal" men with a uterus and Fallopian tubes herniated into the scrotum with the testes; and cases of "normal" women with testis and vas deferens in each groin and a total lack of internal female organs. In 1873 Klebs codified the knowledge of his day in a threefold classification: male and female pseudohermaphrodites with two testes or two ovaries, respectively; and true hermaphrodites with both ovarian and testicular tissue in the gonads—separately or as a pair.

In 1949 a simple anatomical definition of hermaphroditism became anachronistic. Barr and his associates in Ontario demonstrated that cells from a female mammal possessed in the nucleus a small mass of chromatin not present in male cells. By this method of nuclear sexing, a correct diagnosis of sex could be made consistently in normal individuals of many mammalian species, including man, by microscopic examination of skin biopsy material, mucosal scrapings, or blood films. The recognition of the sex-chromatin body has provided a new and very helpful criterion for the correct diagnosis and understanding of sex anomalies, and has initiated a revision of the concept of hermaphroditism.

Sex-Chromatin Body*

The origin of the sex-chromatin body has aroused much speculation and as yet there is little more than circumstantial evidence in favor of the popular opinion that it represents the heterochromatic portions of the two X chromosomes visible in the resting nucleus. Thus, until very recently, it was considered that when the nuclear sex pattern was female (or chromatin-positive) the sex chromosome constitution was XX, and that when the nuclear sex pattern was male (or chromatin-negative) the sex chromosome constitution was XY. And so, when certain apparently normal females who failed to mature owing to congenital lack of gonads were found to have male nuclear sex, the incongruity was explained on the basis of animal experiments as a form of sex reversal in which a genetic male with the XY chromosome constitution had developed embryonically into a morphological female. Similarly, certain sterile hypogonadal men who had fe-

* The following two paragraphs, embodying among other things unpublished findings from his own work, were written by Dr. M. A. Ferguson-Smith of Glasgow, currently at The Johns Hopkins Hospital.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

male nuclear sex were assumed to have an XX chromosome constitution, and thus to be examples of embryonic sex reversal in the opposite direction.

Recent studies on the chromosomal constitution of these individuals show that this concept of sex reversal is untenable. The fundamental defect in these two conditions now appears to be an abnormality of cell division occurring during the formation of sperms or eggs and leading to an alteration in the normal number of 46 chromosomes in the fertilized egg. In the case of the sterile man with female nuclear sex, an extra chromosome can be demonstrated and the sex chromosome constitution is almost certainly XXY. In the woman with congenital absence of gonads and male nuclear sex, the most recent studies suggest that there is a deficiency of one chromosome, and this is believed to be one of the X chromosomes, giving a sex chromosome constitution of XO. Excepting those cases with abnormalities in genotype (which are seldom accompanied by visible clinical features of hermaphroditism), and with the possible exception of certain cases of true hermaphroditism at present under study, the normal sex chromosome constitution, which is the genetic or zygotic sex, may be inferred from the nuclear sex.

Today a hermaphrodite must be defined as a person in whom at least one of five physical variables of sex is contradictory of the remainder. These are: (1) nuclear sex; (2) gonadal sex; (3) hormonal sex and pubertal virilization or feminization; (4) internal accessory reproductive structures; and (5) external genital morphology. To illustrate, it is possible for a baby to be born completely female on all counts except the fifth, the external genitals being incompletely masculinized, although sufficiently so to cause the child to be declared a boy and reared as such.

It is impossible to predict, from the appearance of the external genitals alone, what the internal reproductive organs of a hermaphrodite may be, or what the gonads and sex-chromatin pattern may be. Ambiguous looking external genitals are encountered in some varieties of hermaphroditism in which the external genitalia remain incompletely differentiated as either male or female. Ambiguous external genitalia are always unfinished genitalia. It is embryologically impossible for a hermaphrodite to possess two full sets of external organs, one male and one female.

Syntactical confusion easily arises in the gender terminology of hermaphroditism. In this article, boy and girl, man and woman, he and she, will always refer to the sex in which a person is living or being reared. Male and female will refer, as adjectives, to specific nouns or noun phrases (e.g., male gonads), unless the context makes it clearly and unequivocally otherwise. Standing alone to qualify the noun hermaphroditism, the adjectives male and female refer to gonadal structure. The prefix "pseudo-" in the term pseudohermaphrodite is obsolete in an age of sex-chromatin determinations.

Causes and Varieties of Hermaphroditism

Hermaphroditism is an anomaly of embryonic and fetal sexual differentiation. Postnatal contradictions in virilization or feminization are not defined as hermaphroditism.

The stages of sexual differentiation in the normal course of events show both ovary and testis differentiate from the same gonadal anlage. Likewise, the external genitalia of male and female are homologous and differentiate from the same anlagen. The internal reproductive structures, by contrast, do not differentiate from the same anlagen. In this respect the embryo is initially hermaphroditic, possessing both wolffian ducts of the male and müllerian ducts of the female. Subsequently, one set of ducts proliferates while the other atrophies.

It is known from the experiments of Jost (1953) in France that mammalian sexual differentiation as a female takes precedence over sexual differentiation as a male. Jost succeeded in the highly delicate task of castrating rabbit embryos in utero without destroying their viability. He found that male embryos castrated on the twenty-first uterine day developed anatomically as females, just as did their sisters. Only three days later, castration was no longer effective in suppressing male differentiation. Remarkably enough, unilateral castration of a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

male on the twenty-first day produced feminine differentiation on the castrated side only.

The human counterpart of Jost's rabbits is found in the condition formerly known as ovarian agenesis (Turner's syndrome), now known as gonadal aplasia in girls with a male sex-chromatin pattern. Wilkins (1957) has marshaled evidence to demonstrate that in cases of incomplete gonadal aplasia (testicular hypoplasia) there is some degree of masculinization of an otherwise feminine genital tract, the degree of masculinization being dependent on the amount of rudimentary or hypoplastic gonadal (testicular) tissue present. All gradations of phallic size may be found, from a clitoris-like organ to one of penile proportions with an uncovered gutter instead of a urethral tube (hypospadias).

A word in parenthesis about hypospadias: Any misplacement of the urinary orifice away from the tip of the penis is called hypospadias. It is not necessary to suspect internal signs of hermaphroditism, except perhaps an anomalous sex-chromatin pattern, when hypospadias is very mild and the testes are fully descended. But when the urethral tube and orifice are severely malformed, especially if the testes are poorly descended, a full work-up for other signs of hermaphroditism is absolutely in order.

Not all examples of hermaphroditism in genetic males can be accounted for on a graduated scale of embryonic gonadal deficit. Two other varieties of male hermaphroditism need to be accounted for, their etiology being very imperfectly understood at the present time.

First, there are those male hermaphrodites with male sex-chromatin pattern who have a well-developed uterus and tubes coexistent with testes that, instead of being aplastic or vestigial, are well-differentiated and of good size. Nor do they have extremely feminized external genitals. The penis and scrotum may be normally formed, although some degree of hypospadias is more likely. Usually these patients virilize at puberty.

Second, there are sex-chromatin males with fully formed, although sterile, testes in the groins, male internal organs, and perfectly formed female external organs. Since the testes produce estrogen at puberty these people with the syndrome of feminizing testes are completely simulant females except for their amenorrhea and sterility. The anomaly runs in families, probably through a sex-limited, dominant gene, so that the quota of normal male offspring is not filled. It appears in successive generations, namely among the aunts and nieces of patients. The chromosome constitution is XY.

The varieties of hermaphroditism are in need of short, one-word names. Such names can be composed if two or three key characteristics of each variety are abbreviated and the syllables added together. Thus, the foregoing four varieties of hermaphroditism in genetic males may be named: (1) Gonap (gonadal aplasia); (2) Hypotest (hypoplastic testes); (3) Penutest (penis + uterus + testes); (4) Femtest (feminizing testes). There are four more types of hermaphroditism that remain to be discussed: (5) Testov (testicular + ovarian tissue); (6) Penov (penis + ovaries); (7) Adrenov (adrenogenital syndrome + ovaries); (8) Techrofem (testes + chromatin-female).

The variety of hermaphroditism (*testov*) in which ovarian and testicular tissues are found coexistent is known as true hermaphroditism. Each gonad may be an ovotestis, or there may be a testicle on one side and an ovary on the other. There may also be two ovaries and two testes. Cases have been reported of oogenesis and spermatogenesis in the same person. Contrary to popular myth, the external anatomy does not permit equal versatility in the coital role of both the sexes. The appearance of the external genitals ranges from near-female to normal male. There are many possible permutations and combinations of male and female elements internally. The chromatin pattern may be male or female, irrespective of what other sexual structures prevail. The cause of true hermaphroditism has not been elucidated.

A form of hermaphroditism (*penov*), less rare today than formerly, is found in females with normal reproductive ovaries, the only anomaly being external: a large, penile-looking clitoris and partial or complete labioscrotal fusion. It has long been known that this form of hermaphroditism could be produced by an excess of androgen in the pregnant mother's blood stream. Recently it has been discovered that the modern treatment of threatened abor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tion with a gestogenic hormone may produce the condition. In a few women progestogen, metabolizing into androgen, crosses the placenta and masculinizes the external genitalia of a female fetus.

There has been rapid advance in the last decade, associated particularly with the name of Lawson Wilkins, in understanding the etiology of the most common variety of female hermaphroditism (*adrenov*), the female adrenogenital syndrome. This condition, of fetal onset, is caused by hyperplasia of the adrenal cortex with a concomitant excess of androgen in the adrenocortical hormones, measurable as excess 17-ketosteroids in the urine. The condition is transmitted as a recessive gene. Only when both parents carry the recessive gene does the condition appear in the children, the chances being one in four for each pregnancy. Males with the condition are morphologically normal at birth but their subsequent growth and puberty are precocious. Females with the condition, although morphologically female internally, have external genitals that look ambiguous at birth. In rare instances the external genitals are so completely masculinized that the baby looks like a male with an empty scrotum.

The continuing excess of adrenal androgen produces accelerated growth and precocious, virilizing puberty. Untreated, the patients grow up with all the secondary sexual morphology of a male. Cortisone substitution therapy corrects the hormonal anomaly. Virilism can be completely prevented when treatment is begun in infancy and continued indefinitely.

The most recently identified variety of hermaphroditism (*techrofem*), is like the gonap variety in that the reproductive organs are usually not ambiguous but simply contradictory of the sex-chromatin pattern. Individuals in this category are male on all counts except that they have a female sex-chromatin pattern and are sterile. The testicular tubules are hyalinized in the manner of Klinefelter's syndrome. Body morphology may tend to be eunuchoid. The penis, although in most cases normally formed, may be hypospadiac. In some instances duct tissue of the breasts proliferates to produce a moderate gynecomastia. The latest developments in cytogenic research are revealing that the female-type sex-chromatin mass in the cells of these men represents an anomalous XXY (or even XXXY) chromosome constitution, instead of the normal XX (female) or XY (male).

The Newborn: Criteria of Sex Assignment

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century gonadal sex was regarded as true sex, and the microscope was, almost tyrannously, the final arbiter. With the advent in the past decade of sex-chromatin determinations, a few people have been tempted to identify true sex with chromosomal sex and to decide a hermaphrodite's sex of assignment accordingly. Such a decision would be manifestly absurd in the case of men with techrofem hermaphroditism, for they are men in every respect except the chromatin pattern. It would also be an absurd decision in the case of femtest hermaphroditism, for the women with this syndrome of testicular feminization are women in every respect save their infertility and lack of menstruation, despite their gonadal architecture and XY sex-chromosome status. Likewise, in the case of the gonap variety of hermaphroditism, these girls, also of male sex-chromatin (XO chromosome) status, become women in every respect save their gonadal aplasia and infertility once their hormonal deficit is corrected by substitution therapy.

In actual fact, in cases like the foregoing, no one has been so absurd as to use the sex-chromatin pattern as the criterion of true sex and to assign or reassign the sex of these patients accordingly. These people, it must be remembered, have normal looking external genitals, even though genital morphology and sex-chromatin pattern are mutually contradictory. Consequently, there is no indecision about their sex at birth. The evidence of the external genitals is taken at face value and no one—doctors, parents, or the patients themselves—ever has reason to doubt the validity or appropriateness of the decision.

In the case of those varieties of hermaphroditism in which, unlike the foregoing three varieties, the external genitals look ambiguous, the sex of assignment must be deliberated and decided upon at the time of birth. Subsequent-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ly there may be controversy about sex reassignment. The age of the patient makes a world of difference so far as psychological sex is concerned. The principles of sex assignment are, therefore, quite different for the newborn than for older children. What follows in this section *applies only to the newborn.*

In those varieties of hermaphroditism where the genitals look ambiguous, it is a cardinal rule when assigning the sex of a newborn infant that the genitals should not defy surgical reconstruction in agreement with the sex of assignment. Eventually the external genitals and the haircut must agree—which is not to say that the external genital appearance alone is the ultimate arbiter, but simply that primary importance is given to the adaptability of the genital anatomy to surgical reconstruction, for male or female function.

In some cases it proves necessary and wise to disregard sex chromatin and gonadal sex, and to make the decision about sex of assignment on the basis of genital morphology alone. Such a decision is almost never required in the case of female hermaphroditism, but quite commonly it is required in male hermaphroditism, especially if it is of the hypotest variety. Here one finds sex-chromatin males with hypoplastic and malformed testes, but the penis is hypospadiac and so small and clitoris-like in proportions that it can never be surgically repaired into a functional penis. It would be a psychological disaster to rear such a baby as a boy. Reared as a girl, the patient can in infancy be surgically feminized in external genital appearance. Later, feminizing puberty can be induced hormonally and an artificial vagina can be constructed. In girls with the penutest type of male hermaphroditism, menstruation can be induced hormonally, with cyclic therapy, since the uterus is well developed.

Decisions concerning the sex of assignment in the newborn with true hermaphroditism (testov) are similar to those for male hermaphroditism. Since by definition testicular and ovarian tissue are both present, there is no controversy regarding congruity between gonads and genital morphology, whether the genitals be predominantly male or female. The sex-chromatin pattern, however, may be incongruous and may need to be disregarded in deciding sex of rearing.

In female hermaphroditism it so happens that the uterus is always well differentiated, and the vaginal orifice, even though it may open internally into the urethra, can be brought down surgically into the normal position. Thus, once the diagnosis has been established, there is little problem in deciding the sex of assignment of newborn female hermaphrodites, whether of the adrenov or penov variety. The only exception might be one of those very rare adrenov cases (Fig. 5) in which the clitoris has become a normal looking penis and the labia majora have fused to become an empty scrotum; but such a case would not be recognized as one of hermaphroditism at birth unless there were other reasons to suspect the adrenogenital syndrome.

Babies of the penov variety need no treatment other than surgical repair of the genitals, which can often be completed once and for all in early infancy. They grow up and reproduce as normal females. Babies of the adrenov variety also require corrective surgery—clitoridectomy and vaginoplasty, the latter perhaps needing postponement until teen age. Above all, however, adrenov patients need corrective hormonal therapy with cortisone. Without this therapy they virilize excessively and precociously, and develop none of the female secondary sexual characteristics. Cortisone therapy must be regulated and continued throughout life.

Older than Newborn: Sex Assignment and Gender-Role Imprinting

It has been implied in the preceding section that psychological development as a male or female does not depend automatically, mechanically, or instinctively on the nuclear sex (sex-chromatin pattern), nor on the gonadal structure. Money and his associates have studied over a hundred cases of hermaphroditism in order to find out what becomes of gender orientation, outlook, or role when one or more of the five physical variables of sex is contradictory of assigned sex. Gender role is defined as all those things that a person says or does to

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively. It includes, but is not restricted to, sexuality in the sense of eroticism. It has been found that gender role becomes established, following birth, in accordance with the sex of assignment and rearing. Exceptions are rare. Gender role ordinarily agrees with sex of assignment despite contradictions among the other five variables of sex, namely, nuclear sex, gonadal structure, hormonal function, internal reproductive organs, and external genital morphology.

Establishment of a child's gender role appears to get well under way around the time that he commences to have a command of language, namely between 18 months and 2 years of age. In normal 2-year-olds one observes an intense amount of impersonation of, and identification with, the parent of the same sex. By the time of the fourth birthday, the gender role is firmly established in most children. Henceforth it will be fixed—so irreversible and indelible that mankind for generations has assumed that human sexual outlook as male or female must be inborn. Of course, it is possible for an individual to establish an ambiguous gender role, just as it is possible for him to become bilingual, and in some individuals a defective or erroneous gender role may become imprinted. The majority of human beings, however, become imprinted with a gender role and orientation congruous with their genital equipment and reproductive capacities.

The concept of imprinting is a new one in sexual theory, as it is in psychological theory in general. Imprinting is a kind of learning that requires a highly specific perceptual stimulus, without which it cannot take place and in the presence of which it cannot fail to take place, provided the nervous system is intact and functional. The stimulus can be varied, but only within the boundaries of specifiable perceptual dimensions. Imprinting takes place readily at critical periods of the life history, which differ for species and type of imprint, after which it will not take place at all or only imperfectly. Once an imprint takes place, it is indelible, if not for life then for a particular epoch in the life history. An excellent presentation of imprinting theory and experiment in birds, fish, and mammals can be found in C. H. Schiller (ed.), 1957.

In the management of hermaphroditism, it often happens that a provisional or inadequate diagnosis is made at birth and is later found to need revision. Then arises the thorny question of whether or not to make a reassignment of sex. In such a case, the degree to which the gender role has become fixed and ineradicable is the all-important consideration. Individual maturation rates differ, so that there are no fixed chronological boundaries in the establishment of gender role. Rather, there are time zones. Each case requires individual evaluation of the extent to which gender role has been fixed.

Under the age of about 18 months, an infant's sex may be reassigned with the expectation that he will adapt readily to the change and subsequently will be unable to recall it. At this early age, it is the understanding and attitude of the parents that is of paramount importance. Unless all ambiguities regarding the sex of their child are correctly resolved in their own minds, there will be a grave danger that they will insidiously communicate their own uncertainty and equivocation to their growing child. Relatives and neighbors, especially juveniles, present a problem. Neighborhood gossip can be so detrimental and so undying that it is almost a prophylactic imperative for a family to move to a distant place and begin life anew if their child has already become well known among neighborhood children before the sex reassignment.

After the age of 18 months it is too late to make a reassignment of sex with impunity, and for the most part a change should be avoided. A calculated risk is sometimes justified, however, notably in the case of children whose external genitals totally contradict their assigned sex. Psychiatric supervision and follow-up should never be omitted. Another exception, also very rare, when a reassignment of sex is justified is in the case of an older child whose gender role has been established contrary to the assigned sex, the child himself desiring a change. Overt requests for sex reassignment are more likely to be made by teen-aged than juvenile hermaphrodites. Such requests are usually the cul-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mination of efforts to resolve ambivalence and doubt and are deserving of serious consideration.

Some people have argued in favor of arbitrarily imposing a sex reassignment on older children if, with proper surgical and hormonal treatment, they will be enabled later in life to be fertile and have children, instead of being infertile in the sex of original assignment. This fertility argument actually can be applied only to female hermaphroditism, since congenital infertility is the rule in all other varieties of hermaphroditism. The argument breaks down insofar as being fertile is not the same as being reproductive. Patients who are arbitrarily forced into a reassignment of sex retain the gender role that was already established and henceforth act and feel like homosexuals and do not reproduce. Thus, a hyperadrenocortical female hermaphrodite who has been reared for years as a boy retains the sexual inclinations and desires of a male, irrespective of being forced into surgical feminization and the assumption of life as a female.

Management of Hermaphroditism

I: Diagnosis and Sex Assignment

When a sexual ambiguity is recognized at the time of delivery, it is advisable to tell the parents that they have a baby who is *sexually unfinished* and that various tests will have to be performed before the baby can be declared a boy or a girl. In this way the parents can curtail announcements of the birth and avoid the embarrassment of having to make public a second, contradictory announcement.

It is desirable to arrive at a speedy decision about the sex of assignment and rearing. Even more important than speed is thorough conclusiveness and finality. All debate should be disposed of so the subject need never be opened again. It is in the best interest of the child that henceforth everyone agree about his being a boy, or her being a girl. The sex of assignment will be decided on the basis of anatomical and physiological findings. Psychological findings require consideration only in the older children, not in the newborn.

Whatever the age of the patient, the usual work-up commences with a complete physical examination, particular attention being given to genital morphology. Next follows the simple procedure of obtaining a buccal smear from which a slide is prepared, along with a control from a normal female, for sex-chromatin determination. This process requires a half day, and is more practicable than an actual chromosome count, which is still a new and time-consuming procedure.

If the sex chromatin is female, determination of urinary 17-ketosteroid output per twenty-four hours will be necessary. A twenty-four-hour urine specimen is obtained from untoilet-trained infants by harnessing them in a special urine-collecting crib. Elevated 17-ketosteroid output, accompanied as early as the age of 2 by clinical signs of precocious growth and virilism, differentiates female hyperadrenal hermaphrodites from nonadrenal female hermaphrodites and from either true hermaphrodites with a female chromatin pattern or techrofem (testes + chromatin-female) males.

Nonadrenal female hermaphrodites can often be differentiated from true hermaphrodites by the mother's clinical history of treatment with gestogen while pregnant with the patient. In doubtful cases, exploratory laparotomy and gonadal biopsy will be needed. Gonadal biopsy alone confirms a diagnosis of true hermaphroditism. Exploratory surgery and gonadal biopsy are also necessary to differentiate techrofem from true hermaphroditism. Techrofem will usually not be confused with female hermaphroditism, since in the latter, although not in the former, the uterus and tubes are well developed and can be seen either radiologically or surgically.

When the buccal smear yields a male chromatin pattern, there are no hormonal determinations, such as the 17-ketosteroid test for female hyperadrenal hermaphroditism, that are specific for a differential diagnosis. However, urinary follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) is elevated after the expected age of puberty in gonadal aplasia and techrofem patients.

After the finding of a male sex-chromatin pattern, the remainder of the differential diagnosis will depend on the findings from the physical examination and, when needed, those from

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

radiographic studies, surgical exploration, and gonadal biopsy. The syndromes of gonadal aplasia and testicular feminization can both be diagnosed without surgical exploration.

Three other categories of male-chromatin hermaphroditism remain: hypotest, penutest, and a subcategory of true hermaphroditism. The latter can be differentiated from the former pair only by gonadal biopsy, usually requiring surgical exploration, since by definition both ovarian and testicular tissue are present in true hermaphroditism. This differentiation is so often of academic interest only, and not of pragmatic significance, that it has been common practice not to push to the limits of differential diagnosis. Pragmatically, it is much more important, especially when the patient is being reared as a girl, to establish whether the müllerian organs are present and well developed, which will be the case in penutest and in most cases of true hermaphroditism. Radiographic evidence may be sufficient, but exploratory surgery is generally more conclusive.

No single one of the foregoing differential diagnostic procedures, taken alone, will give the answer as to what the sex of assignment and rearing should be. The combined findings of these procedures, however, will be sufficient to decide the sex of assignment of the newborn and very young infants for whom, because of their age, psychological diagnosis of gender role is not pertinent. The foregoing findings will also be sufficient in the case of those hermaphrodites for whom the issue of sex assignment is never debated, namely, those whose external genital organs look entirely male or entirely female. These patients ordinarily are far past infancy, their gender role manifestly declaring itself, when they first come to medical attention. Since they have normal appearing genitals, their concealed hermaphroditism may pass unsuspected for years.

Psychological diagnosis of gender role and orientation comes into prominence after the period of early infancy in cases where the genitals are ambiguous looking and where there is serious questioning regarding the appropriateness of the sex already assigned. Gender role is appraised from information about activities, interests, and behavior reported by parents; from first-hand observation of social activities and play; from psychological tests; and especially from interviews that combine frank, direct inquiry with oblique, indirect inquiry.

II: Psychological Management

After the issue of assigned sex has been settled once and for all, the program of hermaphroditic management becomes threefold: psychological, surgical, and hormonal.

The psychological program has its beginning in the knowledge and understanding given to the parents, and to the older patients themselves, of the nature of hermaphroditism and what can be done for it. Anxieties of parents, and of patients old enough to be aware of their predicament, can be allayed if they understand something of the embryology of hermaphroditism. The average layman does not know about the derivation of male and female external organs from the same embryonic beginnings. The concept of hermaphroditism as a condition of being sexually unfinished has laid low the specter of a "morphodite" as a half-boy, half-girl freak in the minds of many a hapless parent or patient.

What to tell friends and relatives, including younger siblings, is a problem for parents and older patients. Emotionally neutral medical terms are a great help in this respect. For each case a suitable term or explanatory phrase can be found—hypospadias, for example, or adrenal overactivity—and written down if necessary.

It is wise to be frank with patients, as well as with parents, for they so often overhear or guess what one fondly imagines they are being spared. When the information is properly presented, it is not inevitably harmful for a patient to learn that his sex chromatin is female or her sex chromatin is male, but it is imperative that this information be explained and its significance spelled out with almost schoolish instruction. Similarly, with regard to gonadal biopsy findings: if they are discussed, as so often they must be, their precise significance must be explained. It is utterly different for a woman to be told bluntly that she has a testicle than to be told that, under the microscope, an abnormally formed sex gland with a cell structure resembling a testis has been found. The horror

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of most people on learning of a contradictory sex variable in themselves or their offspring stems from their impulsive assumption that this contradiction will induce perverse desires and homosexuality—that is, falling in love with a person of the same declared sex. That such is not the case needs to be aired in frank discussion.

Insidious self-blame for having produced a deformed child is rather common and is wrapped up with folk superstitions about heredity, the sins of the fathers, and pregnancy accidents. A brief scientific acquaintance with the facts of heredity may be disproportionately valuable in terms of the worry it dispels. Knowledge of how heredity works to cause plural familial incidence of the adrenogenital and testicular feminizing syndromes is absolutely imperative for parents who have produced the condition once, so that they may more confidently decide whether or not to enlarge their family.

Hyperadrenocortical female hermaphroditism is the only type in which the issue of hereditary transmission by the patient occurs, for in adulthood these women can become pregnant, if maintained on cortisone. Delivery usually requires a Caesarian operation. The mother's hyperadrenocorticism does not appear in her offspring unless by an unlucky chance—the odds are about 1:150—the father should happen to be a carrier of the recessive gene for the condition. Nonadrenal female hermaphrodites can reproduce but their condition is not hereditary. In all other types of hermaphroditism, the chances of reproduction are absent or so low that the psychological problem is not heredity but sterility.

When it is certain that a hermaphroditic child will be sterile as an adult, there is no point in euphemizing or hiding this information after the child is old enough to comprehend it. Tact and delicacy are required in disclosing the information, which should always be done in the broader context of a full and proper sex education. The advantage of the disclosure is that all need for deceit and false euphemism is abolished. It is an additional guarantee of psychological health that the child thenceforth construes the expectancies of parenthood, normal in all children's daydreams, accurately in terms of adoptive parenthood.

The sex education of hermaphroditic children should be frank, straightforward, and begun at an early age. It is doubly important that children who have, or who might remember, visible genital ambiguity entertain no confusion about the difference between the sexes. Little girls definitely should know that, whereas little boys have a penis, girls have a baby tunnel. This knowledge is of crucial importance to girls, if they are old enough to comprehend it, prior to clitoral surgery. Otherwise they may misconstrue their surgery as mutilating rather than corrective.

It is not too early for a bright child to know at 3 or 4 years of age that babies grow from a baby egg in a baby nest and come out down a baby tunnel. Later, and as their comprehension matures, they can learn about the swimming race of the sperms—200 million of them, and only one wins!—from the testicles, down the penis, up the baby tunnel, and into the baby nest to find the egg. Menstruation can be explained as nest-cleaning day. The emotional aspects of love and sex make no sense to children until erotic feeling matures in their own bodies at puberty. It is usually wise to advise a child that talk about where babies come from is one of the private things in life, reserved preferably for mother, daddy, or doctor. If children inappropriately employ sex information, it is primarily because they are not told when to use it.

Be frank with your child in matters sexual, and you keep his confidence. This is the best way to guarantee against the leakage of family secrets into the neighborhood, and against self-exposure in childhood play, which could set the neighborhood gossiping in a most disturbing way.

III: Surgical Management

It is a good idea to outline the anticipated plan of surgical management to parents. They and the doctor may then keep the child informed, if multiple admissions are required and if genital repair cannot be completed early in life. Children prove extraordinarily adaptable to genital anomalies provided that, not left in

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the dark, they feel a sense of participating in a constructive venture, even though it may be unpleasant and painful. For instance, a boy unable to stand up to urinate owing to an incompletely repaired hypospadias may have his morale completely broken without the social assurance and self-confidence that comes from knowing the what and the why planned for him by his surgeon.

Female genital reconstruction, when needed in cases of female assigned sex, can be commenced as soon after birth as is consistent with surgical safety. The problem of surgical safety arises almost exclusively in those cases of female hyperadrenocortical hermaphroditism complicated by deficiency of the adrenal salt-retaining hormone. Until their salt balance is perfectly regulated, these infants can be suddenly precipitated into an adrenal crisis by any physical stress, including the stress of an operation.

Feminizing surgery almost always involves amputation of an enlarged clitoris. An entire chapter of potential psychological problems is eliminated when clitoridectomy is completed very early in life. An older child should never undergo clitoridectomy without being told beforehand what will be done, and why. Evidence obtained from older hermaphroditic women who have undergone clitoridectomy, and from normal women who have undergone radical vulvectomy, indicates that clitoridectomy does not destroy the capacity for orgasm and erotic pleasure. All these women had a vagina. It is not known what would happen to erotic feelings following clitoridectomy in a hermaphrodite born without the orifice of either a blind vaginal pouch or communicating urogenital sinus from which to reconstruct a functional vagina. A wholly artificial vagina, opened surgically through the perineum in the absence of a natural orifice, does not communicate erotic feeling. It may therefore, be preferable to conserve the enlarged clitoris of these patients lest they be deprived of too much erotically sensitive tissue.

In addition to clitoridectomy, feminizing surgery may require vaginoplasty as well. If the vaginal orifice is near the normal position, the necessary surgical adjustments can often be made in infancy. When there is a major problem of structural rearrangement, however, vaginoplasty should be postponed until early teen age, when the organs are larger and a more perfect result can be obtained. A girl does not need to go through the embarrassment of waiting for marriage before having this operation; she should be allowed to feel free to ask for it at her own convenience without any moral eyebrows being raised.

In some cases of hermaphrodites assigned as females, surgical reconstruction will involve the removal of contradictory internal reproductive structures. Gonadectomy is an insurance not only against hormonal incongruity at puberty, but also against malignancy in abdominally placed and deformed gonads. There is one exception: the gonads found in the inguinal canals of girls with the syndrome of testicular feminization should be preserved, at least until after puberty, in order to avoid the necessity of estrogen replacement therapy. There need be no moral problem about inducing sterility by removing the gonads of male hermaphrodites living as girls and women, for the testes in male hermaphroditism are, virtually without exception, defective and aspermatogenic. There is a causal relationship here: dating back to embryonic life, testicular defect allows other reproductive structures to feminize.

In some cases of hermaphrodites assigned as males, with or without contradictory gonads, it will be necessary to remove contradictory internal organs. The chief problem of masculinizing surgery in hermaphrodites, however, is repair of the hypospadiac penis so that the boy can stand to urinate. In most cases it is not feasible to do the plastic construction of a urethral tube in the penis until the boy is 5 or 6. It may be desirable to wait even longer, until the organ has grown larger so that a better result can be obtained. The first step in plastic repair of the penis is to free the organ of the fibrous tissue that binds it down and prevents it from hanging freely. This stage of surgery can be done in earliest infancy. Around school age more than one operation may be needed, depending on the size of the opening to be closed underneath the penis, before the urethra is constructed. Follow-up admissions

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

may be needed if small fistulas break open, as they sometimes do.

Artificial testes, made of Vitallium, can be implanted in the empty scrotum of boys who have no testes of their own. This piece of surgical cosmetics corrects a boy's self-perceived image of his own body, as well as the image other people see. This correction gives an immense boost in morale to teen-age boys who, otherwise subject to ridicule whenever they go swimming or shower in public places, may become social isolates. In marriage, normality of appearance is a satisfaction to both husband and wife. Implanted at puberty, when the scrotum is of good size, artificial testes can be left permanently in place.

IV: Hormonal Management

In the period of infancy and childhood, active hormonal intervention is required in only one variety of hermaphroditism, namely, the female hyperadrenocortical. The hormonal problem in these cases is to suppress adrenal androgen output and, for those living as girls and women, to keep it suppressed by cortisone therapy. In some cases it is also necessary to substitute for a deficiency in salt-retaining hormone. The proper hormonal regulation of hyperadrenocortical patients with cortisone requires the technical skill of an expert who is keeping up to date with the constantly changing advances in this new treatment, which originated only in 1950. It is common for patients to be undertreated. Hardly ever does one hear of examples of overtreatment. Cortisone dosage needs to be increased as growth proceeds from infancy to adulthood. A typical oral daily dose of cortisone for a young infant is 25 mg., and for an adult 37.5 or 50 mg. Individual dosage is calibrated on the basis of routine urinary 17-ketosteroid determinations, bone-age changes, and over-all clinical evaluation.

When the body is subject to stress, such as is induced by surgery, injury, or infections and common ailments accompanied by fever, it needs extra cortisone. Ordinarily, the adrenal gland makes extra cortisone itself. In cortisone-deficient patients, however, the extra cortisone must be given as pills or shots. Parents of adrenal hermaphrodites should know that, when the child develops a fever, the cortisone dosage may be safely doubled until the fever subsides. In an emergency, this knowledge can mean the difference between life and death.

Hyperadrenocortical hermaphrodites do not need estrogenic treatment at puberty, since cortisone regulation of adrenal function enables the ovaries to produce female hormone in the normal manner. Infants regulated on cortisone since birth enter puberty at the usual age. Children whose statural growth and bone age galloped ahead before cortisone regulation was established, however, are likely to enter a normal puberty earlier than usual, perhaps even as young as 8 or 9. Properly handled psychologically, this early sexual maturity can be negotiated smoothly and without untoward incident. Physical sexual precocity is not accompanied automatically by emotional and behavioral precocity. These children do not become sexually wild.

Hyperadrenocortical hermaphrodites living as boys are encountered more and more rarely in this era of cortisone treatment. During childhood, their statural growth and precocious virilism can be held in check by cortisone. There is no danger of feminization if the gonads have been removed. These boys virilize at the regular age of puberty if cortisone therapy is withdrawn.

Hyperadrenocortical hermaphroditism is the only variety in which the problem of precocious sexual maturation arises. In all other varieties of hermaphroditism, the problem of hormonal management does not arise until the usual age of puberty. The decision then lies between treatment with estrogen or androgen, to feminize or masculinize, respectively, dependent on the sex of assignment and the gender role established.

Hormonal substitution treatment will in some cases have been preceded by the surgical removal of contradictory gonadal tissue to avoid the possibility of an incongruous puberty. The notable exception to the rule applies to the syndrome of testicular feminization, for the Leydig cells in the groin-placed gonads of these women produce potent estrogen, not androgen.

Hormonal substitution treatment will be necessary in other cases where the gonads, neither structurally nor functionally contradic-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tory of the assigned sex, do not need to be removed. The necessity for treatment is dictated by defective gonadal function and an insufficiency of gonadal hormone. It so happens that among hermaphrodites it is always testicular function that is defective in this way, ovarian tissue never being so involved except possibly in a rare case of true hermaphroditism. A large proportion of male hermaphrodites living as boys will, therefore, need androgen therapy in order to virilize at puberty.

Hormonal substitution therapy is necessary in cases of congenital gonadal absence (gonadal aplasia). Patients with this condition always live as girls, their only incongruity being their male sex-chromatin pattern. They need estrogen therapy in order to mature at puberty. Since they have a uterus, menstruation can be induced by the usual method of simulating nature, namely, cyclic withdrawal of estrogen for one week in every four. Cyclic therapy also effectively induces menstruation in the penutest variety of male hermaphroditism, following gonadectomy, since a uterus is present in this condition. Menstruation is so strong and valued a symbol of feminity that a girl does not want to be denied the experience if it is biologically possible for her to have it. Even later in life the symbol retains its strength so that very few patients elect against cyclic therapy and in favor of the convenience of no periods.

Psychic Hermaphroditism

There is no standard definition for the term "psychic hermaphroditism." Although its use is questionable, it is used from time to time as a synonym for homosexuality, transvestism, or contrasexism, the compulsion to have the body surgically and hormonally transformed to that of the other sex. The idea is that in these three allied conditions the patient is psychologically of one sex and morphologically of the other, and so is a hermaphrodite. Hermaphroditism, being traditionally a physical condition, the term psychic hermaphoditism implies a physical or constitutional basis for the discrepancy between sexual psychology and morphology. Theoretically and morally, the three disorders become more respectable, to some people, as a result of this implied physical etiology.

In point of fact, there is scarcely a shred of scientific evidence that so-called psychic hermaphroditism is, causally speaking, in the same category as morphologic hermaphroditism. Homosexuals, transvestites, and contrasexists as a group have been found to have no physical anomalies or stigmas that differentiate them from other men, or women, as the case may be. Their sex-chromatin pattern agrees with their genital morphology, and so does their hormonal function. Hormone levels are neither deficient nor incongruous. No amount of hormone medication will change the direction of erotic inclination, even though estrogen will feminize the male body and androgen will virilize the female body. Androgen may increase erotic desire or leave it unchanged, in either sex, and estrogen may functionally castrate the testes, but in either case masculinity or femininity of sexual desire is left unchanged.

There is a good chance that the phenomena grouped together as psychic hermaphroditism can be explained as imprinting phenomena. Among morphologic hermaphrodites it is known that gender role, including erotic orientation, can be established independently of chromosomes, gonads, hormones, and genital structures, and in direct contradiction of these physical variables. It is perfectly possible, therefore, that a gender role and orientation can be established contradictory of the other sex variables in morphologically normal males and females. In such cases the imprinting is a misprinting, so to speak. Why this misprinting takes place cannot at present be adequately explained. It probably relates to imprecise and incomplete perception and learning, to misconstrued deductions about sex, and to faulty identification with, and impersonation of, the parent of the other sex—all of this dating from infancy and early childhood when gender imprints are laid down and become almost ineradicable.

Forensic Considerations

In modern society hermaphrodites are not the subject of special legislation. Nor are they subject to harsh legal discrimination or imposition. In fact, expositions of jurisprudence have singularly little to say about hermaphroditism. It is mentioned in common law only in very

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

specific contexts. Thus, according to Lord Coke in the sixteenth century, a hermaphrodite may by the common law of England "be either male or female, and it shall succeed according to the kind of sex which doth prevail." Succession to a hereditary title is today the only occasion in which dispute as to the prevailing sex may arise. Hermaphroditism is also recognized by English common law as sufficient cause for annulment of a marriage contract.

In the United States a hermaphrodite may make a formal change of sex and may, with medical evidence, have his birth certificate changed as a matter of routine. A hermaphroditic marriage may be annulled on grounds of sterility, if the spouse was not previously informed. Hermaphroditism has not been, and probably will never need to be, the subject of test cases brought before federal or state courts for judicial decision.

References

Barr, Murray L., "Cytologic Tests of Chromosomal Sex." *Progr. in Gynec. 3;* 131-141, 1957.

Childs, B., Grumbach, M. M., and Van Wyk, J. J., "Virilizing Adrenal Hyperplasia; a Genetic and Hormonal Study." *J. Clin. Investigation 35;* 213-222, 1956.

Ellis, Albert, "The Sexual Psychology of Human Hermaphrodites." *Psychosom. Med. 7;* 108-125, 1945.

Ferguson-Smith, M. A., "Cytogenetics in Man." *Arch. Internal Med. 105;* 627-639, 1960.

Finesinger, Jacob E., Meigs, Joe V., and Sulkowitch, Hirsh W., "Clinical Psychiatric and Psychoanalytic Study of a Case of Male Pseudohermaphroditism." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 44;* 310-317, 1942.

Hampson, Joan G., and Money, John, "Idiopathic Sexual Precocity in the Female." *Psychosom. Med. 17;* 16-35, 1955.

Jones, Howard W., Jr., and Scott, William Wallace, *Hermaphroditism, Genital Anomalies and Related Endocrine Disorders.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1958.

Jost, Alfred, "Problems of Fetal Endocrinology: The Gonadal and Hypophyseal Hormones." *Rec. Progr. in Hormone Res. 8;* 379-418, 1953.

Money, John, *Hermaphroditism: An Inquiry into the Nature of a Human Paradox.* Unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University Library, 1952.

Money, John, *The Psychologic Study of Man.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1957.

Money, John, Hampson, Joan G., and Hampson, John L., "An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism." *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hosp. 97;* 301-319, 1955.

Money, John, Hampson, Joan G., and Hampson, John L., "Hermaphroditism: Recommendations Concerning Assignment of Sex, Change of Sex and Psychologic Management." *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hosp. 97;* 284-300, 1955.

Money, John, Hampson, Joan G., and Hampson, John L., "Imprinting and the Establishment of Gender Role." *Arch. Neurol. & Psychiat. 77;* 333-336, 1957.

Money, John, Hampson, Joan G., and Hampson, John L., "Sexual Incongruities and Psychopathology: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism." *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hosp. 98;* 43-57, 1956.

Morris, J. McL., "The Syndrome of Testicular Feminization in Male Pseudohermaphrodites." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 65;* 1192-1211, 1953.

von Neugebauer, Franz Ludwig, *Hermaphroditismus beim Menschen.* Leipzig: Klinkhardt, 1908.

Schiller, C. H. (ed.), *Instinctive Behavior.* New York: International Universities Press, 1957.

Stewart, John S. S., Ferguson-Smith, M. A., Lennox, Bernard, and Mack, W. S., "Klinefelter's Syndrome: Genetic Studies." *Lancet* pp. 117-121, July 19, 1958.

Wilkins, Lawson, *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Endocrine Disorders in Childhood and Adolescence* (ed. 2). Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1957.

Witschi, E., Nelson, W. O., and Segal, S. J., "Genetic, Developmental and Hormonal Aspects of Gonadal Dysgenesis and Sex Inversion in Man." *J. Clin. Endocrinol. 17;* 737-753, 1957.

Young, Hugh H., *Genital Abnormalities, Hermaphroditism and Related Adrenal Diseases.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1937.

Young, William C. (ed.), *Sex and Internal Secretions* (3rd ed.). Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., in press. (See chapters by Burns, Jost, Guhl, Young, Money, and Hampson and Hampson.)

JOHN MONEY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Homosexuality

Definition of Terms

THERE is little doubt that homosexuality is today the most discussed and possibly the most widespread of the deviant forms of human sexual behavior. The word *homosexuality* is applied both to the practice of engaging in a sexual act in which both persons are of the same sex, and to the psychological arousal that motivates a person to desire such act. It is used when the act is participated in by two women or by two men. A few laymen have misunderstood the term to cover oral-genital relations and other noncoital acts between a man and a woman, but such acts do not constitute homosexuality.

The word *homosexual* is both a substantive (i.e., a person is called *a homosexual*) and an adjective (as a *homosexual novel*). As the former, it is applied quite indiscriminately to a man or to a woman, whether the desires and activities are oriented exclusively toward the same sex, or toward both the same and the other sex. In the latter case, the word *homosexual* should not be used. The term *bisexual* has come into common use and will probably remain, despite some confusion with hermaphroditism (a completely different phenomenon) and some efforts to change the word to *ambisexual.*

A few other words and terms are found in the scientific and lay literature, as well as among homosexuals themselves. *Inversion* or *sexual inversion* (the corresponding substantive is *invert*) was at one time preferred by homosexuals and their friends. It was used by Havelock Ellis, and carried an implication of sympathy and friendliness in contrast to the implied hostility in the words *perversion* and *pervert.* Today, the words *inversion* and *invert* are seldom encountered, although a few writers reserve them for a special use: for them, an *invert* is an individual who desires or seeks homosexual relations and at the same time tries to adopt the complete sex role of a member of the other sex.

Lesbianism and *Lesbian* are more widely used words; they denote rather exact descriptions, being synonymous with female homosexuality and the female homosexual, respectively, and they seem to be unique in that they carry a minimum of stigma and are equally acceptable in heterosexual and homosexual circles and in both the professional and lay press. No correspondingly descriptive words, carrying so little implied hostility, seem to be available for the male homosexual.

The slang of almost all languages has developed a rich vocabulary around homosexuality, including terms used by heterosexuals (usually with considerable scorn and ridicule) and by homosexuals (usually rather euphemistically). In the former group, the words are sometimes borrowed from a foreign language or describe the phenomenon as foreign, e.g., *bugger* (from Bulgar), *French* love, *Greek* love, etc. The slang of the English language has such terms as *fairy, pansy, queen,* and *queer,* and it is interesting that these words are difficult to use in their traditional context in ordinary language (particularly *queer*) without bringing homosexuality to mind. Several of these words (as *queen*) are more frequently used to describe the effeminate male homosexual, rather than any male homosexual, but this distinction is by no means universal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Among homosexuals, the word *gay* is most widely encountered (*he is gay*, or *he goes to a gay bar*), and is applied both to males and females. Despite the extraordinarily frequent usage within homosexual circles, however, this meaning of *gay* is still unknown to millions of adult Americans.

The female homosexual has been called a *dike* or a *butch*, with the latter term reserved for those who display considerable outward manifestations of masculinity. Homosexuals sometimes refer to heterosexuals as *straight;* and to the outward display of obvious homosexuality, particularly when a person flaunts the manifestations of the other sex, as *camping*. A person who practices camping is called a *camp*.

Historical Background

Homosexuality seems to have been known almost from the dawn of civilization. There is an abundance of references in Greek and Roman literature (Petronius, Plato, Virgil, etc.), but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that an effort was made to bring the subject into open discussion. This effort took two main forms. On the one hand, some homosexuals began to speak up on behalf of themselves and their group, while at the same time serious scientific workers wrote several volumes and papers that were devoted, in whole or in part, to the subject. Whitman in America sang in only slightly ambiguous terms of comrades in love and bodies bound together in comradely passion, but took occasion, when pressed for a direct answer to an embarrassing question, to deny the homosexual content of his poetry.

In Germany, Ulrichs wrote a series of pamphlets, under a pseudonym, openly espousing and defending homosexuality. (He called it *Uranism*, and the homosexual an *Urning*, but all efforts to popularize and perpetuate these terms have failed). Ulrichs identified himself with the practice and maintained that the condition was inborn and therefore natural to those who were involved with it. Early European writers on sex (Forel, 1906; Krafft-Ebing, 1922) wrote comments on homosexuality that are still referred to today, although their concepts are of doubtful current value. In England, Symonds wrote two studies on the subject; Havelock Ellis devoted one large section of his monumental *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1936) to it, calling the volume *Sexual Inversion;* Westermarck summarized attitudes and practices among primitive peoples in a section of *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas;* and Edward Carpenter wrote many books, all adding up to a glorification of homosexual love.

Freud devoted considerable attention to homosexuality, particularly in *Leonardo*, *Three Contributions*, and elsewhere; following Freud, there were almost countless books and articles that reflected his influence to a greater or lesser degree.

During the early years of the twentieth century, considerable propaganda and scholarly studies were published in Germany, largely under the influence of Hirschfeld. The movement to change legal restrictions against and negative public attitudes toward homosexuality gained wide support among German intellectuals.

Among the defenders of homosexuality, particularly in England during the first two decades of this century, Edward Carpenter was a unique figure. As a young man he had met Walt Whitman and was largely under his influence; or perhaps he exercised an influence over the older poet. In a series of books, lectures, pamphlets, and in an organization in which he played a dominant role, Carpenter glorified homosexuality as the truest, firmest, finest, highest form of love. He adapted his concepts of homosexuality to fit into the puritanism of mid-Victorian morality, contending that the bonds of friendship between two males were more profound and faithful and meaningful than could exist under ordinary circumstances between man and woman, and that the physical gratification was secondary, incidental, and (under the most ideal conditions) entirely absent!

Theory of Inborn Homosexuality

Among the pre-Freudian writers there was a general tendency to accept the concept of inborn or congenital homosexuality, although

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS.

the condition was not believed to be hereditary. Some people described homosexuals in vague terms as constituting a third or intermediate sex, standing somewhere between the complete male and the complete female, and having a mind (or rather, a psychosexual orientation) of one sex in a body of the other. To substantiate this viewpoint, which was shared by Havelock Ellis among others, the early writers cited cases in which people recalled their homosexual yearnings as having occurred at an unusually young age, perhaps at 4 or 5. They further noted the "obvious" inborn physical characteristics of the female that many male homosexuals had.

Hirschfeld and his co-workers, as well as other groups, undertook anatomical measurements of homosexuals in an effort to amass data that would prove the concept of the physiological differences, and thus make out a prima-facie case for inborn homosexuality. (Incidentally, although the present writer does not believe that there are physiological or anatomical differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals, he does believe that, even if there were such differences, they would not in and of themselves be proof of inborn homosexuality, as there are other possible explanations of such alleged divergences.)

The belief in inborn homosexuality, with physical differences (perhaps endocrinological, the adherents postulate) was not completely and unequivocally rejected by Freud, although it would seem to go counter to the entire body of psychoanalytic thought. However, it was repudiated by most of the neo-Freudians (such as Stekel, Adler, and Ferenczi). It is a viewpoint that continues to have adherents among some specialists to this day, but it has been challenged by Allen, A. Ellis, Harper, Cory, Henry, and others who contend that not even the slightest bit of factual evidence has yet been presented to support the belief in inborn or congenital homosexuality.

In order to accommodate their theories to observations of widespread simultaneous homosexual and heterosexual activity (or, as this is now called, bisexuality), and to help combat the general atmosphere of hostility toward homosexuals, many early writers denounced bisexuals as depraved individuals who were seeking lustful pleasures but who were not true inverts, while they defended the latter as living the natural life into which they had been born.

Theories of Genesis

Theories on the psychological genesis of homosexuality are numerous. Freud was one of the first to focus attention on the infantile sexual life of the individual as leading to a distortion of development in a homosexual direction. His theories centered particularly around the relationship of the child to the parents (usually the parent of the other sex). Homosexuality was frequently, according to Freud, a flight from incest, with the child developing strong incestuous desires (Oedipus or Electra complex) toward the parent of the other sex because of overabundance of affection, lack of one parent, identification with one parent, etc. In oversimplified terms, the dynamism of such a development might, according to Freud, follow one of the following paths:

1. In the complete absence of a father, or in the presence of a weak father, or perhaps an alcoholic father who spews forth hatred against the mother, the boy-child falls in love with his mother and seeks to become her lover. In panic-like flight from the specter of incest, he represses this desire most effectively by suppressing entirely his sexual feelings toward all women. With the first strong awakening of sexuality, the path toward women is blocked, and the attraction is diverted toward the other segment of humanity, the males. Freud explained the strong antipathy and overwhelming fear of incest in so young a child by his theory of racial memory, but modern adherents of the Oedipal concept would contend that the child is repulsed, consciously and unconsciously, by the mother, and is made to feel the evil and sin of his desires.

2. In other instances, according to Freud, almost opposite circumstances would lead to homosexuality. The child falls in love *with the parent of the same sex*, and replaces and attempts to oust the parent of the other sex. The boy, suppressing his desires for his father, seeks to be like the woman accepting this father, but

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

unable to accept the incestuous sin of father-love, seeks the father in other males. Such a boy might be effeminate, might play the female-like role in the sex act, and would be expected to be attracted to older men. However, the almost universal attraction of homosexuals toward youths might seem to be an argument against this theory.

Some writers have contended that homosexuality is an arrest or fixation of emotional development. They believe that young people go through cycles, and that in adolescence homosexual attraction is a passing phase. For some reason (possibly indoctrination into homosexual practices), some youths do not continue their emotional development and maturation, and remain fixated at this adolescent or homosexual stage. Modern thinkers, skeptical of the theory of cycles, would not entirely reject such a development, but would restate it in terms of a polymorphous pansexuality during the puberty and adolescent years that may find fuller or easier roads to gratification with others of the same sex, and may make an unconscious adjustment to this easier path by the suppression of the needs for heterosexual relations.

A. Ellis, Harper, and a few others have emphasized antisexual puritanism in the home as making a major contribution to homosexual development. A boy develops a repugnance toward and fear of sexuality, which he has been told is vile, dirty, sinful, and a defilement of the purity of womanhood. As awakening sexual drives imperiously demand fulfillment, this boy's feelings are diverted into a channel that can accommodate the puritanism; woman remains pure and *untouchable*, and his own dirty feelings are gratified with other vile males.

This writer has noted the same phenomenon in a home in which the morals have been quite the opposite. A young boy observed his mother in frequent consortment with numerous male lovers; he developed shame over her activities, and a resentment toward all male-female relationships. Sex was a horrid thing for this youthful Puritan, but his desires could be channeled into the currents of homosexuality without interfering with his basic antisexuality.

Numerous other case histories can demonstrate a variety of backgrounds leading to homosexuality. These include fear of the consequences of sex (pregnancy, venereal disease, responsibility of children, etc.), fear of inadequacy (Adler) and of inability to play the role of the male (or female) successfully, and a relinquishment of the struggle.

Probably an eclectic and pluralistic approach would be closest to the truth. If one excludes inborn homosexuality and constitutional predisposition, one may find the fear of inadequacy, flight from incest, overidentification with one parent, misconceptions about sex, search for a method of gratification during adolescence (ease of finding the homosexual approach, with an effort to adjust to this gratification), and antisexual puritanism, with many other contributing factors, all present to a greater or lesser degree in certain individuals, with some factors present in many cases, and others in only a few cases. Probably no single factor alone is present in all instances, and possibly no single factor is exclusively responsible in one individual; but, to a greater or lesser extent, many of the causes outlined above are found, as a thread of continuity, in most instances of exclusive or overwhelming homosexual development.

Effeminate Male and Masculine Female Homosexuals

The homosexual who has developed strong characteristics and manifestations of the other sex is probably in a minority among homosexuals, although the writer, from personal observations, believes that some at least minor signs of effeminacy can be found in almost all male homosexuals. No serious study of the effeminate male has ever been published. Based exclusively on personal observation, the writer believes that effeminized males have no measurable physical characteristics different from those of other homosexuals or of heterosexuals. They have normal beard growths, male pattern of baldness in later years, lack of female bust development, and height and weight distributions that fall within the limits of the statistical norm for the entire male population.

The effeminacy is found in the use of the voice, facial gestures, walk, gait, manner of wearing the hair, and other characteristics, all

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

easy to control, manifested on a conscious or unconscious level when the psychological desire to be effeminate, or to relinquish one's identity as a male, is present.

Some of these people adopt the dress of the other sex (transvestism) and live as a member of the "adopted" sex, even getting married. It has been claimed that many transvestites are not homosexuals; this is difficult to believe, although men in our society may fear transvestism less than they fear homosexuality, and may therefore engage in transvestite practices when they really would unconsciously prefer to be homosexual.

Although the effeminate homosexual has many severe psychological problems (desire to renounce his sex, desire to be punished and ridiculed by the world, etc.), he is often free from any severe problem of concealment, which constitutes one of the greatest hardships on other homosexuals.

Physical Practices

Little has so far been written on the nature of physical homosexual practices. A few isolated passages appear here and there (sometimes in Latin), but Cory (1951) has made one of the few efforts to describe, classify, and explain the nature of these practices and the reasons they are indulged in by different individuals. Most common in male-male relationships are fellation, anal intercourse, mutual masturbation (petting and fondling), single masturbation of one person by another, and interfemoral relations. It is probably significant that some homosexuals show an extremely strong preference for some of these activities; perhaps such preferences may be correlated with the extent of identification with the other sex, the search for pain and humiliation, and the meaning of homosexuality to the particular person. Inasmuch as Kinsey interviewers have gathered data on this subject, it is likely that their forthcoming book, devoted entirely to homosexuality, will reveal information on this potentially important phase of the subject.

Whatever form the physical expression may take, the sexual act is more likely to be frustrating for homosexuals, even for those who reach a climax, than a heterosexual act is for heterosexuals. This is because of physical obstacles to a satisfactory relationship (the lack of a biologically complementing fit) and because for many of these people homosexuality is not a search for but a flight from something unknown, something that holds them in constant terror and fear. Their imperious desires for male-male relationships are actually vicarious and substitutive diversions from other desires, and therefore leave unanswered and unresolved the basic needs of the individual. It is for this reason that the astonishingly frequent partner-changing and the short-lived character of homosexual relations must be viewed not as healthy varietism and freedom from puritanical codes of artificial fidelity, but as a revolt against the partner with whom sex has been consummated and as an unending search for an ideal and unobtainable total gratification.

Incidence

The controversial question of the incidence of homosexuality among various peoples, in different countries, at different times, and under a myriad of conditions is obscured, first, by concealment of life histories and the general difficulty of obtaining information from those involved; second, by the problem of classifying those who are completely homosexual, mainly so, partly so, as well as those who may change their pattern from one stage of life to another; and third, by the difficulties that face any student of the demographic distribution of psychological, and particularly of psychosexual, disorders.

Up to the time of Kinsey (1948), the incidence of homosexuality was arrived at by guess and by observations, the latter being made by physicians, police officers, and homosexuals. Some suggested that about one person per thousand was involved in a homosexual life (whether physical practices, desires, or both), while others found the figure as high as five persons per hundred. Many writers ventured to suggest that the females outnumbered the males, while others believed the opposite to be true.

Utilizing his now famous rating scale, in which a person was classified in a group identified by a whole number from 0 to 6 (the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

former being the completely and exclusively heterosexual, and the latter being the extreme on the homosexual side of the scale, with groups 1 to 5 taking care of the various points on a human continuum), Kinsey found male homosexuality among the white American population to be extremely widespread, and female homosexuality much less so. A few statistics from his findings are as follows: 4 per cent of white males are exclusively homosexual throughout their lives, after the onset of adolescence; 8 per cent are exclusively homosexual for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55; 10 per cent are more or less exclusively homosexual for such a three-year period; 13 per cent are more homosexual than heterosexual for this three-year period; between 2 and 6 per cent of the unmarried females and less than 1 per cent of the married females in the Kinsey sample were more or less exclusively homosexual between the ages of 20 and 35.

Although the accuracy of the Kinsey studies has been challenged by some, it is generally conceded that Kinsey demonstrated, and all available evidence supports this conclusion, that male homosexuality of an exclusive or an almost exclusive character involves several million white Americans, and probably not a lesser percentage of the American Negro population and of the population of other ethnic groups in most civilized countries of the world. If this is the case, and if homosexuality is a pathological condition, then it is one of the most common psychological disorders known. It is an illness involving more people than heart conditions or cancer, warping the lives of literally millions who are expending great amounts of energy in their efforts to understand themselves, adjust to their guilt, conceal their activities, find gratification, and resolve the many paradoxes and contradictions inherent in their situation.

Lesbianism

Although Lesbian relations, or sex affairs between two women, have been given a great deal of attention in modern literature, such relations are actually much less common than male homosexuality. According to the Kinsey findings, female homosexual behavior is approximately one-third as prevalent as male, and this is true for both exclusive and partial homosexuality.

An interesting and valuable question to investigate is: Why are females less often homosexual than males? Both the origin of homosexualism and possibilities of preventing its development may well be significantly revealed as we attempt to answer this question. From many years of studying the literature on the subject as well as from employing my personal observations, I would say that some of the main factors contributing to a lesser incidence of female than male sexuality are the following:

1. Male sexual demands, particularly during puberty and adolescence, are often so imperious that they require a search for outlet, almost any outlet; while female sexual demands are usually less imperious and may more easily be suppressed or repressed. Once the male does give in to homosexual behavior during adolescence, he frequently accommodates himself psychologically to this form of outlet and foregoes or suppresses his heterosexual tendencies.

2. Any females who are highly sexed and who do desire frequent outlets can more easily find them with males than can highly sexed males find fulfillment with females in our society. Actually, we make it easier for the young male to enter sex activity with other males than with females; and male homosexuality thus becomes temporarily a road of least resistance. Ironically enough, this easier path may later become the harder one, because of the persecution of homosexuality in our communities. But at the time when the path is first taken it is, or at least seems, an easier one to take.

3. Females who, for neurotic reasons, seek to suppress their heterosexual drives, and especially those who have fears or hatred of males, often develop into frigid or so-called sexless women. Males who are equally afraid of or hostile to heterosexual relations rarely, for biological and social reasons, retreat into asexuality, but instead turn to homosexuality.

In spite of the fact that there are considerably fewer Lesbians than homosexual males, female homosexuality is not uncommon. Some of its main causes are: (a) a strong love for the father and hence identification with a male fig-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS.

ure (as indicated in the famous novel, *The Well of Loneliness*); (b) a distinct jealousy by the female of the male's more favored role in our society; (c) a sexual maleducation that teaches females that men are dirty and untouchable and that glorifies women as being more "pure"; (d) intense love for a mother and distaste for a weak or brutal father and consequent assumption of the male role by the daughter, who symbolically becomes her mother's husband.

Lesbianism is not condemned as severely by the heterosexual public as is male homosexuality. This is partly because the female homosexual seldom adopts the extreme mannerisms of members of the other sex, and when she does so her mannerisms may be acceptable as a manifestation of the strong, athletic, career-type woman. This manifestation of other-sex characteristics by male homosexuals—who are often called "fairies" or "pansies"—is one of the main causes of antihomosexualism among heterosexual individuals.

The Lesbian, moreover, often lives a more discreet kind of life than the male homosexual; and often even finds it possible to be heterosexually married and to accept, with some degree of frigidity, sex relations with her husband. Lesbians, again, more frequently than homosexual males form long-lasting and quite "monogamous" attachments with other women. Their sexual life tends to be accompanied by more affection, less promiscuity and varietism, than are the lives of male homosexuals. In this respect, ironically enough, the Lesbian acts in accordance with the biological and cultural factors that make her a woman and the male homosexual acts in accordance with the factors that make him a man. Biology and culture eventually will out—even in those who show extreme sex deviation.

Male and female homosexuals show considerable mutual antagonism (filled as they are with fears and hatred of the other sex), but they are sometimes friendly with one another and on occasion have been able to get together in homosexual groups, such as the Mattachine Society, which include members of both sexes. So far, however, such homosexual groups have included few Lesbians and have mainly consisted of male homosexuals.

Disturbances

The homosexual is beset by many problems. In recent years it has been thought that these problems are exclusively and entirely created by the hostility of society. It is claimed that guilt is thrust upon the individual, he is compelled to feel ashamed, compelled to conceal his true identity, made to seek gratification and fulfillment in out-of-the-way and often distressing places. If he openly expresses his predilections for homosexuality, it is because he is so disturbed that he is seeking further conflict with society and further punishment, scorn, and ridicule from fellow men. If he seeks to conceal his desires, he must balance this concealment and even pretended hostility with a belief in the propriety of his own interests and activities. The paranoia that may be involved in the development of the individual becomes fortified by the realities of persecution and the fear of being discovered, with the concomitant feelings of shame and ruination.

The fears under which the homosexual lives can hardly be overemphasized, and the anxieties that are created by the social organism are probably beyond exaggeration. However, in this writer's opinion this does not negate nor does it explain the anxieties and disturbances inherent in the psychosexual development of the homophile and in his flight from heterosexuality. Briefly summarized, the homosexual is definitely emotionally disturbed, suffering from fear of the other sex, puritanical distortions about sexuality, self-abnegation, feelings of inadequacy, self-destructive drives, and compulsive desires.

These neurotic traits, although not originally produced by society's persecution of the homosexual, become all the more anxiety-producing because of the circumstances under which they are lived out. For example, the compulsivity toward gratification leads to relationships of a difficult and self-destructive nature. The puritanism leads to enhanced guilt because of the nature of the experience, and the greater guilt leads to further search for humiliation, self-contempt, and self-destruction. The unfortunate and unhappy experiences that are unconsciously sought further convince the homosex-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ual that he is a victim of fate, a persecuted and damned individual, thus supporting with some reality his phantasies of paranoia.

Adjustments and Therapy

The general trend among those who do not denounce the homosexual as a sinner has been to close the door on therapy. No less an authority than Freud felt that homosexuality was beyond man's power to change, and that homosexuals should learn to live with themselves and to adjust to the realities of their surrounding (hostile) culture. Freud's famous letter to an American mother no doubt had a great effect in retarding the development of an effective mode of therapy for homosexuals.

The present writer, following Freud and being under certain misapprehensions, misunderstandings, and limited experience, formerly urged but no longer espouses an orientation toward adjustment within the framework of homosexuality, rather than an expenditure of energy in the effort to effectuate a change. This preference for adjustment seems to have been mistakenly chosen by many modern therapists (particularly Freudians, such as Dollard), and is also espoused, for entirely different reasons, by most homosexuals. It is quite natural that homosexuals, searching for an alleviation of the great stigma that attaches to their lives, would wish to convince themselves and the public that therapy is impossible, or almost so. Their belief is that if it were widely felt that homosexuals could be cured if only they would try to be, the hostility of the public would be aggravated, for it would be directed against those homosexuals who, in effect, chose to remain in their condemned mode of life. Whether this thinking has validity is itself open to question, but essentially it is irrelevant in a discussion of therapy.

The aim of therapy is to relieve the hostility toward and fear of relationships, sexual and other, with the other sex, rather than to seek to suppress the homosexual interests. The reasons for this are twofold: (1) to aid the homosexual to get at the root of the problem, and not to attack what is merely a symptom—his problem is not so much that he is attracted to males, but that he is in flight from females; and (2) to assure the homosexual that whatever pleasures and gratifications he is deriving from his present mode of life will not be removed, but if anything will be increased (because pleasures are enhanced without concomitant guilt), and to convince him that these gratifications are going to be complemented and supplemented by an entirely *new* field to be added to the old. That this new form of satisfaction will prove even superior, more gratifying, and more fulfilling does not have to be overemphasized at first, for it will only be looked at with skepticism that can be a cover-up for the fear that the therapist is really trying to wean the patient away from homosexuality. The patient himself, when the fears of the other sex have been removed, and when heterosexual relationships have been established, may realize, in a very successful therapy, that this new form of satisfaction makes the old one obsolete and unnecessary, although not sinful.

A successful therapeutic procedure, therefore, would leave the male patient interested in actively seeking gratification with females as well as still attracted to males—relieved of fear and anxiety in both relationships, but not substituting for his old fears a new set of shibboleths in which the male-male relationship is damned as dirty, vile, and disgusting.

If such an individual continues to obtain gratification from his own sex, he should do so without compulsivity, choosing conditions free from self-destruction; but, over a long period of time, his interests along such lines will probably diminish as he finds that the physical relationship with another male no longer answers the needs within himself.

Such a therapeutic procedure is undoubtedly very difficult, and it is unlikely that it is going to be followed by any large number of homosexuals. For these people, adjustment within the realm of homosexuality seems to be another course of action, likewise difficult, but not quite so difficult as the struggle to change their orientation. More liberal social attitudes should make such adjustments easier but cannot solve the basic inner contradictions inherent in the psyche of the exclusively oriented homosexual.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS.

References

Allen, Clifford, *The Sexual Perversions and Abnormalities: A Study in the Psychology of Paraphilia.* London: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Berg, Charles, and Allen, Clifford, *The Problem of Homosexuality.* New York: Citadel Press, 1958.

Bergler, Edmund, *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* New York: Hill and Wang, 1956.

Brody, M. W., "An Analysis of the Psychosexual Development of a Female—with Special Reference to Homosexuality." *Psychoanalyt. Rev. 30;* 47-58, 1943.

Carpenter, Edward, *An Unknown People.* London, 1897.

Carpenter, Edward, *Ioläus, an Anthology of Friendship.* Boston: Charles Goodspeed, 1902.

Carpenter, Edward, *The Intermediate Sex.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1930 (reprinted in Cory, 1956).

Cory, Donald Webster, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach.* New York: Greenberg, 1951; (2nd ed., New York: Castle Books, 1960).

Cory, Donald Webster, "Homosexuality: Active and Passive." *J. Sex Educ. 5;* 19-22, 1952.

Cory, Donald Webster, *Homosexuality: A Cross Cultural Approach.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1956.

Ellis, Albert, "The Sexual Psychology of Human Hermaphrodites." *Psychosom. Med. 7;* 108-125, 1945.

Ellis, Albert, "On the Cure of Homosexuality." *Internat. J. Sexology 5;* 135-138, 1952.

Ellis, Albert, "Are Homosexuals Necessarily Neurotic?" *One 3;* No. 4, 8-12, 1955 (reprinted in Cory, 1956).

Ellis, Albert, "The Effectiveness of Psychotherapy with Individuals Who Have Severe Homosexual Problems." *J. Consult. Psychol. 20;* 191-195, 1956.

Ellis, Albert, "A Homosexual Treated with Rational Psychotherapy." *J. Clin. Psychol. 15;* 338-343, 1959.

Ellis, Havelock, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Vol. II: *Sexual Inversion*). New York: Random House, 1936.

Forel, August, *The Sexual Question.* Brooklyn: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1906.

Freud, Sigmund, *Collected Papers.* London: Hogarth, 1924-1950.

Freud, Sigmund, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud.* New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1938.

Glass, S. J., Deuel, H. J., and Wright, C. A., "Sex Hormone Studies in Male Homosexuals." *Endocrinology 26;* 590-594, 1940.

Glass, S. J., and Johnson, R. H., "Limitations and Complications of Organotherapy in Male Homosexuality." *J. Clin. Endocrinol. 11;* 540-544, 1944.

Harper, Robert A., "Psychological Aspects of Homosexuality." Paper delivered at the meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, New York, May 22, 1959.

Henry, G. W., *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1941.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Die Homosexualitäte des Mannes und des Weibes.* Berlin: Marcus, 1920.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sexual Anomalies and Perversions: Physical and Psychological Development and Treatment.* London: Francis Aldor, 1944.

Hooker, Evelyn, "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual." *J. Proj. Tech. 21;* 18-31, 1957.

Kinsey, Alfred C., "Criteria for a Hormonal Explanation of the Homosexual." *J. Clin. Endocrinol. 1;* 424-428, 1941 (reprinted in Cory, 1956).

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Krafft-Ebing, R., *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Especial Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct.* Brooklyn: Physicians and Surgeons Book Co., 1922.

Mercer, J. D., *They Walk in Shadow.* New York: Comet Press Books, 1959.

Moll, A., *Perversions of the Sex Instinct: A Study of Sexual Inversion Based on Clinical Data and Official Documents.* New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1931.

Rosenzweig, S., and Hoskins, R. G., "A Note on the Ineffectualness of Sex-hormone Medication in a Case of Pronounced Homosexuality." *Psychosom. Med. 3;* 87-89, 1941.

Severinghaus, E. L., and Chornyak, J., "A Study of Homosexual Adult Males." *Psychosom. Med. 7;* 302-305, 1945.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Bi-sexual Love; the Homosexual Neurosis.* Boston: R. G. Badger, 1922.

West, Donald J., *The Other Man: A Study of the Social, Legal, and Clinical Aspects of Homosexuality.* New York: Whiteside, Inc., Wm. Morrow & Co., 1955.

Westermarck, Edward, "Homosexual Love," from *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* (reprinted in Cory, 1956).

Westwood, Gordon, *Society and the Homosexual.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1953.

Wolfenden Report: *Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957 (reprinted in Berg and Allen).

DONALD WEBSTER CORY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Hormones, Sex

IN ORDER to elaborate upon the role of sex hormones in the physiology of reproduction and their effect upon sexual function, one must thoroughly understand the interrelationships existing between the glands of internal secretion—particularly those concerned with gonadal function.

Pituitary Gland

The pituitary gland, considered by many to be the dictator of the endocrine system, controls the function and activity of the majority of the dependent endocrine glands in the body, namely, the gonads, the adrenals, and the thyroid. The endocrine glands that are independent of pituitary control—the pancreas and the parathyroids—are beyond the realm of our discussion. However, it may be stated that the level of their secretory activity is dependent upon the relative blood levels of the substances that they control, that is, the level of calcium and phosphorus in the blood affects the rate of secretion of parathormone in much the same manner that insulin release from the pancreas occurs under the influence of hyperglycemia.

The control the pituitary gland has over the endocrine end organs it regulates is not absolute; actually, the gland is a kind of reciprocal homeostatic regulator in that its secretion is inhibited, in part, by the hormone of the end organ it has stimulated to secrete. In other words, the hormones produced by the dependent glands under the influence of pituitary secretion in turn control hypophyseal secretion by inhibition of the particular pituitary tropic hormone responsible for maintaining the functional activity of the end organ and the secretion of its active principle. (The interdependence between the pituitary gland and the end organs is diagrammatically depicted in Fig. 1.) Here the source of electrical energy, the battery, is akin to the pituitary gland. The battery transmits its electrical impulse (the tropic hormone) by way of the wire to the motor (or end organ).

By speeding up, the motor rotates the governor (homeostatic mechanism), raising the arms (hormone level) to such a degree that the electrical contact is broken. Stimulus from the battery source is thus interrupted until the arms (hormonal level) of the governor (homeostatic level) are depressed, permitting alignment of the electrical contact so that once more the battery (pituitary gland) stimulates the motor (end organ) to rotate, thereby reinitiating the cycle of events. This type of self-regulatory or "feed back" mechanism is necessary in order to prevent excessive production of the hormone produced by the end organs through continued secretion of the tropic hormones from the pituitary gland. Indeed the "feed back" principle is characteristic of most self-regulatory activities. Further discussion of the relationship between the pituitary gland and its dependent end organs will be concerned only with the gonadotropic hormones and their relationship to the function of the ovaries and testes.

Pituitary-Ovarian Interrelationships in the Female—Gonadotropic Hormones

The gonadotropic hormones controlling the secretion and function of the ovaries are three in number (Fig. 2). The primary hormone, responsible for initiating the cyclic sequence of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

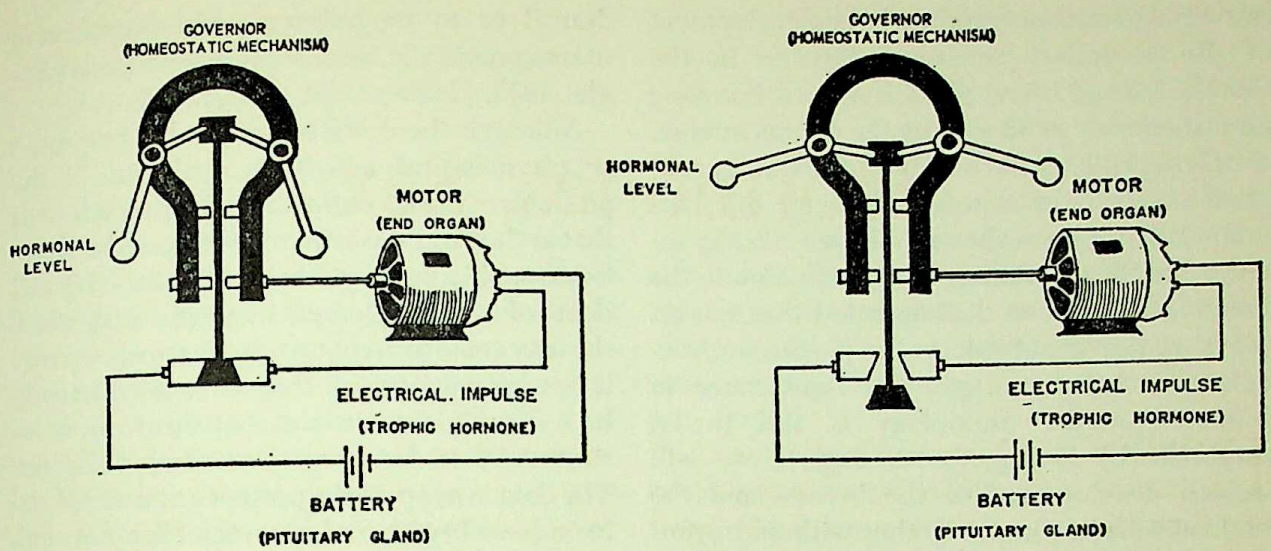


FIG. 1. Diagrammatic presentation of homeostatic mechanism for control of pituitary hormone secretion

events, is the *follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH)*, which stimulates the ovaries to bring about follicular growth. The development of the primordial follicle to the initial stage prior to the development of the liquor folliculi, or beginning of the Graafian follicle, is, as Hisaw (1947) notes, not under pituitary control. FSH will cause an increase in the size and function of the Graafian follicle, resulting in increased estrogen elaboration.

When follicular growth approaches its pinnacle, a critical level of estrogen is secreted into the blood stream. Estrogen at this level has two effects upon the pituitary gonadotropic hormones. One is to inhibit further FSH hormone secretion and the other is to induce a release of the pituitary *luteinizing hormone (LH)*, whose primary role is to induce ovulation (Bradbury, 1946, Greep and Jones, 1950).

The release of luteinizing hormone may be caused either by a direct effect of estrogen on the pituitary gland itself or indirectly, by stimulation of the hypothalamus with secondary effect upon the pituitary. Donovan and Harris (1955) show that the area of the hypothalamus between the paraventricular and supraoptic nuclei is the one associated with release of LH. The release of the luteinizing hormone in the presence of a properly developed follicle and in the absence of any mechanical blockage in the ovary will result in ovulation.

After the egg has been ejected from the ovary, the wall of the follicle in which it had been contained collapses and this area is then converted into a corpus luteum by cellular hyperplasia of the theca interna cells. The corpus luteum, or yellow body, is made up of large polyhedral cells with pale eosinophilic cytoplasm containing lipid material. These cells are concerned with the secretion of progesterone and estrogen.

At this time, according to Astwood (1941), the third gonadotropic hormone takes over—the *luteotropic hormone*, which is closely related to or may be identical with the lactogenic hormone. The function of this hormone is to maintain the activity and integrity of the corpus luteum.

Progesterone and Estrogen

Progesterone, like estrogen, affects secretion of the gonadotropic hormones of the pituitary gland. This effect is primarily one of inhibition: progesterone inhibits further secretion of luteinizing hormone, thereby preventing supraovulation from taking place.

The sequential secretion of the three gonadotropic hormones occurs in orderly progression as a result of hypothalamic regulation due, in part, to the direct or indirect effect of the ovarian steroids on hypothalamic function, thereby affecting pituitary gonadotropic elaboration.

The steroid hormones produced by the ovaries—estrogen and progesterone—are the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

principal ones concerned with the development of the secondary sex characteristics in the female. (In addition, there is a third hormone almost entirely produced by the corpus luteum, a polypeptide, water-soluble, proteinlike substance known as relaxin. Although this hormone has not been shown to be specifically involved in the physiology of reproduction in the human, it has been demonstrated that relaxin plays an important role in the parturent processes of the guinea pig. Its significance in human gonadal physiology is still to be established.) Estrogen and progesterone will induce development of the breasts and the vaginal introitus, and together with androgens from the adrenal cortex, growth of pubic and axillary hair. They eventually stimulate the uterus to the extent that menstruation can occur.

Menstruation

Menstruation represents the desquamation or sloughing off of the endometrial lining of the uterus, occurring as a result of a diminution in estrogen and progesterone secretion. Menstruation may be due either to estrogen withdrawal or to progesterone withdrawal in a uterus previously stimulated by estrogens (Engle, 1935; Hisaw, 1938, 1942).

Although there are no particular properties or physiological activities attributed to the products of menstruation, folklore has indicated that at the time a woman menstruates the secretion from her pores will bring about wilting and death of certain botanical structures with which she may come into contact. In more recent years it has been suggested that there may actually be a menstrual toxin and that this toxin is instrumental in bringing about such an effect. The data to support the presence of a menstrual toxin have been based upon the effects of such agents upon endometrial desquamation and the adverse effect they have upon plant life.

Initiation of menstruation in a young girl, the menarche, confers upon her the full endowment of womanhood in the sense that she is then theoretically capable of reproduction. However, this does not necessarily mean that the young girl has reached the peak of her femininity. Normally, menstruation begins between the ages of 10 and 14 years. Menarche prior to the age of 9 to 10 years is considered to be evidence of premature or precocious sexual

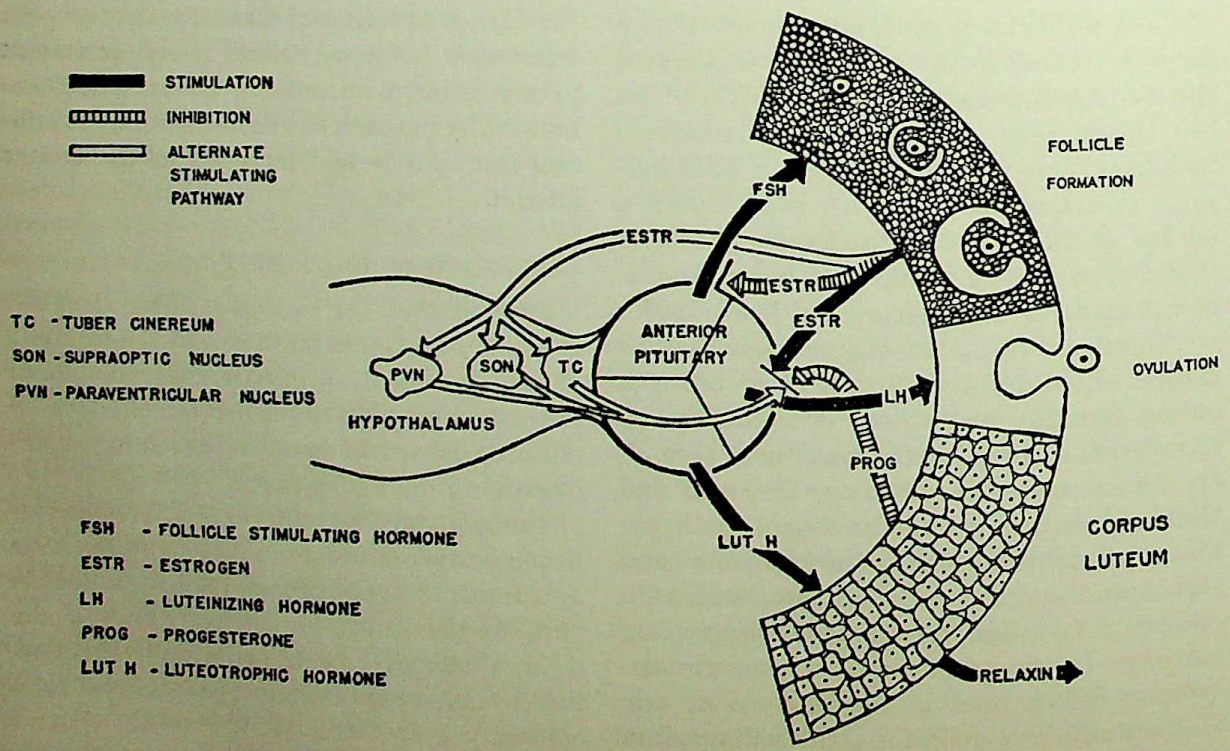


FIG. 2. Diagrammatic presentation of normal ovarian-hypothalamic-pituitary interrelationship

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

maturation, and menarche after the age of 14 to 15 years may be designated as a manifestation of delayed sexual development. Failure of menstruation to occur at all in the absence of organic pathology, pregnancy, or lactation is an indication of the lack of secretion of estrogen and/or progesterone by the ovaries. This may be due primarily to ovarian failure or secondarily to insufficiency of pituitary FSH secretion. Increased pituitary gonadotropic excretion in the urine may be noted in those individuals with primary ovarian failure inasmuch as the depressing effects the sex steroids would normally have upon gonadotropic hormone secretion or production are no longer present.

Menstruation continues until the climacteric, which in the majority of women occurs between 45 and 55 years of age. The ovary and not the pituitary gland is responsible for the initiation of the climacteric. The life span of the ovary with its production of ova is apparently thirty–thirty-five years, at the end of which time it is no longer capable of responding to pituitary-gonadotropin stimulation, resulting in organ refractoriness and atrophy. The processes through which the menarche is initiated and the climacteric occurs are not well understood. The ability of the ovaries to respond much before the time of the menarche and their failure to respond at the time of the climacteric are problems medical science has still to solve.

Female Libido

The cessation of menstruation does not necessarily represent the initial step in aging or deterioration of the female, and the sexual responsiveness of the female, which is usually initiated with, although it may precede, the menarche, does not cease with the climacteric. As a matter of fact, libido may actually be enhanced at the time of the climacteric in those women in whom a fear of pregnancy may have been responsible for their lack of enthusiasm for sexual contact. Although psychiatrists attest to the concept that libido is supratentorial in origin, endocrinologists feel that hormones play as important a role in establishing satisfactory sexual relationships and in maintaining an adequate libido as they do in any other organ system or systems in the body.

Women who have never known libido and who are frigid because of their social conditioning are candidates for psychiatric therapy and will usually never show an increase in sexual receptivity or in libido when appropriate sex steroid hormones are administered. On the other hand, women who have once experienced libido and have since lost it, and in whom frigidity prevails, or women in whom diminished libido is prevalent, may show an enhanced libidic response after appropriate sex hormone therapy.

Androgens and Libido

Paradoxically, as Kupperman (1951, 1959), Salmon (1941), and Greenblatt, Mortara, and Torpin (1942) have demonstrated, it is the male sex hormone that has been found to be most effective in enhancing libido in the female. The logic for the use of this steroid becomes apparent if we accept the premise that the center of eroticism in the female lies in the area of the clitoris. Since this organ with its rich nerve supply represents the phallic anlage in the female, its response to androgens would be anticipated. Evidence from many clinical reports and observations has established unequivocally the role of androgens in enhancing libido in the female. During the early days of pellet implantation of androgens for fibromyomatas of the uterus many patients treated volunteered the information that, despite the fact that therapy was being employed solely for menstrual aberrations, they had noticed an increase in libido. Similar responses were observed when methyltestosterone was employed for the treatment of dysmenorrhea or when androgens were given in large doses for the suppression or amelioration of neoplastic disease of the breasts. Many of these patients voluntarily offered the information that their libido had been increased even though the initial purpose for administering such steroids had nothing to do with increasing libido. The following therapeutic agents may be employed to enhance libido in the female:

1. *Oral*: Oral ingestion of *methyltestosterone*, 10 mg. twice a day for 15 days, followed by 10 mg. per day thereafter, may produce an adequate response. If this is achieved, the dose may be reduced to 5 mg. per day and eventually

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

to 5 mg. every other day. Subsequent discontinuation of the steroid will not result, in many patients, in cessation of the desired therapeutic effect observed soon after the initiation of the oral therapy.

2. *Parenteral:* Intramuscular administration of 50 mg. of *testosterone cyclopentylpropionate* or 100 mg. of *testosterone enanthate,* both as oil solution, or 50 mg. of *testosterone phenylacetate* as an aqueous suspension, every 18 to 21 days may also be effective in enhancing libido in properly selected patients.

3. *Topical*: It has been said that topical application to the clitoris of an ointment containing 10 mg. of *testosterone* per gram of vanishing-cream base is effective in increasing libido. Although a potential androgenic effect may be anticipated from such a procedure, the possible response of the clitoris to manual manipulation may in itself be conducive to increasing libido in a properly receptive female. Hence, studies on the topical action of testosterone by clitoral application cannot be objective and interpretation of such investigation must be questioned.

Nymphomania may occasionally be treated successfully with androgens. As paradoxical as this may seem, it can be explained as follows: Those patients exhibiting nymphomania who respond to androgens by a decrease in desire for repeated sexual contacts are probably women who have been attempting these many sexual contacts without deriving sexual gratification owing to failure to achieve an orgasm. The addition of androgens helps them to achieve an orgasm, thereby accomplishing gratification so that an excessive number of sexual contacts is no longer necessary.

Other Sex Steroids and Libido

Although androgens enhance libido in the female, the use of other closely related sex steroids may actually diminish libido. For example, progesterone may result in a decrease in libido of a significant degree. It has been of value in the management of certain nymphomaniacs in whom sexual gratification is accomplished with each contact but who need repeated intercourse. In these individuals progesterone suppositories administered one per day in doses of 25 or 50 mg. have been found to be effective in diminishing libido. This type of medication has also been of particular help in decreasing libidinous desires or erotic dreams in the elderly patients when such episodes are disturbing because of moral or religious beliefs.

However, the use of such progesterone preparations, either vaginally or parenterally, may well induce such a decrease in libido as to be of concern to the patient. The fact that this has not been uniformly seen with "oral progesterone" (Ethisterone) may well be attributed, in part, to the fact that this compound, although correctly labeled generically is really ethinyl testosterone and not progesterone per se. This compound is androgenic and does have arrhenomimetic potentials so that the antilibidinous effects usually attributed to progesteronelike steroids may theoretically be nullified to a significant extent by the androgenic potentials of such preparations.

The role of estrogens in female libido is problematical. Estrogens nevertheless may assume an important role in libido in the aged in that they promote enough mucoid elaboration to cause lubrication of the vaginal introitus, thereby making sexual contact more comfortable. There is no doubt that in the patient with atrophic vaginitis androgens are probably of little therapeutic value in enhancing libido. The combined use of estrogens and androgens in such patients is a logical form of therapy, possibly having a synergic effect on the libido. In patients receiving estrogens in order adequately to regulate the menses by preventing endometrial hyperplasias the addition of cyclic therapy with progesterone would not be expected to adversely affect libido.

Pituitary-Testicular Interrelationships in the Male— Gonadotropic Hormones

Sexual function in the male depends upon similar gonadotropin-gonadal interrelationships as exist in the female, except that there are only two gonadotropic hormones known to be of importance in the physiology of reproduction in the male.

Follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) is responsible for stimulation of the seminiferous

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

tubules to produce sperm (Fig. 3). This pituitary gonadotropin hormone, peculiarly designated as FSH, is gametogenic in the male, as it is in the female. The second gonadotropic hormone in the male, known as the *interstitial cell-stimulating hormone (ICSH)*, is identical with the LH hormone of the female and stimulates and maintains the function of the Leydig cells. These cells are responsible for the secretion of steroids usually attributed to the testes, the principal and major one being testosterone.

It has been suggested that a second hormone may be produced by the testes, particularly by the Sertoli cells. Its prime purpose is presumably to inhibit gonadotropic secretion. McCullagh (1932) pointed out that this hormone, known as inhibin, unlike testosterone (which is lipid-soluble), is an aqueous-soluble substance that is insoluble in the usual lipid solvents. Since testosterone is a comparatively poor pituitary inhibitor, it has been suggested that inhibin is the hormone which, by virtue of its inhibiting effect upon pituitary gonadotropic secretion, regulates the secretion of the latter and thereby prevents excessive stimulation of the testes by gonadotropin-stimulating hormones. The testes may have an ambivalent potential and are capable of producing both estrogens and androgens simultaneously. Interestingly enough, the stallion—the epitome of maleness in the animal kingdom—excretes more estrogen in its urine, as Zondek (1934) has shown, than any other animal, even more than the pregnant mare.

The source of the estrogen, according to recent data and concepts, is presumably the Leydig cells. This ambivalence of the Leydig cells is no doubt responsible for the production of adolescent gynecomastia in pubescent boys. Beginning stimulation of androgenic activity by the Leydig cells may be simultaneously associated with increased estrogenic output sufficient to induce gynecomastia. There are those, however, who believe in the monovalent concept that the Leydig cells may only secrete androgens. On the other hand, it is thought that these androgenic steroids may be converted during their process of degradation by the body into physiologically active estrogens. Fortunately, although gynecomastia is noted in one-third of boys going through puberty, only a small percentage are permanently affected.

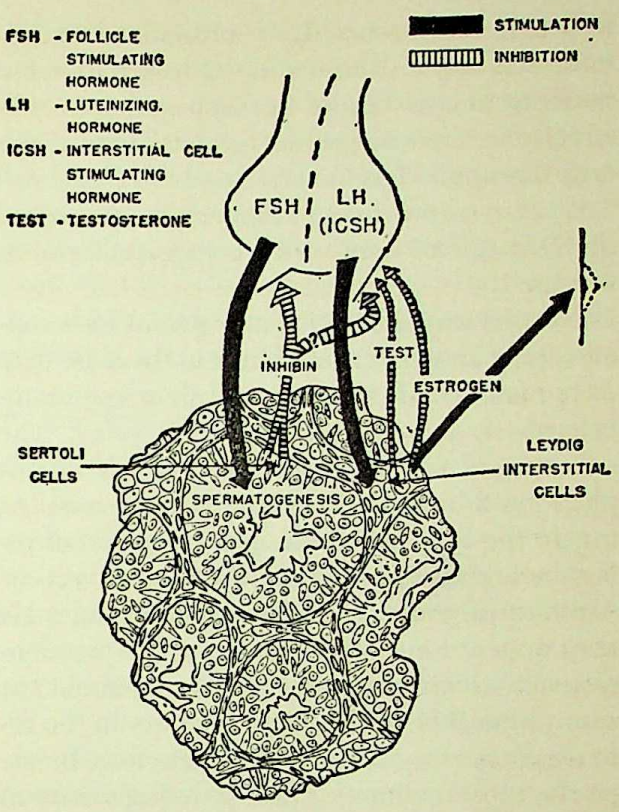


FIG. 3. Diagrammatic presentation of normal testicular-pituitary interrelationship

Male Libido

The use of androgens to enhance libido is more predictable in the female than in the male. The problem in the male, despite its apparent simplicity, is a complex one and many times not as easy to manage as that seen in gynecology. It is not unusual for a male who shows decreased libido with one sexual partner to exhibit a normal or enhanced libido with another. Unlike decreased libido in the female, where we have no significant diagnostic procedures to help differentiate those with endocrine factors from those in whom frigidity is supratentorial, there are two tests to establish the presence of an abnormal hypoendocrine state in the male suspected of having hypogonadism: the determination of 17-ketosteroid level and the extent of urinary gonadotropin (FSH) excretion. If the 17-ketosteroid level is low and the FSH level is high, we then have laboratory evidence to support the concept that the decreased libido

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

is due in all probability to testicular insufficiency or failure. The use of androgens for enhancement of libido in such patients will usually be crowned with success. Those males with a normal 17-ketosteroid and FSH level will invariably show a poor response to androgens, as their defect may well be supratentorial in origin.

Normal sexual function may persist for a considerably longer period of time in the male than in the female. Many males still show spermatogenesis at the age of 70 or 80 years. The presence of viable gametes in a female of this age would be a most unusual phenomenon. As a rule the human female is not capable of reproducing after the age of 60 years. Overt expression of sexual emotions in the young male may appear long before the onset of spermatogenesis, which usually takes place at about the same time that the menarche occurs in the female. Eroticism in the young male may be expressed by erections occurring during urination or after repeated manual manipulation.

Hypogonadism

An important part of male sex endocrinology is the diagnosis and treatment of hypogonadism in the young male. The external position of the male genitalia makes them more subject to comparative study or ridicule by the young male's peers. As a result, the young man with a small phallus and testes may be subject to embarrassment and ridicule by his companions. This may set up a psychological block that later on will make sexual function and activity a difficult problem. Such boys, grown to manhood, may feel inferior to their fellow men and thereby initiate a pattern of aversion to sexual intercourse or a feeling of incompetency with respect to sexual performance.

The appropriate use of gonadotropin hormone and sex-steroid replacement therapy in these boys may alter the personality of such young males from one of inferiority to one of self-confidence. The use of gonadotropins in these patients should be predicated upon either one or all of the following factors: (a) the external genitalia are grossly small for the patient's age and size, (b) urinary 17-ketosteroid excretion is low for his age, (c) the patient himself is aware of his anatomical limitations.

In such individuals—with or without low 17-ketosteroid level—the administration of gonadotropins will demonstrate to the patient that his genitalia may be stimulated so as to command the respect and admiration of his peers. The use of gonadotropins will not have any adverse effect upon these patients' genitalia and will not promote nor delay epiphyseal closure over and above what would normally occur in a patient of the same chronological age who has adequately developed genitalia.

The usual procedure employed is as follows: in boys below the age of 9 or 10 years, human chorionic gonadotropin (APL-Ayerst) in doses of 500 I.U. three times a week for three weeks, followed by 500 I.U. twice a week for three weeks. Above the age of 9 or 10, we would use 1,000 I.U. in the same schedule. Obviously a small 12-year-old boy might well receive the smaller dose while a large 9-year-old would be given the larger dose. In conjunction with the gonadotropin hormone we also use an anabolic steroid, such as norethandrolone (Nilevar), 10 mg. twice a day for 20 days, followed by the same dose once a day. This steroid enhances the therapeutic response to the injected chorionic gonadotropin. It is important to emphasize that the chorionic gonadotropin may in some boys induce bilateral gynecomastia similar to that occurring during spontaneous puberty. This effect is rarely permanent and does not require discontinuing the recommended dose schedule. It is akin to the gynecomastia in a boy going through normal pubescence. One may note at this time that there is no contraindication to the use of these doses of chorionic gonadotropin in hypogonadal boys. Since the source of the gonadotropin is human pregnant women, sensitization reactions are rarely, if ever, seen. For the same reason, the development of antihormone to the administered gonadotropin would be unlikely.

Hormone Preparations

The physician has a wide choice of preparations that may be used for the treatment of sex-hormone deficiency states in the male and fe-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri

male. The preparations available may be administered orally, intramuscularly, or by pellet implantation. The following compounds are effective and used most widely.

Androgens

Oral

Methyltestosterone (Oreton M, Metandren, Neo-Hombreol) usually available as a 10-mg. tablet or linguet. We have never been able to demonstrate any significant superiority of the linguet over the tablet and hence we advise our patients to swallow the medication instead of keeping it beneath the tongue.

Fluoxymesterone (Halotestin, Ultandren). This compound is said to be some four to five times as active as methyltestosterone and is available in 2- and 5-mg. tablets.

Testosterone linguets are available for oral use. However, we do not feel that such compounds are as effective as claimed in linguet form and we do not recommend their use.

Parenteral

Testosterone propionate in oil is available in concentrations ranging from 25 to 50 mg./cc. The activity of testosterone propionate in this form is rather short-lived, and its use has been supplanted by the longer-acting preparations that follow.

Testosterone cyclopentylpropionate in oil, (Depo-testosterone) available in 50 and 100 mg./cc. This is a well-tolerated steroid, remaining active for two to three weeks after administration. The average dose in the hypogonadal male is 150-200 mg. every two to three weeks.

Testosterone enanthate (Delatestryl) is available in doses of 200 mg./cc. and has the same advantage and duration of activity as testosterone cyclopentylpropionate—although it is only one-half as active.

Testosterone phenylacetate (Perandren phenylacetate) is an aqueous suspension and is available in concentrations of 100 mg./cc. It is well tolerated and the duration of effect is from two to three weeks, its potency being equal to that of testosterone cyclopentylpropionate.

Testosterone in aqueous suspension is also available, but we believe that its use has been supplanted by the other longer-acting preparations listed above.

Pellet Implantation

Pellets containing 75 mg. of testosterone are available for implantation. The advantage of pellet implantation is that the effect will last from four to six months. Implantation of the pellet with a standard trochar is a simple and quick office procedure. We usually implant seven to nine pellets in males with hypogonadism when it is difficult for the patient to receive injections over two to three weeks.

Estrogenic Compounds

Oral

There are a number of excellent compounds available on the market and only a few of these are listed below in comparable dose form:

Ethinyl estradiol (Estinyl, Lynoral, Eticylol), .05 mg.
Conjugated estrogens equine (Premarin, Amnestrogen, Conestron), 1.25 mg.
Chlorotrianisene (*TACE*), 12 mg.
Dienestrol, 0.5 mg.
Hexestrol, 3 mg.
Stilbestrol, .3 mg.

Parenteral

Estradiol propionate and *estradiol benzoate* as oil solutions have been available for some time. Because of their relatively short period of action their use has been supplanted by the longer-acting preparations listed below.

Estradiol cyclopentylpropionate (Depo-testradiol), 5 mg./cc. This is an oil solution. Its effect will persist for some two to three weeks.

Estradiol valerate (Delaestrogen), 10 mg./cc. This is also an oil solution and has the same period of effectiveness with its potency being one-half that of estradiol cyclopentylpropionate.

Aqueous suspensions of estrogenic substances, representing biologically active products prepared from the urine of pregnant mares, are available for use. These preparations are prescribed on the basis of international units/cc. of material. Their duration of effect is approximately seven to ten days except for estradiol polyphosphate where 40 mg. as a single injection may last for one to three months.

Pellet Implantation

In the same manner as testosterone, *25 mg. pellets of estradiol* are available for implanta-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tion. Their duration of effect is from six to eight months. Usually three pellets are implanted at one time. They should, however, never be used in a patient unless she has had a total hysterectomy and bilateral ovarectomy.

Progestational Steroids

PARENTERAL

Progesterone is available as an *aqueous suspension,* but because of the marked irritating effect that this form of the steroid has, its clinical use is contraindicated.

Progesterone in oil, available in concentrations of 25 and 50 mg./cc., is usually well tolerated if injected deep into the gluteal muscle with a dry syringe and needle. A single 100-mg. dose is generally used to induce withdrawal bleeding.

17-hydroxysteroid progesterone caproate (Delalutin), 125 mg./cc. in oil solution, has a longer duration of effect than progesterone, but does not appear to be superior to progesterone in inducing secretory changes. In addition—its slow dissipation of effect makes it undesirable for use in patients where a prompt and rapid effect is desired.

ORAL

Norethindrone (Norlutin) and norethynodrel (Enovid). Administration of 10 mg. of either preparation twice a day for seven to ten days will produce an adequate secretory effect with marked stromal accentuation.

Ethisterone, 50 mg. twice a day, will produce an effect comparable to that noted with Norlutin and Enovid except for the excessive stromal effect.

Medroxyprogesterone (Provera), 5 mg. is equivalent to 10 mgm of Norethynodrel.

SUPPOSITORIES

Suppositories of *progesterone,* 50–75 mg. per day for seven days, will give an effect comparable to that noted with the other steroids.

References

Astwood, E. B., "The Regulation of Corpus Luteum Function by Anterior Pituitary Luteotrophin." *Endocrinology 28;* 309-320, 1941.

Bradbury, J. T., "Ovarian Influence on the Response of the Anterior Pituitary to Estrogens." *Endocrinology 41;* 501-513, 1946.

Donovan, B. T., and Harris, G., "Neurohumoral Mechanisms in Reproduction." *Brit. M. Bull. 11;* 93-97, 1955.

Engle, E. T., Smith, P. E., and Shelesnyak, M. C., "The Role of Estrin and Progestin in Experimental Menstruation." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 29;* 787, 1935.

Greenblatt, R. B., Mortara, F., and Torpin, R., "Sexual Libido in the Female." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 44;* 658, 1942.

Greep, R. O., and Jones, I. C., "Steroid Control of Pituitary Function." *Rec. Proc. Hormone Res. J.* 197-254, 1950.

Hisaw, F. L., "The Corpus Luteum Hormone. 1. Experimental Relaxation of the Pubic Ligaments of the Guinea Pig." *Physiol. Zool. 2;* 59-79, 1929.

Hisaw, F. L., "Development of the Graafian Follicle and Ovulation." *Physiol. Rev. 27;* 95-119, 1947.

Hisaw, F. L., and Greep, R. O., "The Inhibition of Uterine Bleeding with Estradiol and Progesterone and Associated Endometrial Modifications." *Endocrinology 23;* 1-14, 1938.

Hisaw, F. L., "The Interaction of the Ovarian Hormones in Experimental Menstruation." *Endocrinology 30;* 301-308, 1942.

Kupperman, H. S., and Epstein, J. A., "Endocrine Therapy of Sterility." *Am. Pract. & Digest. Treat. 9;* 547-563, 1958.

Kupperman, H. S., "Hormonal Aspects of Frigidity." *Rev. Surg. Obst. & Gynec. 16;* 254-257, 1959.

Kupperman, H. S., "Modern Concepts of Endocrine Therapy in Gynecic Disorders." Exhibit at A.M.A. Meeting, 1951.

Kupperman, H. S., "Stress and General Adaptation Syndrome." *J. Dent. Med. 11;* 53-61, 1956.

McCullagh, D. R., "Dual Endocrine Activity of the Testes." *Science 76;* 19-20, 1932.

Salmon, U. J., "Rationale for Androgen Therapy in Gynecology." *J. Clin. Endocrinol. 1;* 162-179, 1941.

Zondek, B., "Oestrogenic Hormone in Stallion's Urine." *Nature 133;* 494, 1934.

HERBERT S. KUPPERMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Illegitimacy

Definition

ILLEGITIMACY is the state or quality of being illegitimate. The child who is born out of wedlock is an illegitimate child (bastard, natural child); the mother who has given birth to such a child is an illegitimate mother. The law makes a further distinction between various states of illegitimacy depending on whether 1) the mother could have lawfully married the father at the time of conception; 2) there existed at that time some legal impediment to marriage such as a close family relationship or a racial barrier; 3) the child was conceived by a married woman by a man other than her husband. In the last instance, the child is designated an adulterine or adulterous bastard.

Legal Penalties

Depending on the conditions under which the child was conceived, the unwed mother may be penalized for fornication or, if her youthful age precludes this, treated as a juvenile delinquent. Her child may inherit from her after her death only if she dies without legitimate issue, and the child may not inherit from her relatives or from the putative father. The married illegitimate mother may suffer the penalties some states impose for adultery; her child may be deprived of the right to inherit from either parent, as may the child resulting from an incestuous union. In some regions the law explicitly forbids the acknowledgement of a child born of an adulterous relationship.

The vindictiveness of these laws becomes particularly apparent when they provide—as they do in several jurisdictions—that the illegitimate child's status must be clearly defined upon the birth certificate and that, unless the child is legally adopted, this must not be changed. The powerful objection to any attempts to introduce less punitive legislation, on the other hand, clearly indicates that such laws are not merely forgotten leftovers from more primitive ages, but that they still reflect the sentiments of a great part of the American population. In fact, since in many instances the authorities do not take legal action on their own initiative, some communities try to penalize the offending woman indirectly. Thus, many localities have only recently introduced a provision that denies Aid to Dependent Children grants to unmarried mothers who have more than one illegitimate child.

History

The hostile attitude toward illegitimacy is often defended as a means of preserving the strength and unity of the family. But actually the cohesiveness of the family has been consistently diminished by the State, the Church, and the growing industrialization of countries in Western culture.

Nations in which the family still functions as an economic unit—a function it has long since lost in our civilization—consistently hold attitudes that are favorable to both the illegitimate mother and the illegitimate child. In many of them, children are considered an asset regardless of whether they are born within or without wedlock. In some, girls whose premarital relations had consequences are preferred for marriage; in others, both husband and wife may have lovers but if the wife's extramarital rela-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

tions result in children, these are the property of the husband.

In its younger days—roughly speaking before the sixteenth century—Western civilization took a much more tolerant view of illegitimacy. Many politically powerful leaders, for instance, bestowed titles, high positions, and responsibilities on their "bastard" sons. In the lowest ranks, illegitimacy was hardly avoidable since farm hands and maids slept in the same room or barn. Like the deplorable living conditions of these people, the consequences of their involuntary cohabitation did not interest either landlords or clergy until, in the wake of Luther's Reformation, the followers of the Protestant sects started thundering against general immorality. They proposed nothing to improve living and working conditions, but where they were in power they imposed severe punishment on sinners. Confronted with the accusation of moral laxity, State and Church in the camp of the Counterreformation naturally would not be outdone. Thus, in Bavaria in 1598 an edict was issued ordering that unwed women who became pregnant were to be fined and publicly exposed in the stocks. After the fourth pregnancy the woman was to be expelled from the country. Other countries followed this example.

But successively promulgated legislation showed that moral indignation was merely a convenient vehicle for economic advantage. The legitimate wives, sons, and daughters were predominantly interested in preventing the "love child" or "natural child" from claiming any part of their inheritance. Various laws, accordingly, make it impossible for parents to leave to the illegitimate child more than half of what the legitimate offspring gets, or to bequeath to him more than to the legitimate one. A related element—resentment of economic responsibility by the community—becomes particularly evident in regions where premarital sex relations are accepted as a part of the courtship. The couple usually marries when the girl becomes pregnant. But when the man refuses to marry her, mother and child are penalized by contempt and social ostracism.

In the course of the nineteenth century these attitudes gradually took a turn for the better. The change began with the sentimentalization of the seduced maiden. The tragedy of infanticide under such circumstances is a frequent motif in Romantic literature. By the middle of the century these ideas also resulted in practical measures. Charitable organizations set up shelters for unmarried mothers. Although from a modern point of view these were nothing to be especially proud of, such shelters eased the plight of the girls to some extent.

During the past three decades several more enlightened countries took additional steps to improve the lot of these women. The goals were: (1) material assistance and hospital care for the impecunious illegitimate mother; (2) education in birth control for the married and the unmarried; (3) elimination of directly or indirectly punitive laws; (4) care and protection of the illegitimate child; (5) educational pressure to influence the attitude of the public; (6) legal means to obtain the father's assistance in the support of the child.

No one country has as yet completely fulfilled this program. The moralistic attitude of those not caught in a similar predicament is especially difficult to change. Several countries, however, have made considerable progress in the indicated directions. In some, the mother has a legal right to preface her name with the title Mrs. instead of Miss; in some, discrimination is counteracted and diminished by governmentally supported counterpropaganda; in some, birth control is not only taught by competent agencies, but apothecaries are compelled to stock and sell contraceptives; in some, termination of pregnancy is allowed on the grounds of social indications. In Sweden, the child takes the father's name if the mother and father were engaged to be married, and he is entitled to inherit from both. If during the child's dependence the father dies, the child has a claim to his estate. A guardian is officially appointed to safeguard the child's rights and interests until he is 18 years old.

Conditions in the United States

In this country many improvements have been introduced. Public and private agencies have been established to advise and shelter the woman in distress, to provide hospital care and legal aid, and to make arrangements for the sustenance of the illegitimate child. In most

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

states, special laws, statutes, or ordinances regulate some or all of their activities. But some states so obviously disapprove of the immoral act that prompted the mother's situation, or are so engrossed in their special interests, that those of both mother and child are not served best. Since social security legislation in 1934, for example, illegitimate mothers are eligible for financial assistance; yet some public welfare departments deny it to the married woman who has an illegitimate child. Although a married woman may be vitally interested in keeping her condition secret from her husband, who admittedly is not the father, some agencies will not accept the child for adoption unless the husband is notified. Some social agencies refuse to serve married women who are illegitimately pregnant, or girls who have become pregnant a second time.

In some southern cities, those who need assistance most urgently—the Negroes—are excluded from otherwise available facilities without being given an adequate equivalent. Some agencies are rigidly religious and provide services only if the clients surrender completely to their control; others turn away those who do not want to discuss their psychological state. Some require the mother to stay in the home as long as six months after delivery although the child is offered for adoption, and some accept the mother only if she consents—long before the birth of the child—to relinquish all rights to her offspring.

Public and semipublic agencies are, naturally, meant in the first place for women who do not have funds of their own and for those who leave their families and home communities in order to remain anonymous. Yet a great number of homes are unwilling to waive or even reduce the cost of their services, and others insist on informing the family or the home community. Some are even said to use the threat of court action because of delinquency, immorality, prostitution, or the like to make the mother comply with their specific demands, as, for instance, to surrender the child.

These and similar practices explain why a considerable number of those who need aid never turn to the agencies meant for them. Indirectly they also contribute to the high mortality rate among illegitimate children, which is four times that of children born in wedlock. By the end of the sixth month of pregnancy, 87 per cent of all married women have seen a doctor; in contrast, the percentage for the unmarried is only 47; among married women, only 4 per cent fail to receive any prenatal care, but the percentage among illegitimate mothers is 23.

The Illegitimate Mother

The number of illegitimate births in the United States, disregarding various possible camouflages, is about 180,000 per year. It constitutes over 4.5 per cent of the yearly birth rate, and is somewhat higher in rural areas than among the urban population. Girls not yet married make up the largest group of illegitimate mothers, married women the smallest. Widows and divorcees stand fairly in the middle between them, although in absolute figures they rank lowest. Among white women, the greater number is above 20 years of age, among Negroes under 20. Since one out of three illegitimate mothers is colored, the majority of the total group is in their teens. Among white girls two out of five illegitimate mothers are teenagers. About 1.3 per cent of all unwed mothers are between 10 and 14 years old.

Class Status

The disproportionately high frequency of illegitimacy among the Negro population has often been cited as proof of racial inferiority. Actually it only demonstrates the influence of socioeconomic status on the rate of illegitimacy. If the population of the United States is divided on the basis of socioeconomic status, 10 per cent of the total fall into the upper stratum, 40 per cent belong in the middle, and 50 per cent in the lower stratum. When this division is applied to the Negro population alone, only 5 per cent rank in the upper, 30 per cent in the middle, and 65 per cent in the lower class. If, on the other hand, white illegitimate mothers are classified by class characteristics such as income and education, an equally disproportionately high rate is found to come from the low socioeconomic group. Although motherhood without the benefit of wedlock occurs on all levels of family background and education, it is

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

heavily concentrated in the families in the lowest income brackets and with relatively little schooling.

These factors are significant in considering the aid given and available to illegitimate mothers. In the United States the agencies entrusted with this task tend to emphasize psychological rehabilitation. The concentration on the "diagnostic approach" inevitably impinges on the funds available for material, legal, and medical help, and hence is justifiable only if the "causes" of illegitimate motherhood can be found in the deviating psychological make-up of the women involved. The above-mentioned combination of economic and educational factors, however, suggests not only different causes but also different remedies.

Causes of Illegitimacy

What have the explorers of causes so far brought to light? There are several theories and each proposes definite characteristics that differentiate the illegitimate mother from other women.

Popular opinion, as presented by the gossiping environment, by sermons, and by magazines designed for popular consumption, is fairly agreed on two qualities: these girls are oversexed and immoral. They are immoral either because they are "born bad" or because they lack religious training. More sophisticated investigators hold that these girls are often mentally defective.

A great number of the girls themselves attribute their predicament to rape, amnesia, knock-out drops, and intoxication.

Among the scientifically oriented, two views dominate the field. The one presents illegitimate motherhood as the outcome of compulsive behavior motivated by unconscious needs and desires; the other attributes it to environmental influences. Let us examine the latter theory first.

Environment

Environmental influences are defined as bad companions, recreational disadvantages, bad home conditions, early sex experiences, mental conflicts, etc. Some forty-five such factors have been enumerated and are, in varying combinations, considered to be causative of, or associated with, "crimes, among them illegitimacy."

Advocates of environmental causation do not believe in inborn badness; rather, they regard frustration and misery as responsible for delinquent behavior. But, basically, delinquency, crime, and illegitimacy appear to them closely related in derivation and consequence. In this respect, they are essentially agreed with that part of public opinion that blames fornication on immorality.

Immorality

Immorality thus becomes an issue worth our attention. Simultaneously it covers another alleged cause, namely oversexedness, which by many is considered one of its generative elements. The immorality hypothesis rests on several observable details. The rate of illegitimacy is consistently rising. It was 87,000 in 1938, 133,200 in 1949, and 176,000 in 1954. Two decades ago, practically all illegitimate mothers were well above 20 years of age, whereas today the majority are in their teens.

The Negro people, as well as the white lower economic classes, have always been accused of moral inferiority in this country, and not only because of their high illegitimacy rate. In both these groups, illegitimate motherhood has never caused the same shock as it has in the middle and upper strata. Not so long ago, a judge refused to authorize county funds for the care of Negroes in boarding homes on the grounds that "Negroes always care for their children." Yet, neither they nor the white lower classes cherish illegitimacy more than other groups. Rather, they have learned to take this undesirable phenomenon in their stride, like so many other disadvantages with which their lives are beset. They do not know what to do about it, just as they do not know what to do about their overabundant legitimate children. Are people in these groups more highly sexed than elsewhere?

Although more unwed mothers belong to the lowest socioeconomic group, the percentage of those who have premarital sex relations is actually smaller in that group than in the middle and upper strata. This fact in itself destroys the myth of low class = low morality. Yet it is not presented here to claim greater virtue for lower-class girls. They marry earlier than those of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

two other classes; hence, the period of premarital maturity is shorter for them. Nevertheless, relatively more become pregnant when they have premarital sex relations, and—even though a greater percentage marries during pregnancy—a greater number of these pregnancies result in illegitimate births.

These data invalidate the conclusion that the illegitimate mother is more highly sexed or more inclined toward delinquency or immorality than any other woman who has premarital, extramarital, or postmarital sex relations. Besides, among the laws designed to safeguard morality, none openly threatens illegitimate motherhood with punishment. Often, to be sure, pregnant girls are sent to penal institutions, but even then the penalties are imposed not for the mishap of becoming pregnant or giving birth, but for the "immorality" committed by having premarital sex relations. And there is obviously quite a difference between the causes of illegitimate sex relations and the reasons for preventing their results.

But what about illegitimate sex relations themselves? Terms such as "immorality" or "oversexedness" make sense only if they indicate a deviation from the mores that are followed, if not by all, then at least by a significant majority of the population. Two questions consequently arise: 1) Are illegitimate sex relations indulged in only by a minority within the country? 2) Are American girls more immoral than those in related cultures?

Data on women who have or have had sex relations before marriage give 52 per cent for Australia, 40 per cent for England, and 98 per cent for Denmark. The estimates for Sweden, France, Russia, Germany, and Switzerland lie between the highest and the lowest of these. In the United States the computations vary between 50 and 60 per cent. Among married women, one out of four has or has had extramarital relations with one or more men other than her husband during the duration of the marriage. Among those who are widowed and divorced and separated, three out of four have sex relations.

In the face of these facts, illegitimate sex relations are better classified as part of our mores than as a deviation from them. Whatever stand the banner-bearers of morality and social adjustment take toward this reality, it is evident that their criteria fail to distinguish between the women who give birth to illegitimate children and the more fortunate ones who escape pregnancy or who know how to terminate it.

Psychological Diagnosis

The psychological approach adopted almost generally by those who professionally deal with illegitimate mothers comes closer to the actual issue in two respects. It has eliminated the terms delinquency and immorality and it tries —although not always successfully—to emphasize only those motives that cause the female to bear the consequences of her illicit sex relations.

Unfortunately, these diagnosticians are so fascinated by the spectacle of unconscious motivation that they consider illegitimate motherhood to be purposive in all instances. Driven by unconscious motives, they contend, the woman predestined to contact a family agency, a maternity home, or a placement center is "seeking pregnancy." She is compelled to do so "because the child will be symbolically the child of her father"; or because she resents his refusal to have a child with her; or because by having a child she dominates the illegitimate mate and thus "gratifies her basic resentment toward him"; or "because she wants to present her submissively loved mother with a child." It appears that these charitable minds can drive out the ghosts of immorality and delinquency only by calling another ghost in, namely neurosis. "The unmarried mother," their credo runs, "is a neurotic individual," and illegitimate motherhood "a symptom of an underlying problem."

Unquestionably, most girls who find themselves pregnant are in a state of panic. It is equally likely that there is a high percentage of neurotics, psychotics, and psychopaths among illegitimate mothers. To assume, however, that in all instances illegitimate motherhood is brought about by "a compelling unhealthy urge to bear a child" presupposes a complete disregard of reality.

The explanation of unconsciously intentional pregnancy has a certain attraction since illegitimate motherhood is relatively rare. According

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

to the findings of the Kinsey report on the sexual behavior of American females, and the most recent publication of the Kinsey Institute, on birth, pregnancy, and abortion, about 40,000,000 of all American females alive today have had or will have sexual intercourse before marriage. One out of five of these has become or will become pregnant. Of these, 19 per cent marry during their pregnancy and thus escape the stigma of illegitimacy. Of those who do not, 5 per cent have miscarriages, and only 6 out of a hundred give birth to illegitimate children. The rest, 89 per cent, rid themselves of the fetus before it is born. Among the 10,000,000 women who are divorced, widowed, or separated, 7,300,000 have sex relations. Approximately 1,387,000 of them (19 per cent) become pregnant at one time or another, but only 4 per cent, that is, somewhat more than 55,000, become mothers. The figures for married women are less reliable since illegitimacy of the child can be more easily hidden.

Considering, then, the millions who know how to elude the consequence of illegitimate sex relations, it may appear strange that some—to whom birth must be equally undesirable—find no way to avoid it.

Unconscious purposefulness is just not the answer. The difference between those who become illegitimate mothers and those who do not can usually be traced to much simpler causes, which may appear alone or in combination. Some of these are associated with socioeconomic status and/or the ages of those who constitute the majority of illegitimate mothers.

Ignorance

Class status is highly correlated with education. The lower classes are deficient in this respect. The greatest number of women who become pregnant before marriage have ended their education with grammar school. Of those who have had some high-school education, 7 per cent become pregnant by the age of 20, whereas only 3 per cent of the girls who are in college suffer the same mishap at that age.

It is not, of course, the knowledge acquired in schools that accounts for the difference but the higher learning potential, the family background of better education, and the training that allows them to pick up worldly wisdom outside the classroom and to sift it with regard to its value. Those who are handicapped by poorer education are also more credulous and uncritical in their sexual behavior. They trust their luck, they are more likely to credit the most absurd misinformation and to use all kinds of ineffective means to forestall pregnancy.

It is therefore more than likely that ignorance accounts for a great number of unwanted pregnancies. In particular, lack of information on contraception is an important factor. Although approximately 78 per cent of the females who have premarital sex relations use preventive devices of one kind or another, 11 per cent do not use any. The kind of contraception used is also of importance. The man's promise that he will be careful, for instance, is a dubious device, more likely to be trusted by a simple mind than by a sophisticated one. Although what is usually understood by sex education in our era does not, as a rule, include information on contraception in either the upper or the lower strata, the girl who comes from a family with a better education, or who has received a better education, moves in circles where mutually conveyed information is more reliable than that it is in the less-educated groups. She is also more likely to consult a physician or a gynecologist than is the girl of the poorer stratum and hence to get answers to her questions or to pick up relevant suggestions inadvertently.

The dangers inherent in ignorance are aggravated by youthfulness. Girls who come from the families of manual workers and laborers start their sexual activities five to six years earlier than those brought up in white-collar homes. But whatever the class and the family background, an early sexual awakening is not accompanied by commensurate foresight and knowledge. Many of these 13-, 14-, and 15-year-old girls crave to prove themselves adult, to be attractive to men; and even those somewhat older girls are often indiscriminate in their choice and have to trust the partner's knowledge about prevention of pregnancy. They are often merely curious about the secrets of sex. Indeed, some derive a feeling of safety from the fact that they started early: still unable, physically, to become pregnant in the earlier stages of puberty, they feel no need to look for effective contraception until one day,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

as a result of the gradual maturation of the reproductive apparatus, they find themselves pregnant.

Even among older girls ignorance is not limited to the lowest classes. In some circles the topic of sex is taboo and, in spite of her greater learning, a girl may remain naive in this field. And sometimes it is not even the young person's own ignorance that so endangers her; rather, parental restrictions prevent her from applying her knowledge. She knows about contraceptives, for example, but because of her mother's strictness she does not dare to have one in her possession.

What applies to contraception also applies to abortion. The interruption of pregnancy in a healthy woman is illegal, and doctors who perform such operations do not advertise it. Also, because of the legal risk involved, an abortion is very expensive. Those who have little money quite frequently prefer, therefore, to take all kinds of drugs, only to become aware of their ineffectiveness when it is too late. Although religious convictions do not keep all women from premarital or postmarital intercourse, they do sometimes interfere with the decision to have an abortion. In other instances, girls are too afraid to take this step. Their fear is not surprising since their sources of information and, indeed, even the average newspapers and magazines invariably depict it as an undertaking that results in death, sterility, or irreparable damage. Therefore, for those who cannot obtain reliable information, it is an act to be resorted to only in desperation.

Although most of the pregnant women—married as well as unmarried—nevertheless take that risk, there is obviously a minority that does not find its way through the maze of difficulties. Not knowing to whom to turn, misinformed about the danger involved, rejected by the father of the child, and unable to raise money, they have the baby, without any conscious or unconscious desire for it.

Lack of Intelligence

Although ignorance is not necessarily correlated with low intelligence, among illegitimate mothers the latter is somewhat more frequent than it is in a random sample. With regard to mental defectiveness and illegitimacy, studies differ too much to say anything definite. But whether the mother is actually feeble-minded or somewhere between mental deficiency and average intelligence, she is handicapped for all the reasons presented under ignorance. She has the additional disadvantage of being more easily seduced by promises of love and marriage. (However, girls of low intelligence are not the only ones who are induced by such promises to surrender to a man's desires or to surrender under unfavorable circumstances—that is to say, when they cannot protect themselves against conception. And there are couples who have intercourse because they plan to marry anyway, but cannot realize their intention because an accident or the man's death makes it impossible.)

Negligence

Carelessness rivals ignorance for first place among the factors causally associated with unwanted pregnancy. The two are frequently combined. In about 11 out of a hundred instances, girls take precautions occasionally, but at other times they take a chance. Their imprudence may result from laziness and poor training or from lack of foresight, and also from passion and from inhibitions about appearing materially concerned in a situation that is supposed to be purely emotional.

What people deplore as bad luck can often be traced to carelessness. Married and divorced women are often overoptimistic. They know that one may have intercourse many times before one conceives, but they know as little as anyone else whether the gamble will turn out in their favor or not. Others are slipshod in inserting and removing contraceptives, or in the care of the perishable material of which they consist. Men often believe themselves to be thrifty rather than rash when they use the same condom over again.

The circumstances responsible for unexpected conception in these instances are not different from those in married life except that a husband is usually more cooperative because he is more vitally concerned in the avoidance of pregnancy than is the infatuated lover or the chance acquaintance to whom the whole affair is only a pleasant adventure.

In premarital, extramarital, and postmarital

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

sex relations, therefore, negligence and ignorance operate more decisively according to the selection of the sexual partner. The male may be indifferent to the consequences that his carelessness can have for the female. He may promise to take precautions but actually not do so. He may be so impatient as not to allow his partner to make preparations, or he may object to artificial devices because they allegedly diminish his pleasure. Men often feel no responsibility at all toward girls who are known to have promiscuous relations. Many do not exercise the same control with girls of a low class as they do with a girl of their own class, and some prefer such relations for this very reason. Others are tempted to prove their superiority over the opposite sex through deliberate inconsiderateness, or try to allay doubts of their own masculinity by provoking the risk of pregnancy.

Certain personality features constitute a particularly fertile soil for recklessness, carelessness, and indiscriminate choice of the partner. Among them are (1) impulsiveness, (2) an inclination toward overoptimism, and (3) greater-than-average suggestibility. With reference to the sexual situation, these traits may mean that the girl can be relatively easily persuaded to ignore unfavorable circumstances. Further characteristics may be listed, including (4) submissiveness: the woman is easily intimidated by a show of disapproval and confused by peremptory or loud commands, and (5) latent masochistic tendencies: under their influence the girl may consistently be attracted to men of whom consideration either during sex relations or afterwards cannot be expected.

The girl's willingness to yield may pervade the whole personality or be concentrated in the field of sex and affectionate relations. In the latter case, an excessive need for popularity, for being loved and desired, for proving her femininity hinders her in the evaluation of the partner's dependability or urges her to comply with his wishes, perhaps against her better judgment. Unconscious rebellion against overly restrictive and domineering or unloving parents also sometimes produces foolish and stubborn daring.

Intoxication

Pregnant girls frequently assert that they were plied with alcohol until they were drunk and then were misused. Although this story is not an invention in all instances, it usually distorts some of the facts. There is no doubt about an existing connection between intoxication and pregnancy. Trustworthy studies show that the total consumption of alcohol in comparable regions is highly correlated with the number of births out of wedlock.

The effect of alcohol is to cause an otherwise fairly provident women to become foolhardy, gullible, and negligent. For them, as well as for the inexperienced who lose their inhibitions, the situation is aggravated by the fact that men, even when they are only slightly intoxicated, often become more aggressive and callous about self-control.

Rape

Severe intoxication may so lower some men's power of restraint that they commit rape or incest. Even so, rape is more often an excuse than a cause of illegitimate motherhood. Actually a number of premarital sex relations fall into the category of statutory rape (sexual intercourse with a female under age, irrespective of her consent) but when the illegitimate mother claims rape she always means that she has been violated against her will, by force or under threat of force. The more fanciful allegations include secret administration of drugs in drinks or coffee, a hypodermic injection, and the use of hypnotism. As a rule, such allegations can be easily disposed of, and are withdrawn in the course of close investigations.

Rape does occur, of course—for the year 1956, for example, the FBI reported 20,300 cases—but as a cause for illegitimate motherhood it is a quantitatively insignificant factor. In many instances, the girl may in fact not have explicitly consented to intercourse, but she did not put up any resistance or she had sex relations with the same man before or after the incident. Frequently she delighted in heavy petting, but when she meant to check her partner, he could not be stopped anymore. Girls who associate with the rougher male elements, such as adolescents gathered in delinquent gangs, are well aware that their sexual teasing exposes them to this peril. It is worth mentioning, however, that among delinquent girls (classified so because of other derelictions than the one that brings them to the maternity home) the incidence of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: MoE-IKS

motherhood is lower than among nondelinquents. The reason is not higher morality, for most delinquent girls have frequent and often promiscuous sex relations, but the fact that they are more able to take care of themselves.

Incest

Offspring resulting from incestuous relations are *ipso facto* illegitimate since the term incest applies exclusively to sexual contact between people who are legally barred from marriage. Such children cannot be legitimized by the father. Their number is difficult to determine because incest carries a heavy penalty for both parties; and the mother, unless she claims rape, is not likely to reveal the father's name. Incest with or without consequence is a crime largely confined to the lowest economic stratum. In the United States, pregnancy that is the result of rape, or even of incest and rape combined, cannot be legally terminated.

Purposive Pregnancy

In a relatively small percentage of cases, illegitimate pregnancy is intentional or purposive. Motherhood is consciously purposive if readily available means to prevent or to terminate a pregnancy are not utilized. Occasionally, for example, by confronting the putative father with the news of her pregnancy, a girl hopes to force him to marry her. If she has misjudged the strength of her argument—as sometimes happens if there is a wide gap in social status or if a married partner cannot induce his wife to divorce him—she may have to join the ranks of illegitimate mothers. Married women sometimes get into a similar plight. If, for example, the marriage remained childless, she may be so tortured by the suspicion that she is sterile that she tests her ability to conceive in an extramarital relation. Another may so fervently desire a child that she takes the risk, hoping that she can convince her husband of his paternity. If he is not deceived, or is unwilling to recognize the child as his, he has grounds for divorce and the child is considered illegitimate.

Intention and goal are unequivocally admitted by the Bachelor Motherhood League in England. Its members are not content with fighting prejudice against illegitimate motherhood, but insist that every woman who so desires should have the right to become a mother even though, because of the shortage of men, she must remain single.

Unconscious Purposiveness

Unconscious purposiveness as a causative factor indicates needs and desires so compelling that they nullify all overt attempts to prevent illegitimate pregnancy and motherhood. The compulsion is symptomatic of a neurotic state.

Contrary to the assumption that this is the driving force in practically all females who become mothers without the benefit of marriage, it is relatively rare. Unconscious needs do, of course, play as significant a role in sex relations as they do in every form of human behavior but, except in severe neurotics and psychotics, their significance is limited and subordinate to reality considerations. It is probable that unconscious needs are at work in the selection of a sadistic partner, for instance, but for all its undesirable consequences, that makes neither pregnancy nor motherhood intentional. Rivalry with the mother or sister may be the unconscious motive for taking up promiscuous sex relations, but given the proper information, even a promiscuous woman will take effective measures against conception. If, nevertheless, she becomes pregnant, as happens because of negligence, passion, intoxication, impulsiveness, etc., in millions of cases of married and unmarried women, she will, in accordance with the means at her disposal, take steps to escape the predicament.

Among the more frequent neurotic motives that compel a woman to have a child out of wedlock are self-punishment; punishment of the prohibiting parent, usually the mother; and unconquerable craving for affection in girls who feel and always have felt rejected. In such a constellation, forgetfulness, carelessness, and recklessness may unconsciously be put into the service of the crucial need.

Facilities for the Poor

It has been mentioned that the great mass of illegitimate mothers come from impecunious homes. Fewer females with better education and home training, even when they are as frequently involved in illicit sex relations, get preg-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

nant, and if they do, they know how to end this state. Having money, they can also take care of hospital expenses at a place where discretion is guaranteed.

The others who lack sufficient funds have more often to rely on publicly and privately supported facilities. So must middle-class and upper-class girls sometimes, if they cannot turn to their parents for support. Facilities provided for them are—disregarding intermediaries such as the family agency—the maternity home, the boarding home, and the child-placement agency.

Maternity Homes

These organizations are as a rule under the control of the welfare departments of the various states. Most states have established standards for licensing and supervising maternity homes. They are designed to meet the needs of both the mother and the child. The needs involve the skills of the obstetrician, the pediatrician, the nurse, the social worker, and, in some instances, those of the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the lawyer. Of course, only in the ideal home are all these services available under one roof. Homes that do not have a hospital arrange for obstetrical service in community hospitals. All of them give advisory health supervision before and after delivery and some have arrangements with the local board of education to provide teachers for the girls who are still of school age. Legal aid is required when the child is to be offered for adoption or when support from the father is to be obtained through court action. Most shelters also have nurseries for the care of the babies.

Unfortunately, many unwed mothers cannot afford even the limited aid of the maternity home, since for them the fees are prohibitive. Quite a few shelters refuse to waive or reduce the cost. Others are so keen on recovering their expenses from the fees adopting parents pay that they do not take in anyone who has not committed herself to surrender the child for adoption.

The Boarding Home

Older women and very young girls frequently do not fit into the community life of the maternity shelter since activities there are geared to the majority, which consists of adolescents. If possible, these women and others who are handicapped are placed in private boarding homes. The agency responsible for them selects the homes interested in boarding unwed mothers and makes the necessary arrangements with regard to the different kinds of aid needed. A few agencies provide so-called wage homes. In wage homes, the girls pay for their sustenance with their work. Most agencies, however, consider this one of the least desirable forms of care.

The Child

Once the child is born, the duty of providing for its maintenance rests with the parents. If the father is unknown, the mother is responsible for it. If the father acknowledges the child as his own, either he can make a private agreement regarding its support or he can be forced by court action to contribute to the child's upkeep. In about 10 per cent to 25 per cent of the cases, paternity is established in court. If the putative father denies paternity, blood tests give him a limited chance (55 per cent) to prove that he is falsely accused.

Acknowledgment of paternity per se does not make an illegitimate child legitimate. This change is usually brought about by adoption. Although in approximately two out of ten cases the putative father marries the pregnant girl before she gives birth to their child, marriage after the child is born occurs only in two out of a hundred cases. It is often the hope for such an eventual marriage that causes the mother to keep the child.

Strangely enough, social agencies concerned with advising and counseling unwed mothers consider the girl who wants to keep the child with her, instead of offering it for adoption, as "the least healthy"—that is, the most neurotic. It is impossible to establish to what extent this idea is supported by fact and to what extent it is merely the outgrowth of the general philosophy of these agencies. It has been claimed that some of them actually exert a more or less severe pressure on the mother to give up her child. It is an indisputable fact, of course, that the mother who keeps her child with her is handicapped with regard to occupational work

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

and later marriage. Nonetheless, all comparable agencies in other countries do not share this view. It is possible that underlying the voiced philosophy are not only the stated considerations but also others, among them distrust in the girl's ability to care and plan properly for her child.

Keeping the Baby

When the illegitimate mother keeps the baby, she may actually live with him, or she may place him with relatives. In the latter case, she may or may not keep in contact with the child; she may become known to the child as his mother or she may be presented to him as a visiting aunt.

How many of the mothers actually keep their children cannot be determined with even approximate accuracy. Agencies do keep records of course, but only a fraction of illegitimate mothers use such agencies. Even the records extant do not present the complete picture, because the mother who insists on keeping the child may independently place it for adoption later. To the extent that limited follow-up studies are significant, it appears that about 20 to 29 per cent of the live children live with their mothers, and about 11 per cent are placed with relatives.

For the rest, three possibilities exist: 1) placement for adoption, 2) placement in a foster home, and 3) placement in a public institution.

Adoption

Adoption is a legal act in which the mother relinquishes forever all rights and obligations in respect to her child. Although adoption statutes vary greatly, all states regulate proceedings and requirements. In most of them, the state department of social (public) welfare and/or specially licensed private agencies are entrusted with the task of selecting suitable families for the child. Besides these agencies, however, there flourishes what the official agencies call a "black market" or "gray market," and it appears that many adoptive parents and many mothers prefer what is less derogatorily named "independent placement." Approximately 45 per cent of all adoptions are made independently. The reason seems to be that both parties are spared much red tape and many embarrassing questions. The illegitimate mother in particular appreciates the greater discretion exercised in the unofficial market.

Although adoption is not inexpensive, there are approximately ten times as many applicants as there are children offered for adoption. Nevertheless there are difficulties in placing some of the babies. Among those hard to place are the progeny of the visibly distinguishable minority groups such as Negroes, Japanese, and Mexicans. Only 7 per cent of these children can be placed, although the colored groups make up 15 per cent of the total population and their rate of illegitimacy exceeds the proportional expectations.

Mongolian idiots, hydrocephalics, cretins, etc., are nonadoptable. These children are placed in institutions under the auspices of welfare departments.

The Foster Home

Equally nonadoptable are children whose mothers have not relinquished them legally. The mother may have abandoned the child or she may have been unable to make up her mind. These children are placed either in foster homes or in orphanages and similar institutions. A mother may place her child in a foster home at her own expense. If she discontinues payment, the child becomes a public charge. Similar is the fate of partially blind, deaf, or crippled children. There are, at the present time, about 175,000 children living in foster homes, and 95,000 children in public institutions. But only 5 per cent of these are legally free to be adopted.

Follow-up of Illegitimate Mothers

A few studies inform us about the lot of the illegitimate mother after she has given birth. Although only 2 per cent marry the putative father of the child, about 76 per cent marry within seven years. Younger persons, naturally, have an advantage over older ones, and those who surrendered their children for adoption are more likely to marry than those who kept them. In one out of five cases, the husband never learns about the girl's experience; in four of five he learns about it before marriage. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

some instances, the mother after marriage recovers the child from relatives or from a boarding home, and the husband adopts it. The marriages themselves do not seem to differ from any others.

References

Bensing, R. G., "A Comparative Study of American Sex Statutes." *J. Crim. Law & Criminol. 42;* 57-72, 1951.

Block, Babette, "The Unmarried Mother." *Pub. Health Nursing* July, 1951.

Block, Babette, *Foster Family Care for Unmarried Mothers.* Washington: Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1955.

Brasol, Boris, *The Elements of Crime.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Clark, Lemon, "A Report on the Virginity of American Unmarried Women." *Internat. J. Sexology 4;* 166, 1951.

Clemens, A. H., "Unscientific Aspects of Sex Education." *Marr. & Fam. Living 15;* 10-14, 1953.

Davis, Annie Lee, "Attitudes Toward Minority Groups." *The Child 13;* 6, 1948.

Doob, Leonard W., *Social Psychology.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952.

Fink, Lotte A., "Premarital Sex Experiences of Girls in Sidney." *Internat. J. Sexology 7;* 42, 1954.

French, Thomas M., *The Importance of the First Interview with the Unmarried Mother.* Washington: Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1952.

Gebhard, Paul, *et al., Pregnancy, Birth, and Abortion.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Hayman, Marguerite M., *Casework Treatment of the Unmarried Mother.* Washington: Federal Security Agency, Children's Bureau, 1954.

Hutchinson, Dorothy, "How Can We Revise Agency Policies to Better Meet the Needs of Unmarried Mothers and Babies?" *Florence Crittenton Bull. 14;* 3, 1949.

Josselyn, Irene M., *What We Know about the Unmarried Mother.* New York: National Association on Service to Unmarried Parents, 1953.

Kinsey, A. C., *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Levy, Dorothy, *A Follow-up Study of Unmarried Mothers.* New York: Family Service Association of America, 1955.

Queener, Llewellyn, *Introduction to Social Psychology.* New York: Wm. Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951.

Schatkin, Sidney, *Disputed Paternity Proceedings.* Albany: M. Bender & Co., Inc., 1958.

Shake, Virginia, *Case Work Services to Unmarried Mothers.* New York: National Association on Unmarried Parents, 1957.

Thompson, William B., "Symposium on Adoption." *West. J. Surg. 62;* 257-283, 1954.

Young, Leontine, *Out of Wedlock.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954.

HUGO G. BEIGEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Impotence

Definition

THE term *impotence* applies only to men. A man who is unable to have sexual intercourse in the normal manner, with erection and intromission, because of inability to attain or maintain a satisfactory erection, or because of structural deformity, is said to be impotent.

In the type of impotence known as partial, the individual may be able to have a brief erection and may even enter the vagina, but will then have an immediate ejaculation of sperm. This condition is known as premature ejaculation and is divided into two types that will be discussed later.

Nature of Erectile Tissues

The penis in the male and the clitoris in the female (which is the homologue of the former) are both composed chiefly of erectile tissue. Erectile tissue consists essentially of numerous fibrous strands, called trabeculae, that are attached to the undersurface of the thick covering (tunica albuginea) of the organ (penis or clitoris) and stretch from there across the interior of the structure. They form a fine spongelike network whose interspaces communicate freely with one another and contain varying quantities of blood, draining through direct communications with the veins of the penis or clitoris. The size of the erectile organ varies with the amount of blood in these spongelike cavernous spaces. When distended with blood the organ becomes erect.

There is a marked resemblance of the penis to its homologue, the clitoris. Both organs have a body composed of two columns of erectile tissue and known as the corpora cavernosa; a head or glans, which also is composed of erectile tissue; and, passing backward from the head in the penis, a long column of erectile tissue known as the corpus cavernosum of the urethra (since the urethra or passage from the urinary bladder traverses it). This column ends below in an enlargement known as the bulb of the penis. In the female a somewhat separate erectile structure, known as the bulb of the vestibule, lies on each side of the orifice of the vagina.

The corpora cavernosa of both the penis and the clitoris extend backward and downward as legs or crura and are attached to the periosteum of the medial sides of surfaces of the pubic arch. The crura in both sexes are overlaid by the ischiocavernosus muscle and the bulb in each sex is covered by the bulbocavernosus muscle. The ischiocavernosus muscle may assist in erection by pressure on veins from the penis.

In the male the bulbocavernosus muscle covers the bulb of the penis and contracts spasmodically during the sexual climax or orgasm and squirts the semen from the posterior urethra. This contraction is an involuntary reflex act initiated by the orgasm to ensure the passage of spermatozoa into the vagina. (This muscle, used voluntarily, empties the last drops of urine from the urethra.) In the female also the muscle contracts spasmodically during orgasm and in some instances the male partner can feel the tightening around the penis. Voluntary contraction of this muscle, known also as the sphincter vaginae, during sexual intercourse produces a voluptuous sensation greatly appreciated by most male partners.

An examination of medical drawings will

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

make clear the spongy or cavernous nature of the erectile tissue of the penis. Blood normally flows into and out of the penis or clitoris at about the same rate, but during sexual excitement and at other times, as during the so-called morning erections, the blood flows in at a much faster rate than it flows out. As a result, the spongy tissue spaces are filled, but the surface of the organ is supported by the tough tunica albuginea so that it cannot stretch beyond a certain degree. When this point of maximum distension is reached the organ becomes stiff and the inflow and outflow reach equilibrium. This condition may be of varying duration, from minutes to an hour or longer, depending upon the mood and the capability of the individual. Normally the erection is lost soon after the climax, or orgasm, which in the male causes the ejaculation through the contractions of the bulbocavernosus muscle, and in the female the spasmodic contractions of the sphincter vaginae muscle around the vaginal orifice.

The Anatomy of Erection

Blood enters the erectile tissues of the penis and clitoris through arteries. The only anatomical explanation of the cause of erection this writer has found is made in the following statement from Morris' *Human Anatomy* (1945):

> The nerves supplying the penis are the anterior scrotal branches of the ilioinguinal, and the perineal branches and dorsal nerve of the penis from the pudendal. Sympathetic fibers from the third and fourth sacral nerves constitute what are termed the nervi erigentes, since stimulation of them produces erection of the organ. An anatomical provision for the production of this phenomenon has been found in the occurrence of peculiar thickenings of the intima of the arteries of the penis, by which the lumina of the vessels are greatly diminished or even occluded when in a state of moderate contraction, as when the organ is flaccid [soft]. When the arteries are dilated the intimal thickenings become reduced in height and the blood is afforded a free passage into the lacunar spaces of the corpora cavernosa, which thus become engorged.

The penis may be compared with a hollow cylinder, blind at one end and filled with dry sea sponge. If the open end is dipped in water the marked increase in the weight of the cylinder will quickly be noticed. This state will continue as long as the water remains in the sponge inside the cylinder. One may simulate the phenomenon to a lesser degree by pouring water into a rubber glove until all the fingers and the thumb stick out like the teats on a cow's full udder.

At the time the patient with partial or complete impotence attempts to have intercourse there is some inhibition to the proper rate of flow of blood into and from the cavernous spaces of the erectile tissues of the penis. At other times, as under the influence of phantasies, in masturbation, or in morning erections, the inflow is faster and the organ becomes erect. In such cases the difficulty is psychogenic and not organic.

The Physiology of Erection

As a preparation for sexual intercourse, the process of erection is initiated by the higher centers of the central nervous system—that is, by centers in the large brain or cerebrum. The impulses travel downward over nerve pathways to the lower segments of the spinal cord, which contains a group of nerve cells usually referred to as the erection center. Passing outward from this center in the spinal cord in its sacral region, nerve fibers extend downward to the erectile tissues of the penis and clitoris. These nerves, which belong to the parasympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system, are called the *nervi erigentes*, or erection nerves, since it is their function to regulate the blood content of the spongy tissues in the erectile organs, thus rendering them turgid and rigid. The penis and clitoris also receive sympathetic nerve fibers by way of the hypogastric and pelvic plexuses, but these fibers have an inhibitory influence and tend to prevent erection.

The Nervous System

It will help the intelligent patient if he comprehends the nature of the human nervous system. It consists of the central portion, made up of the brain and spinal cord; of the peripheral nervous system, which consists of nerves passing from the central nervous system all over the body to muscles, joints, internal organs,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

skin, and so on; and of the autonomic nervous system, which has control over the involuntary activities of the body, such as circulation, respiration, digestion and absorption, and so on.

An intact *central nervous system* is necessary for the adequate performance of the sexual act. Many cases of organic impotence, which comprise less than ten per cent of all cases of impotence, are due to lesions in the brain and spinal cord, much more often in the latter. The brain and spinal cord must be able to send their impulses and to transmit them in order for the erectile tissues to respond normally. This response means filling with blood and becoming tense and firm. If a motor peripheral nerve is cut or severely damaged it cannot transmit impulses from the brain and/or spinal cord to the muscle it normally supplies. The result is paralysis of the muscle. The principle is the same.

It is also necessary for the *peripheral nervous system* to be intact, for what one sees, hears, smells, or feels may determine one's response to erotic stimuli.

The stimuli and impulses that affect the *autonomic nervous system* are of the utmost importance in carrying out the normal act of coitus. For example, in the act of coitus the *sympathetic division* of the autonomic nervous system has an inhibitory effect. If a man is overcome by grief or seized by fear, he cannot attain an erection. As a matter of fact, fear of failure, fear of detection, fear of causing an unwanted pregnancy, or any other kind of fear may prevent a satisfactory erection.

On the other hand it is the *parasympathetic nervous system* that stimulates the erectile tissues and aids in producing erection. It is inhibition of the parasympathetic function resulting from overactivity of the sympathetic that causes most cases of impotence.

Fortunately, we have drugs that quiet or sedate the sympathetic nerves and drugs that stimulate the parasympathetic, to such an extent that the evil influence of the former is overcome and the salutary influence of the latter is enhanced, thus bringing about erection.

It is thus clear that the act of coitus requires a conscious desire, or libido, which acts on the erection center in the spinal cord and stimulates it to bring about the phenomenon of circulatory distention of the cavernous or erectile tissues of the copulatory organs. When this occurs in partners with normal organs, proper and mutually satisfactory sexual intercourse is possible.

Erection and ejaculation may occur without conscious sex desire, as in the so-called "wet-dream" or nocturnal emission. Even in such cases it cannot be doubted that the influence of the higher centers (in the brain) is effective in bringing about the sequence of events.

In normal and healthy men only powerful emotions of an inhibitory nature can prevent the smooth-running physiology of erection from accomplishing the desired end.

Types of Erection

Cerebral Erection

The normal and usual type of erection occurs spontaneously as a result of sexual excitement. Erotic thoughts can bring it about, but on physical contact it will take place even more quickly. In young men especially it happens and persists for a considerable time during petting or dancing. This is the cerebral type of erection and results largely from impulses passing downward from the higher centers (in the brain, or cerebrum) to the lower centers in the spinal cord and thence over the erection nerves of the parasympathetic nervous system to the erectile tissues. This type of erection may persist into old age, but in middle life or later the speed of the phenomenon is much lessened. In the later decades of life it may become necessary to depend upon the other principal type of erection.

Reflex Erection

This is the tactile or reflex type and requires a varying amount of massage of the penis, preferably by the wife. It may take from two or three to five or ten minutes of slow massage, with the use of a good lubricant. Although the surgical lubricating jellies are very good for this purpose, their composition seems to have recently become somewhat stiffer and hence not so slick. An excellent lubricant for this purpose is Jergens Lotion or Hinds Honey and Almond Cream or any equivalent lotion. If a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

condom is used surgical jelly is better and should be applied before it is put on.

Some patients complain that massage of the penis in this manner brings on the orgasm and thus dissipates their desire. This is simply a matter of inadequate technique. The massage should be slow and backward and forward over the head of the penis. When the sensation grows too acute the husband uses some signal (such as a slight pinch on his wife's thigh), or asks her to stop for a moment. After the sensation becomes less acute, the wife proceeds again with the massage. Further directions in this regard will be given in the discussion of the medical treatment of psychogenic impotence, although most men will not require any medication in order to achieve a perfectly satisfactory reflex erection. This type of erection is usually much more stable than the very quick cerebral erections of young men, who reach a climax so quickly that the wife is unable to attain orgasm.

The slowness in attaining erection and the need for massage in some older men cannot certainly be explained with our present knowledge of the changes that take place in the blood vessels and tissues of the erectile organs, but it has been surmised that arteriosclerotic changes in the arteries may be at least partly responsible.

Although many men, unaware of the existence of the reflex type of erection, conclude that they are impotent, many others learn in one way or another of the reflex erection and realize that they are not impotent, but merely slow in getting started. They may experiment with themselves by massaging their penes and bring on the erection in this manner while the wife waits. It never seems to occur to them that it is much more satisfactory to have the wife bring it about. Some men learn the technique through conversation with other men.

Possibly old men could attain adequate potency by means of appropriate medication and the technique described above for the reflex erection. Certainly, if a morning erection can occur, the anatomy and physiology of the erectile apparatus are intact and merely require proper treatment, assuming that the male has a good libido. Unfortunate are those cases in which the man has lost all desire, yet has an ardent wife who craves satisfaction. Alleviation of the spouse's desires in instances of this kind will be described in the discussion of the artificial phallus.

Types of Impotence and Their Causes

There are three types of impotence, based on the underlying causes: organic, functional, and psychic (psychogenic).

Organic Impotence

Organic impotence is due to some anatomical defect in the reproductive organs, or in the brain or spinal cord. Because of an extreme condition of hypospadias the penis as such may be absent, represented by what resembles a very large clitoris. The external urinary opening (from the bladder) is underneath the base of the phallus and it is necessary for the individual to squat in order to urinate. In cases of hypospadias in which there is a normal-sized or even a small penis, a urological surgeon can make an artificial channel to the end of the organ. Thereafter the patient can stand and void and can also ejaculate inside the vagina.

The testicles may have been lost by disease or accident or have become incapacitated following febrile diseases such as mumps. If this loss occurs before the individual has attained maturity and reached full sexual development, impotence is the rule. (Loss of the testicles after adulthood during which a fully developed sex life has been attained will not cause impotence for many years.)

The urethra may have been so injured that it cannot stretch sufficiently to permit normal erection.

Disease of, or accident to, the brain or spinal cord may so affect centers concerned with perception or erection that impotence results.

It is said that the penis is very rarely too large for entrance into a vagina of average size, although enormous hypertrophy has been said to have prevented intercourse in some instances; also deformities or disease of the penis or surrounding structures (as of the scrotum in hydrocele or in elephantiasis) may render intercourse impossible. Neither of these conditions constitutes impotence in the usual sense.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

Impotence caused by anatomic malformation or disproportion may be cured if the deformity is not too great. If disease is the underlying cause, its cure may bring about correction of the deficiency.

Functional Impotence

Functional impotence is, as the name implies, caused by some disturbance of the various functions of the generative organs. It may be a nervous disturbance, affecting centers in the brain or spinal cord or interfering with nerve tracts or nerve endings; it may be a circulatory or inflammatory condition, resulting in congestion or erosions in the sex glands or in the urethra; or it may be due to subnormal activity of the male hormone glands.

The time element is very important in coitus. The stages are realization of libido (sex desire), erection, orgasm, and ejaculation. As pointed out elsewhere, the orgasm reflex causes the emission; it is not the ejaculation that causes the orgasm.

One of the principal causes of functional impotence is exhaustion. This may affect the central and peripheral nervous systems as well as the organs of reproduction. The exhaustion may be caused by sexual excess, coitus interruptus (withdrawal before ejaculation), excessive masturbation, gonorrhea, heavy petting at frequent intervals without intercourse, or even by moderate masturbation. It should be emphasized that sexual intercourse begins with kissing and necking and continues with all of the phases of petting. It should continue normally to completed coitus, which is the final phase of intercourse. Frequent congestion of the sex organs and their associated glands without safety-valve orgasms and ejaculations should not be expected to have a salutary effect. It does not.

Psychogenic Impotence

Psychogenic or inhibitory impotence is caused by the effects of impulses from the higher centers (in the cortex of the cerebrum or brain) on the lower centers (in the spinal cord) and through them upon the erectile nerves and the generative organs themselves. Various emotions usually set up the inhibitions. Fear is the most frequent: fear of detection, fear of causing pregnancy, fear of venereal disease, fear that youthful masturbation might cause impotence. Distaste for the partner, great joy over good news, untoward attitude of the woman, and many other disturbing factors may cause temporary psychogenic impotence.

Some men become perturbed because they fail to have proper erection or have premature ejaculation (before entrance) when they attempt to have intercourse (1) with a woman for the first time or first few times; (2) under adverse environmental conditions, as in an automobile, or when fearing detection; (3) or both. Such men are not impotent at all; they are merely unduly excited and require only to get better acquainted with the prospective partner; have proper surroundings or mental repose for the act; or both. Some sensitive men fail after overcoming protracted feminine resistance or when they feel the woman is yielding for their special benefit in spite of moral or other scruples. Too much anticipation often thwarts successful realization. With sympathetic understanding and full assurance of mutual desire and cooperation on the part of the feminine companion, this temporary psychological "impotence" will be overcome.

Here we may say that in the treatment of all organic and functional cases the causes must be found and if possible removed. An extremely thorough examination will have a good psychic effect upon the patient. The power of suggestion alone is often sufficient to cure impotence. The wife of one such young man to whom I had given a good talking came in after a few weeks complaining I had "overtreated" her husband and asked if I would not do something to reduce his potency. Electrical treatments and psychoanalysis have been recommended. Change in environment may prove beneficial.

Premature Ejaculation

In 1946 this author reported earlier experience with the use of a local anesthetic (1 per cent Nupercaine ointment) in the control of what is believed to be one of the most frequent causes of premature ejaculation in sthenic males—supersensitivity of the head of the penis, usually in association with abnormally high sexual tension. The vigorous or sthenic type of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

male is especially prone to this kind of sexual deficiency, which must be regarded in these individuals as a manifestation of nervous and mental influences arising from a high degree of potency. Premature ejaculation is, therefore, not impotence in the ordinary sense, although erection is lost after untimely orgasm and ejaculation and a practical impotence sets in. In contrast to the sthenic or strong male, the asthenic or weak male, most often past middle age, exhibits premature ejaculation as a result of a low degree of potency, or virtual impotence, caused by sexual hypotonus and insufficient erection.

Definition

This condition has been variously defined. A good practical definition of this sexual deficiency is ejaculation that occurs too soon for satisfactory expression of the mutual love of husband and wife (assuming, of course, that the wife is sexually normal and can reach a climax within a reasonable time). It is impossible to fix an arbitrary time range for the normal; "biological variation" must be allowed for in both partners. But ejaculation occurring prior to entrance or within a very short time thereafter is to be considered premature. In our experience, such a conclusion has provided a basis for practical study with a view toward diagnosis and control.

Etiology

Presumed supersensitivity of the urethra has focused attention on the long-suffering *colliculus seminalis* (old terminology: *verumontanum*) so that it has been bombarded with silver nitrate or other irritants ever since the invention of the cystoscope. As Schapiro (1953) has stated, "an intense controversy has been carried on over the question whether changes in the posterior urethra, at the verumontanum (colliculus seminalis) in particular, are the cause of premature ejaculation."

Actually of far greater significance, however, is the supersensitivity of the head of the penis (glans), where the genital corpuscles are located and the phenomenon of the orgasm attains its highest intensity. As evidenced by the frequency with which satisfactory control of premature ejaculation has been obtained through the use of Nupercaine ointment applied to the head of the penis, the most common cause of this abnormality in sthenic males must be assumed to be supersensitivity of the nerve endings in the head of the penis rather than supersensitivity of the urethra, particularly of the colliculus seminalis.

Treatment

Treatment of premature ejaculation is, of course, directed toward removal or neutralization of the factor or factors involved in its causation. Circumcision would seem to be indicated in patients with a long foreskin.

A considerable percentage of patients complaining of premature ejaculation will be found to be primarily affected by psychic influences and should have the benefit of expert psychiatric care.

Excessive intercourse or masturbation may eventuate in a tendency to premature ejaculation; rest, sedation, and a return to normal sexual relations have been quite beneficial in such cases.

Although drastic measures seem to be indicated in certain patients, our experience through many years is that the treatment of the great majority of cases of premature ejaculation is a relatively simple matter. It is probable, as our results show, that in the great majority of sufferers from premature ejaculation the prime causative factor is supersensitivity of the head of the penis, in association with excessive sexual excitement and eagerness. Sedation is helpful in restoring composure. As a rule, only the local anesthetic will be required, with a sedative to be added to the treatment in accordance with the needs of the individual patient.

Distinction must be made between the asthenic and sthenic types of patients with the complaint of premature ejaculation. In the asthenic type, premature ejaculation is associated with exhaustion and irritable weakness; sexual hypotonus and erectile insufficiency are also generally involved. As patients of this type are usually men of middle age or older, impotence or semi-impotence must be considered probable. The asthenic type should not be expected to respond favorably to partial anesthesia of the head of the penis; in fact, its use is contraindicated in all patients who do not

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

achieve erection with ease. It would do more harm than good in men requiring massage for reflex erection.

In contrast, the sthenic patient with the complaint of premature ejaculation is younger, under middle age, healthy and vigorous, with no history of neurasthenia, sexual excesses, or sexual weakness. Libido and erection are normal, as are ejaculation and orgasm except for the rapidity of onset. Characteristically, such a patient, after a lengthy period of continence, has so intense a sexual desire that the entire process of coitus is accomplished too quickly to be fully gratifying to either partner. This type of patient may be expected to respond to partial anesthesia of the glans penis, with mild sedation also being necessary in some cases.

Nupercaine Ointment

The use of 1% Nupercainal was suggested by the present writer as early as 1946; further recommendation has been made by Aycock (1949). The ointment containing 1% Nupercaine has been found to be adequate for the majority of patients of the type just described (it may be obtained at any drugstore without a prescription). However, a minority have required an ointment with a higher percentage of Nupercaine (2.5% or even 5% in some instances).

The patient should be instructed to massage thoroughly into the head of the penis and the groove just behind it a quantity of the ointment about the size of a large pea. The optimal quantity will vary with different individuals and must be determined by trial. He should wait twenty to thirty minutes before beginning coitus (a few patients have reported they have to wait an hour). The time needed for full effect varies with the individual. One patient who stated he required sixty minutes had previously reported failure with the shorter interval.

Control of premature ejaculation through the application of Nupercaine ointment to the head of the penis has been gratifying in the great majority of patients of the sthenic type. Many have expressed enthusiasm concerning the resultant more satisfactory performance of the sexual act, with particular reference to the greater satisfaction derived by the female partners. Retardation of erection does not appear to occur if directions are followed. Application of considerably too much of the ointment and waiting too long may in most cases interfere with erection.

No instances of sensitization have been reported, nor have there been any reports of dermatitis or irritation or loss of sensation, although many patients have used the 5% strength for years, two for over ten years. After confidence in the method is attained sedation may be dispensed with.

The writer has dispensed several other local anesthetics to patients for trial, but reports concerning their use have been for the most part negative.

Impotence in Eunuchoid Men

The word eunuch means a male who has been castrated. In olden times such individuals served as chamberlains in palaces or as servants in harems. The word *castrato* (from the Italian) means a male castrated in boyhood in order to retain an unchanged or soprano voice. Such individuals were brought up as choir singers.

Although the term castration now has a wider application, to include removal of the ovaries in women, spaying in female animals, and even the removal of stamens from flowers, the original meaning was the excision of the testicles or male gonads from an individual before the age of puberty. The same procedure is performed on domestic animals as a rule while they are young. A familiar example is the steer or ox, produced by the castration of a bullock.

The human eunuch, if typical, has characteristics similar to those of a steer, as well as of some other castrated animals. Before the advent of potent male hormone preparations such persons went through life untreated. An experienced observer could recognize such an individual at sight. The stature is gaunt, the shoulders square, the facial skin loose and finely wrinkled. There is a full head of hair, and never baldness, and the voice is high pitched. Lack of muscular development is noticeable, with accompanying fatigability. The complexion is usually sallow. A physical examination of the eunuch who develops in such a manner because of lack of the necessary hor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mones in his system will show that his penis is quite small, his testicles about the size of shelled peanuts, that he has no hair in his armpits and no pubic hair, or very little, and that what there is does not extend up toward the navel as in the typical male escutcheon. The subject rarely if ever shaves. There is, of course, no libido or sexual desire and the individual is both impotent and sterile.

The artificial eunuch, made so by castration in boyhood, would have most of these characteristics, but there would of course be no testicles at all. If male persons are castrated after they are fully grown and sexually mature and have lived normally active sex lives, they will not develop such characteristics, nor will their sexual powers wane for some time, often not for years. To quote from Chapter 21 of this author's *Sex Manual*:

> In human castrates the evidence indicates that capacity to participate in sex acts is not held completely in abeyance. In women after the menopause the reproductive function is of course lost, but the sexual function may remain unchanged. One-half of men 25 to 30 years of age when castrated continue to have sexual desire and ability to copulate. Hammond reported seven cases of men castrated between 30 and 51 years of age who continued coitus after operation, one for as long as 17 years. Many other instances could be cited, both for men and women.

Eunuchoidism means having the symptoms of a typical eunuch, such as those produced by castrating a male in boyhood. The "natural" eunuchoid patient who was "born" or developed that way because of hormonal insufficiency (failure of a portion of the anterior lobe of the hypophysis to bring about the development of the sex organs and secondary sexual characteristics) can easily be recognized and successfully treated. There are two qualifications to this statement: (1) the treatment must be started early enough in life, although well after the age of puberty; (2) the individual will always be sterile.

Where the services are available it is wise for such patients to be given thorough endocrine laboratory checkups, in addition, of course, to the routine history and physical examination. Of particular interest is the determination of the 17-ketosteroid output in a twenty-four-hour collection of urine. The 17-ketosteroid output in twenty-four hours will be quite subnormal in a eunuchoid person before treatment. As treatment continues there will be a rise to normal or even above-normal levels. Eventually there will be subjective and objective changes in the patient and, except for the very small testicles, he will in time develop into an apparently normal sexual adult, and probably get married (if treatment is begun early enough in life).

In successfully treated cases there will be an enlargement of the penis, even beyond normal size; development of pubic hair, eventually in some cases up to the navel; and growth of hair in the armpits and increased hair on the face and body as a whole, so that shaving as often as every other day becomes necessary. Muscular growth and strength replace the former lack of development and fatigability. A definite sex desire sets in, as well as ability to perform coitus in a normal manner, except that there may be little or no ejaculate and that what there is will contain no sperm. The skeletal structures, of course, will remain the same, but the typical eunuchoid appearance may become less marked. Treatment with hypophyseal hormones (gonadotropins) may prove beneficial if given early in patients with pituitary insufficiency. From the viewpoint of the physician this subject is well covered in Greenblatt's *Office Endocrinology* (1952).

For the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics the eunuch depends upon treatment with androgens or male sex hormones, which must be kept up indefinitely. Some preparation of testosterone is generally used, given either by intramuscular injections into the buttocks or by pellet implantation beneath the skin.

The Medical Treatment of Impotence

Although the average layman thinks a doctor can give him a pill or a "shot" for almost anything, this confidence is not deserved when it comes to the treatment of impotence. Each case must be carefully studied and the appropriate treatment decided upon after diagnosis. The age of the man and the type of impotence are important factors in determining the course to be followed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Impotence may be associated with various physical deficiencies, such as anemia, avitaminosis, hypothyroidism, fatigue, and exhaustion. Before beginning treatment of impotence all possible debilitating conditions should be ruled out. If anemia is present it should be corrected in the usual way. Multiple vitamins with liver extract and an ample supply of vitamin B_{12} are often very helpful. Small doses of a good thyroid preparation may be used if hypothyroidism is present. Rest, of course, is the cure for fatigue or exhaustion. There may be other physical abnormalities that require treatment. Whatever they are they should be eliminated if possible before treatment for impotence itself is instituted.

Having determined that the patient is suffering from impotence in spite of the correction of all physical conditions that might have contributed to it, the next step is to recall the essential factors previously discussed.

In cases of impotence in asthenic men, sedation of the sympathetic nervous system and stimulation of the parasympathetic nervous system should aid in production of erection. The sedative is one of choice on the part of the physician. There are many sedatives to select from. They may be bromides, barbiturates, or alcohol, and if one does not succeed, another may. One caution must be given: either barbiturates or alcohol may be used, but never barbiturates and alcohol together. Triple bromides obtained as effervescent disks in large glass tubes may prove sufficient. The quick-acting barbiturates, such as Nembutal or Seconal, are to be preferred, as they are quickly absorbed and quickly excreted. Half the hypnotic dose of either of these—or even the full dose—may be employed, taken by the patient about a half hour before marital relations. If alcohol is selected as a sedative it may be taken in any form desired by the patient.

At present the drugs of choice for stimulation of the parasympathetic are strychnine and yohimbine. More research needs to be done with both to determine fully their action and the proper dosage.

Max Huhner, in his *Disorders of Sexual Function*, advised 1/20 of a grain of strychnine sulphate in three doses at two-hour intervals. The textbook dose of strychnine sulphate is 1/60 of a grain when taken in broken doses daily. When prescribed for stimulating the erection center in the spinal cord, larger doses are necessary, but they are not taken daily—only a short time before marital relations. This writer has found two doses of 1/20 grain with a two-hour interval usually sufficient, and in many cases one dose of 1/20 grain may be all that is needed. If two doses are taken, one may be just after the evening meal and one fifteen or twenty minutes before coitus, with an interval of two or three hours between doses. The recommended dosage may be taken daily for several days if desired, although it is not likely that the patient will often desire to employ the remedy on consecutive days.

One point must be borne in mind: coated strychnine tablets should never be used, as they will not dissolve promptly in the stomach; the plain white so-called hypodermic tablets, whether of hypodermic quality or not, should be prescribed. The enteric-coated tablets will not dissolve until they reach the intestine and by that time the need for the action of the drug will have long passed.

Hormones

The use of hormones in medicine is to substitute for the lack of a sufficient quantity supplied by the various glands of internal secretion (endocrine glands). The use of insulin in diabetes; of thyroid in hypothyroid states such as myxedema and cretinism; the use of adrenalin in treating shock; the use of estrogens (female sex hormones) in treating hot flushes and other discomforts of the menopause; and the treatment of many disorders by use of the newer hormones, cortisone and ACTH, have been made known to many. This general knowledge has been spread by articles in newspapers and magazines and by acquaintance of relatives or friends who have been treated by this method. It is a method of treatment by substitution: supplying to the body some chemical the body has failed to supply for itself.

Naturally, when male hormones were successfully prepared there was great hope that a panacea for impotence was at hand. Unfortunately, this did not prove to be true. The reason is that most cases of impotence are not caused by a lack of such hormones in the individuals

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

concerned, but are due to psychogenic factors that produce varying degrees of inhibition. In short, substitution treatment is not in order. Greenblatt, in his *Office Endocrinology,* sums up the situation as follows:

> In the study of the male factor as a cause of sterility, impotence is not infrequently encountered. Relative or complete sexual impotence may be due to a variety of factors, *not the least of which is of psychogenic origin* [italics added]. Constitutional local inflammatory processes and endocrinologic factors may play important roles. Impotence, when due to testicular deficiency, is amenable to treatment with androgens (male hormones), at times with gonadotropins. Impotence of psychic etiology will not respond to endocrine (substitution) therapy. In fact, androgen therapy may add to the psychic trauma.

We can then understand why the use of testosterone in eunuchoid patients is uniformly successful (except for curing the permanent sterility due to the undeveloped testicles). In these individuals there is a marked deficiency of androgens, such as testosterone, in their circulating blood, and substitution therapy is needed to increase the amount to that required for sexual development. There is a hypophyseal or pituitary failure in such patients and theoretically treatment with potent gonadotropins during the adolescent period of sexual development would bring about normal growth of the reproductive organs, including the testicles. When this period has passed, it is still possible by adequate treatment to bring about a marked development, except in the testicles.

There is a means of testing how much of the androgens are being excreted daily by members of both sexes. Preparatory to the test it is necessary for the patient to collect all the urine voided during a period of twenty-four hours. If the laboratory report shows that the twenty-four-hour output of the substances tested for (17-ketosteroids) is much lower than the average, then it is not unlikely that substitution therapy with male sex hormone will be helpful. If the report shows that the patient is excreting a normal amount of male hormones there is little likelihood that substitution treatment will be of value for impotence.

A small percentage of men can be said to pass through a period of life when, in the middle years or later, they may have nervousness and hot flushes that appear to simulate conditions of the menopause in women. Many of these men may complain of impotence and of feeling depressed and discouraged. However, some of them may be suffering from melancholia without being impotent. The differential diagnosis may be made by asking the patient if he actually is impotent. Some will readily admit that they are. Others will say they have no desire for sexual relations because of the severe depression, but nevertheless insist that if they tried to have intercourse they could do so. It is these patients that have melancholia. They should be referred to a qualified psychiatrist for electroshock or other psychiatric therapy. It is claimed that this will restore nineteen out of twenty to health and good spirits.

In those cases in which it is clear that the patients need substitution treatment, male sex hormones may be administered by mouth, by intramuscular injection, or by pellet implantation. The intramuscular injections (of testosterone propionate, etc.) are usually given into the buttocks, alternating on the two sides in successive treatments. Pellet implantations have the advantage of being needed only once in four to six months, as compared to once or twice weekly when injections are given. They are ideal for patients that come from a distance.

Mechanical Treatment of Impotence

Since man is not so fortunate as some species of lower animals that have bones in their penes, the idea of a penile splint has exercised human ingenuity for many years. Most men are cognizant of the existence of the types of penile splints that have survived commercially in this country. All are very much alike. They consist of a flat metal core covered with rubber and terminating at each end in a rubber ring. Large, medium, and small sizes are usually offered.

On the basis of examination of this type of penile splint and on the strength of its rejection by patients, this writer cannot recommend it. Although such a support might prove to be of some value to an occasional patient who happens to obtain one that fits well, the number

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of sizes is too small, especially as concerns the length; there is not an adequate support at the base; and the rubber ring is not sufficient.

Fortunately, there is available a well-made penile spint that is manufactured in England. Although the duty on it is 45 per cent, it is nevertheless worth many times more than its greater cost when properly fitted—and it must fit accurately in order to work properly. The device is known as the Coitus Training Apparatus, manufactured by Down Bros. and Mayer & Phelps, Ltd., who are now located at Mitcham, Surrey, England. A description of the apparatus and its use is given in a booklet by Joseph Loewenstein, entitled *The Treatment of Impotence, with Special Reference to Mechanotherapy*. Its use is primarily for the treatment of psychogenic impotence, and is supplemented by psychotherapy. Nevertheless it can be used on the basis of its own value alone, for it will infallibly carry the flaccid penis into the vagina. Dr. Loewenstein cites many cases of men who became readjusted to marital coitus and dispensed with the use of the device. His cases were also treated with psychotherapy.

In putting on the apparatus the "legs" are pulled apart after slipping the little rubber ring from the one it is not attached to; then the head of the penis is grasped by thumb and forefinger and pulled forward so that the distal ring can be closed behind it. The small rubber ring is now replaced to hold the "legs" together. Intromission can now be accomplished. If the ring does not fit very snugly behind the head of the penis, the latter may slip out. Any lubricant used should be added after the ring is in place. After the ring is in place it fits so snugly around the "neck" of the penis that the portion beneath it remains dry.

A condom may be used with the apparatus. A good quality condom must be used, for when put on outside the apparatus the open end must be pulled around the large proximal metal ring. If the condom is old it will probably tear when this is done.

A man may be impotent but not sterile. If such a man cannot deposit semen at the bottom of the vagina because of failure to gain erection and full penetration, it is possible by use of the device to ejaculate inside the vagina. The distal ring compresses the neck of the penis so tightly that all of the semen does not come out. Before withdrawing, the little rubber ring should be pulled off so the "legs" of the device can open. This will permit the distal ring also to open far enough for the remainder of the semen to pass out of the urethra into the bottom of the vagina and to increase the chances of conception.

Any man can use the apparatus with satisfaction, whether he requires it at all times or not. If one is slow in attaining erection and the time for intercourse is necessarily short, the device is the answer. Sometimes during the use of the device one may find that erection has taken place. It should then be removed by pulling the little rubber band off the "leg" it is not attached to. Intercourse may be continued without the apparatus.

The writer has dispensed the apparatus successfully in premature ejaculation when the patient has no difficulty in obtaining an erection, but loses it almost immediately on entering the vagina. It may seem strange that a device that fits the soft penis will also fit the erect organ. The little rubber ring around the "legs" stretches and the distal ring accommodates itself around the "neck" of the penis. It will feel tight, of course, but it does not have to be removed. The tendency to ejaculate prematurely will be overcome by the fact that the wearer knows he can stay in the vagina as long as he wants to—or, more important, as long as his wife wants him to. Even if he does ejaculate before she has reached a climax, he can lose his erection and still remain in the vagina until she has attained orgasm.

Penile Prosthesis (Artificial Phallus)

As a practical sexual scientist the author feels that the state of taboo that surrounds the subject of the artificial penis is unwarranted, unjustifiable, and doubtless a relict of the "morals" of the Victorian Age. That there are legitimate medical indications for dispensing suitable devices of this nature is incontestable. These indications will be discussed later.

One of the principal deterrents to the manufacture and supply of artificial phalli to patients who need them is the general belief that such

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

procedures are illegal. Insofar as this writer has been able to determine this is not true when there are definite medical indications and when the dispensing is done by a licensed physician.

What are the medical indications for the dispensing of a prosthesis of this kind to a married man? One very obvious need would be the loss of the penis. Disease and accidents bring about such a loss. Cancer of the penis requires immediate amputation. Other diseases may bring about more or less complete destruction of the organ. The penis may be partly or completely lost after injury. Often the testicles are not injured in such accidents so that a normal libido or sex desire may continue. Of course the husband would not obtain sexual relief for himself by use of a penile prosthesis, but he could have the satisfaction of taking care of the sexual needs of the woman he loved. If the woman were entirely frigid there would naturally be no need on her part, but the majority of women are not frigid.

A second strong indication for the use of an artificial penis, at least temporarily, is that of the premature ejaculator, who may not even succeed in entering the vagina or who has orgasm immediately after intromission. If and when he is cured, the prosthesis may be dispensed with. It is far better that such a husband satisfy his wife by this method than that she should turn against the act or become a nervous wreck from repeated disappointments. Again, it is true that if the wife is completely frigid there would be no need on her part for coitus, but the woman who remains coldly uninterested when approached by a loving husband, even though he cannot remain in the vagina but a very short time without ejaculating and losing his erection, is certainly in the minority.

Even though the writer rejects the claim that any woman who does not have a vaginal orgasm is frigid (the Freudian thesis) and maintains that the vast majority of women depend upon stimulation of the clitoris for satisfaction, there is undeniably a small percentage of women who refer the climactic sensation to the vagina. Such women as a rule derive no pleasure from excitation of the clitoris, and many will not even permit its being massaged. If the husband with a wife of this type cannot remain in the vagina sufficiently long for her to reach orgasm, she cannot reach it at all—unless by use of a penile prosthesis. She has grown up with the idea that she must have an erect penis in her vagina in order to enjoy sexual intercourse fully and to obtain complete satisfaction. The solution of this problem is to recognize the situation and supply the needed device. In many cases it will save marriages.

Some normal women have two or three orgasms during one act of coitus, or would like to if their husbands continued the act long enough, with or without intermission. With intermission, the husband withdraws and his erection subsides until his wife is ready for her second or third climax. He regains erection when she has rested and continues until she is fully satisfied, reaching his own climax with her when she has the last one. Some highly sexed women can have a half dozen or more orgasms during one continued act of intercourse if the husband's technique will enable him to continue in the vagina the required length of time. In any of these cases of multiple orgasm, which require as a rule protracted intercourse, it may prove impossible for the husband to restrain himself and put off orgasm as long as his wife desires. In such cases the use of a penile prosthesis is the answer.

After a quarter of a century of effort to find a maker of an artificial phallus, success belatedly arrived through a reference obtained from a university school of medicine (department of medical illustration). The material is a soft plastic and the phallus is realistically made. It has a rectangular base with four grummet holes for attachment of tapes for fastening in place. It is available in four sizes. Very favorable comments have been received from physicians who have dispensed it.

References

Aycock, L., "The Medical Management of Premature-Ejaculation." *J. Urol. 62;* 361-362, 1949.

Bergler, E., "Premature Ejaculation." In A. P. Pillay and A. Ellis (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology,* 1953.

Caprio, F. S., *The Sexually Adequate Male.* New York: Citadel Press, 1952.

Ellis, Albert, *Sex Without Guilt.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Ellis, Albert, *The Art and Science of Love.* New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960.

Greenblatt, R. B., *Office Endocrinology.* Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, Pub., 1952.

Hirsch, E. W., *The Power to Love.* New York: Citadel Press, 1948.

Hirsch, E. W., "The Role of the Female Partner in Premature Ejaculation." In A. P. Pillay and A. Ellis (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology,* 1953.

Kelly, G. L., "Problems of Impotence in Aging Males." *J. Am. Geriatr. Soc. 3;* No. 11, 1955.

Kelly, G. L., *Sex Manual, for Those Married or About to Be.* Augusta, Ga.: Southern Medical Supply Co., 1957.

Kelly, G. L., *So You Think You're Impotent!* Augusta, Ga.: Southern Medical Supply Co., 1957.

Kinsey, A. C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Levie, L. H., "Disturbances in Male Potency." In A. P. Pillay and Albert Ellis (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology,* 1953.

Loewenstein, J., *The Treatment of Impotence, with Special Reference to Mechanotherapy.* London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1947.

Morris, H. *et al., Human Anatomy.* Philadelphia: The Blakiston Co., 1947.

Oliven, J., *Sex Hygiene and Pathology.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955.

Pillay, A. P., "Common Sense Therapy of Male Sex Disorders." In A. P. Pillay and Albert Ellis (eds.), *Sex, Society and the Individual.* Bombay: *Internat. J. Sexology,* 1953.

Podolsky, E., *What You Should Know about Sexual Impotence.* New York: Cadillac Publishing Co., 1953.

Schapiro, B., "Premature Ejaculation, a Review of 1,130 Cases." *J. Urol. 50;* 374-379, 1953.

Stekel, W., *Impotence in the Male.* London: Vision Press, 1952.

Stone, C. T., *Sexual Power.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1950.

Walker, K., and Strauss, E. B., *Sexual Disorders in the Male.* Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1954.

G. LOMBARD KELLY

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

India and Pakistan, Sex Life in

Glimpses of the Past

IT MAY be useful at the outset to try to catch glimpses of the sex life of the subcontinent of India and Pakistan in the ages past, however distant.

To go back to the era of the Rigveda, the ancient scripture of the Hindus, composed about 2500 B.C., a close study of the original records available leaves no doubt that it was not unusual at the time to separate and seclude women from men. In other words, Purdah (literally a curtain, here meaning one specially designed to screen women from sight of strangers) was in vogue in India even at that early age. Women lived in separate apartments (Patninam), which were strictly private (Guha Karati Tosha), reserved for the exclusive use of females, just as the Sadan Osdas (Baithak Khanas) were the sole preserves of males. In public, women invariably wore cloaks, the married covering themselves further with mantles or shawls. It was unthinkable for a respectable woman to be seen in public insufficiently protected from the gaze of man.

Similarly, in the two great Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the main events of which took place in the latter half of the second millennium and in the sixth century B.C. respectively, we come across numerous references, if anything on more elaborate and comprehensive scales, to the privacy, aloofness, isolation, and privileged position enjoined on women.

Manu (800 B.C.) forbade women mixing with men, and Jagnavalka (600 B.C.), somewhat relaxing the restrictions, permitted women mixing with men but only with those who were physicians, merchants, or mendicants. Wives of absentee husbands, however, were prohibited from attending sports meetings, marriage ceremonies, and social functions generally.

Incidentally, the common belief that the Purdah system in India was introduced by the Mogul Emperors has no foundation. As we have seen, the practice in some form or other was prevalent in the country some 3,000 years before the first Muslim ruler set foot in the subcontinent.

Apart from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the two outstanding classics of the age, and other standard compositions from widely separated periods in the history of old Indian literature, there were many Sanskrit authors in the first century A.D., who are known to have left treatises on different patterns of physical love and sex knowledge.

In *The Kamasutra*, the monumental work of Vātsāyana, the noted Indian scholar of the second century B.C., we read of at least seven different ways of kissing, eight varieties of touch, eight playful bites, four methods of striking the body with the hands, and eight sounds that may be emitted while so doing.

In the India of *The Kamasutra*, sexual congress was looked upon as not merely a conjugal duty for begetting children but a pleasurable activity for both parties, one from which they could derive the richest experiences of life in attaining the highest spiritual aspirations of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

mankind, closely linked with the search for the Divine. Religious feeling and sexuality at its loftiest level had a very definite place in the mythology of ancient India.

The Epic Age

In the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* which still influence the ideology of the devout Hindu, we are provided with most valuable sources of information about the relations of the sexes and the concepts underlying those relations in the India of the period, some 1,500 years ago.

Fundamentally, however, the Epics differ—from the virile, undaunted, passionate tone of the former to the meek, almost timid, deeply religious feelings of the latter.

Broadly speaking, the ancient Hindus were divided into two distinct groups—the licentious and the self-indulgent constituting one category and the renunciators of the flesh and the world the other. It was not unusual for seemingly incorrigible delinquents, proud and boastful of their manly strength and sexual vigor, notorious as ravishers of virgins, suddenly and irrevocably to forsake voluptuousness and promiscuity and assume austere celibacy and strict abstinence from the joys and pleasures of life as atonement for past sins, spending their remaining days in prayers and meditation in preparation for the Great Call—toward incarnation in a different body. According to Hindu theology, it is one's Karma, the sum of a person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, that decides his fate or destiny in the next.

Marriage

Marriage ceremonies, in conformity with the ancient Hindu idea of the sanctity of wedlock between man and woman, were elaborate proceedings, full of rituals. Chastity, the hallmark of virginity, was absolutely and strictly demanded from maidens seeking matrimony. It was a bounden duty of a father or guardian to find not only a husband but a suitable husband for his daughter on her approaching the age of puberty. A father failing to find a worthy husband for his marriageable daughter would be, according to the *Mahabharata,* as guilty as one who had murdered a Brahman—the most atrocious sin a Hindu could commit. The laws prescribed under various codes were equally emphatic in their condemnation of erring parents or guardians in this respect: "Each time a [ripe] unwedded maiden has her monthly course, her parents or guardians are guilty of the heinous crime of slaying the embryo." If no suitable husband were found by the father for his daughter for three years after the commencement of her menstruation, she was at liberty to seek a mate for herself, the father remaining forever condemned for his unpardonable failure in a sacred duty.

A girl achieved a new sacramental birth through marriage, just as a Brahman would be born a second time when given the holy cord.

According to the *Mahabharata,* there were eight kinds of marriage. In the first four types, which could be entered only by Brahams, there was no dowry for the bride, since such unions between high-caste couples were supposed to bring their own rewards in the other world.

The other forms of marriage were: (a) the Purchase or Demon marriage; (b) the Love or *Gandharva* marriage; (c) the marriage by Capture (*Rakshasa Vivaha*), which was the prerogative only of the warrior or the conqueror; and (d) the so-called marriage by Stealing (*Paicaca Vivaha*), where the man had come to possess the girl by some dubious or dishonorable means.

Of these eight forms of marriage, two were considered unlawful, the *Paicaca* and the Purchase or Demon types. A *Shudra* (low-caste person) could marry by Purchase or by Stealing, but such marriages were strongly disapproved by the law codes. A man could have intercourse with a *Shudra* woman for pleasure, but decent society did not accept children from such unions as legitimate. A Brahman conceiving a child with a *Shudra* woman had to atone for it in various ways.

If a man had previously married one, two, or three non-Brahman women and then married a Brahman woman as his fourth wife, the Brahman wife took precedence over the other wives and assumed, and was invariably accorded, the status of senior consort.

Two honorable motives governed all marriages and were earnestly prayed and hoped

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

for—the blessings of children, specially of sons, and of true love between the husband and wife. An auspicious time and date of the marriage was determined by the Brahman priests.

Marriages of daughters were costly affairs, often extending the father financially far beyond his means. The birth of a daughter was not particularly hailed in Hindu families, whereas the divine gift of a son was always the occasion for unbounded joy, celebration, and thanksgiving, it being the prerogative of a son to perform the last rites at his father's death.

Incidentally, this aversion to daughters was not by any means unique in ancient India, being also prevalent at times in some other Eastern and Western countries. In Arabia, before the advent of Islam, the Arabs in many cases killed their daughters at birth.

Notwithstanding this general antipathy toward female offspring, the woman, as a devoted mother and wife, held a unique position in Hindu Society; many women played significant roles in the history of ancient India. Even in ordinary day-to-day life, females were invariably treated with deference and courtesy. Sita, Damayanti, Savitri, and other Hindu heroines are honored and revered to this day.

Sex Pleasures

After the ceremonial bath taken on the fourth day of the monthly course, a woman became *Snata Ritusnata* (one that has bathed). A married woman, now considered clean, was thus eligible for, and deserving of, the delights of love (*Suratra*). Females were thought to be more passionate than males. According to a saying of Canakya, "mankind was made old by cares, the warrior by fetters, the woman by a life without coition."

Coitus was said to have been first practiced in the Devapara Age. Previous to that, in the Golden Age, sexual union was unknown. In the Silver Age, children were said to have been begotten by touch. It was only in the *Kate* or Evil Age that coitus came to be considered essential but it had to be regulated. Apart from other restrictions—and there were many—indulgence in coitus by married couples was tabooed in the open or in day time, being permissible only during the night and in strict privacy. It was prohibited at other times because the morning hours were meant for prayers and midday and the afternoons were intended for attending to one's worldly affairs.

Complete abstinence from sexual contact was enjoined on husband and wife during the first night of the new moon, the night of the full moon, the fourteenth night and the eighth night of each half of the month. These were *Parvan* days, when evil spirits were said to be about, specially in empty and deserted houses, graveyards, near trees and pools of water. These places were considered to be particularly dangerous for indulgence in the sexual act.

Penalties for Improper Unions

Intercourse with a teacher's wife was an abominable and most shameful act. The punishment for one, who "stains the teacher's bed was to seat himself on a glowing iron plate, cut off his own member and go away with uplifted eyes." Sexual union by a man with a woman of a higher caste or by the wife of a Brahman with a low caste man merited severe public punishment.

A man dishonoring a virgin with her consent would be heavily fined and compelled to marry her irrespective of any caste distinction. Deflowering a virgin girl against her will was a most detestable crime, the evildoer being publicly whipped and banished and his property confiscated.

A girl having intercourse with a Brahman went unpunished but if she bestowed a similar favor on a man of a lower caste she would be locked up in her house till she repented and came to her senses. The wives of actors and singers could be visited and copulated with freely and without let or hindrance by all strata of society, no question of rape or adultery arising in such cases.

Homosexuality and sex perversions of any kind were punished severely There were five serious offenses for which no worldly atonement or punishment was laid down for the simple reason that the offenders in such cases automatically became outcasts, unworthy of association with their forefathers, gods, and pious men, being eventually doomed to hell where "they would be roasted, like fish, and would live on matter and blood." These five crimes were: (1) murdering a Brahman; (2) cow slay-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

ing; (3) intercourse with another's wife; (4) professing no religion; and (5) living on a woman's earnings.

Adultery

To be guilty of adultery, it was not essential that sexual intercourse should actually occur. Manu, Vajnav, Narada, and Brihaspati have held that various forms of contact or association within the two sexes, without actual sexual intercourse, constituted adultery and would be adequately punished: "He that is together anywhere with the wife of another, as for instance at the junction of streams, at bathing places, in gardens, in forests, or speaks with her, touches her on her clothes, ornaments or body, particularly at unseemly places, or lets himself be touched by her in those parts, sits on a bed with her, takes her hand, hair or hem of her garments, sends a procuress or a letter to her, such a one by this commits adultery."

Forms of Coitus

According to the old Indian teaching, there were eight types of copulation (*Maithuana*): (1) *Samarana* (merely thinking of it); (2) *Kirtana* (speaking of it); (3) *Keli* (dallying with it); (4) *Prekshana* (viewing it); (5) *Guhyabhashna* (secretly conversing); (6) *Samkalpa* (firmly willing to indulge in it); (7) *Adhyavasaya* (resolving to do it); (8) *Kriyanishpatti* (the actual act). Each one of these eight reactions, thoughts, or deeds constituted *Maithuana* (sexual union).

Influence of Geography and Diet

Geography and diet have had considerable influence on the sex life of the people in India and Pakistan. Considerations of climate, atmospheric humidity, and nourishment cannot easily be overlooked when, to any keen observer of the habits and modes of life of the population, the contrast between the inhabitants of the various provinces becomes only too apparent.

Broadly speaking, in the northern spheres and in the foothills of the Himalayas, where there are extremes of temperature in the summer and winter months and the humidity is comparatively low, most of the people—Muslims, Sikhs, and some castes of Hindus—are meat-eaters and are not only of better physique and stature but are also more virile than those dwelling in the southern and coastal areas, where there are no extremes of temperature and a fairly high humidity. Here, the majority of the population, Hindus, are vegetarians.

Varying Ideals and Codes of Life

It would be convenient to consider sex life in India and Pakistan under six main categories of the population, each with different ideals and codes of life, varying, as we shall see, from the highest to the lowest standards of morals, from the sublime to the degenerate. This may appear an unusual classification for our purpose but the sex life in mystic India and Pakistan bears out such a classification.

The Orthodox Group

To begin with the orthodox and the superstitious (orthodoxy and superstition in this subcontinent seem to go hand in hand with many individuals), sexual union in this circle between husband and wife, to a greater or lesser degree and in some form or another, assumes a religious or semireligious significance, not infrequently associated with silent recitals of hymns and prayers, devotional observance of rites and rituals, and the wearing of talismans and charms on the body.

In this group, particularly among the more dogmatic, there are some who rigidly adhere to the doctrine that sexual contact in wedlock is only permissible specifically for procreation of the species, coitus otherwise being considered vulgar, if not sinful. The extremists among them, bordering on the puritanical, even go to the length of strictly limiting sexual intercourse between married couples to certain prescribed days of the lunar month, which, according to their philosophy of life, are looked upon as of good omen and auspicious for the fulfillment and realization of the one cherished hope and ambition of all who enter holy matrimony: the bestowal by the Almighty in His infinite mercy of the gracious gift of progeny, especially a male offspring.

The birth of a son and heir, which is looked forward to and warmly welcomed by all parents in India and Pakistan, is a particularly

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

joyous occasion for Brahmans, as previously noted. The happy birth is joyfully celebrated by thanksgiving to God and the distribution of alms to the poor in humble acknowledgment of the Divine favor.

Premarital and extramarital relationships rank as the most heinous crimes among these people and are a rarity. However, as will be described later, sexual union outside the marriage bond does occur among some sects of Hindus in certain circumstances. Here it also acquires a religious overtone, being viewed not as an irresponsible, pleasurable indulgence but an earnest and solemn compliance with sacred obligations to the deity.

The "Middle Classes"

The major element of the population, coming from various walks of life and with different standards of education and enlightenment, although not necessarily irreligious or freethinkers, entertain no particular scruples or restrictions in their sex life. Generally speaking, they are happily married, taking a practical and common-sense view of their matrimonial affairs and enjoying life within the family circle. Premarital and extramarital relationships are not indulged in on any excessive scale by this group, who may be considered to be wedged in, so to speak, between the orthodox and the more promiscuous groups.

Sexual "Delinquents"

A comparatively small number of people, known for their promiscuity, specially among the males, may be said to consist of delinquents from all classes in the subcontinent—from the "smart set" of high society to workers and artisans.

Freedom of social intercourse, dinner parties, dances, late nights, alcohol, and wealth may be determining factors for promiscuity on the part of some among the upper classes. At the same time, illiteracy, neglect of moral training and education from childhood, unhealthy environments, and lack of privacy in their homes (usually single-room tenements) may often have the same effect among some sections of the lower classes. The working class generally have large families, which inevitably leads to relaxation of parental control. In this unhealthy environment the children easily fall into the hands of sexually undesirable elements.

The men are more involved in sexual irregularities than the women. In fact, one of the greatest assets of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is its female population. Apart from their loyal and devoted services to their countries in their own spheres, in many cases they act as effective reformers of their "erring" husbands or male relatives. Instances are not wanting where the worst possible characters have been completely transformed as a result of the tactful handling of their womenfolk.

Lawless Tribes

There are some wild savage tribes, dwelling in or about remote villages and out-of-the-way boroughs, who are in a class by themselves. They are notorious for their frequent indulgence in illicit intercourse and for their criminal tendencies. Their main occupations seem to be kidnapping young girls and boys for immoral purposes and commitment of sex offenses, thefts, dacoities (robbery by an armed band), and murders.

Marriage among these tribes is extremely tenuous, desertions of husbands to elope at the first opportunity with other women being common incidents. The efforts of the authorities to educate these turbulent tribes and to find employment for them may gradually reform them, but it is an uphill task.

Prostitutes

The professional prostitute has had a long and unique record in the subcontinent. Even today, although shorn of the old glitter and pomp associated with the ruling princes and aristocracy of old, she still plays an important role in the social life of some sections of society.

In prepartition days, prostitutes had considerable influence and power at the courts of the rulers. In not a few cases they were the "powers behind the throne," making and unmaking ministries, finding jobs for their favorites, and generally "running the show."

Prostitution largely runs in particular classes or communities. There are even "prostitute families," the females following the profession and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the males acting as procurers. As a rule, brothels are located in certain localities of the cities, grouped together, the prostitutes sitting on the balcony after dark under powerful lights. In the Kamatipura district of Bombay they sit in "cages" at night to solicit customers.

It is not unusual for a prostitute to marry and settle down, leading thereafter a normal family life with her husband and children. Many, however, "marry" within the "trade" from the host of procurers attached to different brothels. Female children born to them in "wedlock" are brought up to follow the mother's profession. Sons of these unions, however, have been known to grow up into useful, law-abiding citizens, joining "learned" professions or otherwise earning honest livings. The stigmata of their family backgrounds, however, make it difficult for them to marry girls other than those from prostitutes' families.

Previous to the partition of the subcontinent, some ports, such as Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Karachi, had what were called "Welcome Houses." These were maintained by small groups of European women who had previously been in the profession themselves and were now running these institutions as matrons or "Madams." The inmates of these "Welcome Houses" were invariably European girls, although there were occasionally a few fashionable prostitutes from the East.

Visitors to these establishments were mostly foreign European clients, sailors predominating, with only a select set of Orientals from various Asiatic countries. There was no hint of coarseness or vulgarity about these "Welcome Houses"; if anything, they were noted particularly for their almost oppressive atmosphere of decorum.

Most of these "Madams" adopted this occupation as finishing stages to their past careers in various parts of Europe and the East, with the purpose of accumulating money before their final retirement. Having in a few years piled up quite sizeable fortunes, they would go home, to be absorbed into a respectable family life.

Conditions have considerably changed since the partition of India, the banning of prostitution being the declared policies of both India and Pakistan. Prostitution, and with it these "Welcome Houses," is no longer in vogue, openly at any rate, although it has not been entirely eradicated.

An extensive investigation into the sex life of the prostitute in Bombay was conducted some years ago when the introduction of a "Prohibition of Prostitution" bill in the Legislative Assembly was being considered by the Bombay Government. The Police Commissioner of Bombay and the writer of this article spent many weeks investigating all the aspects of the life of professional prostitutes, including the problem of venereal disease, the prevention of which was one of the main objects of the bill. Contrary to popular opinion, the professional prostitute is not the only source of venereal disease.

The investigations in Bombay were confined to the Kamatipura district, where the majority of the brothels were located. We questioned, and the writer examined, practically all the prostitutes and learned that not one of them had less than three visitors nightly and that, without exception, they were infected with venereal disease.

Conditions are improving both in India and Pakistan, not only as regards the extent of prostitution but also in respect to venereal disease, more and more facilities for treatment being made available.

The Hijras

In India and Pakistan there is a community of eunuchs, known as Hijras, who prostitute themselves as passive agents. They wear female clothes, adopt feminine nicknames, and assume girlish manners and gestures.

Many of them have had their genitals removed in childhood or early boyhood. In some cases, the testes are atrophied as a result of being constantly squeezed and pressed during infancy, in order to render the child devoid of any sexual function when he grows up so that he may remain with the fraternity.

The writer of this article has been called upon by the police on numerous past occasions to examine young boys who had been initiated and prepared for their future careers as Hijras in this community. The method used in these

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

cases was the repeated insertion of well-greased graduated wooden or metal cones into the rectum. The anal sphincter of practically all the boys could easily admit three fingers.

Hijras are popular in certain circles as professional singers and dancers, the accompanying musicians being invariably males not belonging to the tribe. Females are strictly taboo in Hijra society, although hermaphrodites, passive agents by inclination and not necessarily "full-blooded" Hijras, are eligible for membership and are frequently seen associated with them and observing their accepted codes of life.

It has been said that homosexuality is comparatively more common among the Muslim population of the subcontinent than among others because of the lack of female companionship due to the seclusion of their womenfolk, who remain behind the purdah (veil). This may or may not be so, but within the professional experience of the writer, judging by the number of extragenital syphilitic chancres, mostly anal, seen by him in hospitals, homosexuality seems to be equally prevalent in all communities in India and Pakistan.

It is only fair to add that this subcontinent, in common with Eastern countries generally, has earned an undeserved notoriety in the West as being the "hotbed" of homosexuality and other sex perversions—"Asiatic vices," as such practices are described by many writers. In point of fact, sexual deviations exist in all countries without exception, and it is hoped that this subcontinent and other countries of Asia will receive more unbiased treatment in this respect at the hands of Western writers and students.

Arranged Marriages

Arranged marriages of their sons and daughters by parents or guardians seem to be the prevailing practice in India and Pakistan. Intermarriages between boys and girls from the same families, or cousin marriages, are by no means uncommon among the Muslims and Parsees. Owing to the purdah (veil) system observed by Muslim women—now gradually being given up, although still rigidly maintained by the more orthodox—it is quite possible for a Muslim youth and his bride to be complete strangers to each other, meeting for the first time on the marriage night.

It is extraordinary that the majority of the educated and enlightened youth of the subcontinent, who in these days are very vocal and jealous of their rights and independence in various matters affecting their future welfare and happiness, should still meekly submit to this interference with their independence and discretion by their parents or guardians in the all-important sphere of marriage.

There are unfortunately many boys and girls who, although physically unfit for marriage and themselves aware of their handicaps and unsuitability for wedlock, yet submit to a marriage arranged by their parents. Premarital medical examinations of the contracting parties are not in vogue, and, although in some cases the disability might be amenable to minor surgery or professional advice, quite a few marriages prove unhappy, many leading to separation or divorce. Such procedures are not generally welcomed by the elders of the family as they bring dishonor to the ancestral reputation.

With the progress of time and the gradual relaxation of ancient customs and conventions among the present generation, more particularly the educated and traveled sections of the population, there is a growing tendency for individuals to discard the system of arranged marriages. There are numerous examples of boys marrying outside their castes or communities, or even with foreign girls, Eastern as well as Western, and many such unions are proving successful and happy.

Customs, Rituals, and Perversions

The Nuptial Night

It is not at all uncommon for prospective bridegrooms, as a rule young men without any premarital experience and on the friendly advice of elder friends and well-wishers, to visit prostitutes on the eve of their wedding to test their virility. Potency may assert itself, but venereal infection will unhappily often be their wedding gifts to their unfortunate brides. As a matter of fact, to be infected with venereal disease (some openly priding themselves on

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

that account) is often taken as the acme of potency.

The nuptial night may turn out to be a painful and at times tragic hurdle for young inexperienced couples. Consummation of marriage with a virgin girl, in the popular mind of India and Pakistan, is necessarily associated with vaginal bleeding from the ruptured hymen. Among some Muslim communities, if no such evidence is forthcoming on the morrow of the marriage night, the chastity of the bride is doubted and her family is thoroughly disgraced in the eyes of friends and acquaintances.

Deflowering the virgin bride on the night of marriage by a priest, prior to her union with the husband, was by no means a rare ritual among some Hindu sects in the past.

Traditionally with most people, coitus must take place on the first night of marriage; if it does not, the virility of the husband comes under suspicion. On the other hand, if sexual congress does take place and no token of virginity is noticeable in the morning, the bride is considered to have been unchaste.

In many communities in India the events in the bridal chamber are matters of the keenest personal interest and concern to many persons besides the newly married couple themselves, for whom there is hardly any privacy even after their retirement to bed.

At the end of the festivities in celebration of the marriage, late at night, after the guests and members of the family have left, it is customary in some Muslim communities for an elderly lady, not as a rule a relative, to slip in quietly to whisper to the young bride, deliberately within the hearing of the husband, that consummation of marriage must be attempted as soon as possible that night. At the same time, a white handkerchief or a piece of white cloth is handed to the bride and she is told to use it when the expected bleeding occurs. She is assured sympathetically that some pain and hemorrhage are inevitable and that she need not be alarmed, and her adviser promises to look in early in the morning to take away the blood-stained handkerchief.

When the bridal pair are finally allowed by the family and intimate friends to be alone together, and the bedroom door is formally locked from the outside, many relatives, usually elderly women, remain in the adjoining rooms, talking with one another as loudly as possible about the marriage and the expected evidence of the bride's virginity.

From the psychological point of view, the nervous tension experienced by the bridal pair, especially if young and inexperienced (since adequate sex education has not yet been established in India and Pakistan), is very strong, and is heightened by the rule-of-thumb procedures laid down for their guidance and implicit compliance.

For the bride, in not a few instances merely the fear of the expected pain and bleeding can bring about psychic frigidity. Added to this is her fear that there may be no bleeding and that she may be branded by her own family and friends as unchaste and of low character. Examples are not wanting of irate fathers having killed their daughters who had thus failed to prove their virginity.

The position of the bridegroom is no less difficult. If consummation of marriage has not been accomplished or even attempted his potency is suspected. Impotence, to many, carries with it a stigma and the impotent man is degraded not only in his own eyes but in those of his fellows. In the family circle, his lot becomes more and more unbearable until the marriage ends in separation or divorce.

Among the lower strata of society, such a recently wedded youth is usually brought to a doctor by several members of the bride's family, the groom's father or uncle also accompanying them on sufferance, and is literally kicked into the clinic as if he were a criminal.

Sexual debility and impotence in the male are, of course, known in all parts of the world. In this subcontinent, however, mainly because of the system of arranged marriages and the gossip of well-meaning but inquisitive friends, such disabilities are perhaps more likely to be publicized.

These old customs are being rapidly given up with the spread of education, but there are some families who still follow "tradition."

Deva Desis

There is a long-established ritual among some sects of Hindus that is solemnly observed in certain circumstances. In compliance with a

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

vow or oath taken by the parents, usually barren couples, their first-born female child is dedicated to the deity and, upon the approach of puberty, is formally handed over to a temple by her parents, to become a permanent inmate. In the future she is at the disposal of priests or worshippers in the temple, who have sexual intercourse with her as a sacred duty.

Intimacy with Deva Desis, as these girls are called, is devoid of lust or passion and is considered a serious performance of duty, sanctioned by Divine authority and looked upon as a spiritual union with the deity through the hallowed person of the Deva Desi.

A somewhat similar ritual is occasionally observed in the case of sterile couples. The wife is temporarily dedicated to the temple and, as a sacred duty, has sexual intercourse with the priests and worshippers in the hope of being rewarded by the deity with the gift of an offspring.

Since the advent of independence in India in August, 1947, and the adoption of a secular policy for the country, there has been a growing tendency to ban both the dedication to the temple of Deva Desis and married women, and other orthodox sex rituals not in keeping with the advanced public opinion in present-day India.

Phallus Worship

In some Hindu sects sex organs are considered sacred, sexual functions assuming a religious character. The phallus, the lingam, is venerated as symbolic of virility and generative power. Phallus worship (Linga Puja) in Siva temples by disciples of Siva is enjoined on married couples who have not been blessed with children.

Menstruation

Sexual intercourse between husband and wife during menstruation is strictly prohibited in Hinduism and Islam, as it is among the various minority communities living in India and Pakistan.

The menstruating Hindu woman becomes untouchable in the family circle, eating, sleeping, and generally living aloof from all others in the house, even from the husband, until purified by the ceremonial bath at the end of her period. The Muslim woman, when menstruating, also has certain restrictions binding her but not to the extreme degree of her Hindu sister. She must not offer her daily prayers, touch the holy Koran, observe fast in the month of Ramazan, or enter a mosque. There is otherwise little change in her mode of life within and outside the household. Short of sexual intercourse, she is allowed other intimacies with her husband at the time. "A woman in her periods," the rule says, "must bind up her girdle. What lies above is at the disposal of the man."

Among Hindus, sexual contact between married couples is not only prohibited on certain prescribed days of the lunar month but at any solar or lunar eclipse. Fasting Muslim married couples are also prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse during the month of Ramazan; it is permissible at nighttime, however, when they are not fasting.

Polygamy

Islam sanctions plural marriages under certain specified conditions, and some Muslims in the subcontinent take advantage of it. The custom, however, is gradually dying out, not only for economic reasons but because of the growing opposition to the practice on the part of the progressive elements among the women themselves.

Hindus too, strictly speaking, can marry more than one wife, but in practice they seldom do. Some Maharajas of old, of course, had their senior and junior Maharanees but even these ruling chiefs of preindependence India, now that they have been pensioned off and deprived of their gadis (thrones), can presumably ill-afford such luxuries.

Aphrodisiacs

The craving for aphrodisiacs is very strong among all classes of youth in the subcontinent, even though they may be perfectly normal sexually. The abuse of sex hormones by the more educated and the use of cheap sex stimulants of unknown composition by the illiterate and the poorer classes, given them by practitioners of the indigenous systems of medicine

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding: IKS

or by quacks, has a deleterious effect on the sex life of these young people. Overindulgence both in sexual stimulation and sexual experiences can be a vicious cycle and may in the long run lead to impotence and disillusionment.

Family Planning

The rapid and marked increase in the populations of India and Pakistan within recent years is of grave concern to both governments. The vigorous implementation of family planning has been adopted as the official policy in the two countries. Despite these efforts, however, and those of the medical profession, private associations and societies, and municipal and other public bodies, to enlighten the people—particularly the masses in the villages—and to provide facilities at nominal cost, the task remains still somewhat undone. The least relaxation could bring catastrophe to the subcontinent.

References

Ahmad, Said, and Ahmad, Maqbool, "A Case Report of a Eunuch with Carcinoma of the Rectum." *Medicus*, Dec., 1957, 101.

Allen, Clifford, *Homosexuality*. London: Staples Press, 1958.

Beadnell, C. M., *The Origin of the Kiss*. London: Watts & Company, 1942.

Hasanat, Abul, *All About Sex, Love, and Happy Marriage*. Calcutta: Sree Kali Press, 1951.

Meyer, Johann Jakob, *Sexual Life in Ancient India*. London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1953.

Modi, Jaising P., *Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology*. Bombay: N. M. Tripathi, 1952.

Nefzawi, *The Perfumed Garden*. London and Benares: Kama Shastra Society, 1886.

Thomas, P., *Kama Kalpa*. Bombay: Privately printed, 1957.

Vātsāyana, *The Kamasutra*. Paris: Libraire Astra (no date indicated).

Walker, Kenneth, and Strauss, E. B., *Sexual Disorders in the Male*. London: Cassel, 1954.

JELAL M. SHAH

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Infertility in Women, Diagnosis and Treatment of

THE barren marriage is a problem as old as the history of mankind. In widely separated cultures and generations, it has been regarded not as an illness but as a misfortune and disgrace—a curse from some demon or displeased god who needed to be propitiated with prayers, religious rites, and magic potions. The childless woman was the victim of superstition, fear, and prejudice, for through the ages, and until our generation, the onus of barrenness usually fell upon the female.

Awareness of possible male responsibility is evident in the writings of Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. In most instances, however, sterility in the male was considered only when he was impotent.

It has been within the past few decades that we have come to realize that each mate is equally in need of investigation when the wife cannot become pregnant. However, customs change so slowly that even today the examination of the husband is often inadequate. Sterility is still considered a gynecological problem and it is usually the wife who comes to the physician for help.

Definition

Synonyms of sterility are infertility, barrenness, and inability to conceive. According to the standards of the American Society for the Study of Sterility, a couple is considered infertile when pregnancy has not occurred after a year of coitus without contraception. *Primary sterility* denotes that conception has never occurred. In *secondary sterility* there have been previous pregnancies, but further conception cannot be accomplished. Such a definition makes husband and wife equally responsible.

In recent years sterility has referred to those couples in whom the inability to conceive is apparently irremediable. For most couples the prognosis is not so grim. *Infertility* is the term applied when fertility is potentially possible but is so reduced that pregnancy does not take place or, if pregnancy is initiated, a viable child is not produced.

Diagnostic Studies

Diagnosis must precede treatment. The physician is like a sleuth, searching for every possible factor that might reduce the fertility of either mate. This requires an organized plan of examination of both husband and wife. In 80 per cent of cases it is not one factor or one mate, but a combination of several factors in each that contributes to the infertility. The diagnostic study consists of:

1. Detailed history, including a search for all factors that affect general health and fertility in particular;
2. General physical examination;
3. Gynecological examination;
4. Special tests related to the anatomical (structural) causes of infertility;
5. Endocrine tests related to physiological (functional) causes of infertility;

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

6. Psychological investigation related to emotional factors that influence fertility.

Enthusiastic cooperation of the couple is obtained more readily if time is spent demonstrating the anatomy of the reproductive system and the highlights of its physiology with pictures and models. Understanding reduces anxiety.

History

A careful history is taken, the husband and wife being interviewed separately. Frankness is encouraged by assurance that confidential information, such as an episode of venereal disease or pregnancy before marriage, will be recorded in code and never divulged.

Family history: Sterility is not inherited, but a low ratio of fertility may be present in the family. Associated infertility in siblings is within the range of coincidence in most cases.

Previous medical history: Following mumps, complications affecting female fertility are rare. Scarlet fever or recurrent tonsillitis may have a damaging effect on the generative organs. The general health during the pre- and adolescent periods influences the development of the reproductive system. Varying degrees of defective or incomplete genital maturity may be caused by some acute systemic infection in early life or by poor health, overwork, malnutrition, anemia, and chronic fatigue before and during adolescence. Venereal diseases may reduce or destroy fertility. History of weight, past and present, and points reached above or below average should be noted.

Previous surgical history: Date, indication, and clinical result of any previous surgical procedure are obtained—especially any that were done for the relief of sterility. Acute appendicitis may seal the tubes. Previous surgery for ectopic pregnancy or tubo-ovarian operations may result in damaged reproductive structures.

It is to the couple's advantage that transcripts of any previous series of tests and treatments, and copies of all operative reports and X-rays, be sent to the physician currently taking care of them.

Menstrual history: We have no direct means of studying the ovum, but the menstrual history is one of the helpful indirect gauges of function. Considerably delayed onset of menstruation, lack of regularity, especially prolonged absence of, or prolonged duration of, menstrual periods indicate disturbed endocrine function. Normal menses with regular rhythm and adequate flow with little or no discomfort are usually associated with a normal endocrine development. Severe pain with periods does not mean reduced fertility. Change in menses after marriage from a regular to an abnormal pattern may indicate either endocrine imbalance due to emotional tensions or acquired disease of the ovaries and/or tubes.

History of diet, habits, and mode of life: All these have a direct bearing on fertility. A comprehensive picture of the couple's general health and vitality will include their hours and type of work and rest, the proportion of time spent in recreational activities and outdoor exercise, the amount of physical and emotional stress and strain to which each is subject, and their habits regarding drugs, alcohol, and tobacco.

Emotional history: What was the emotional climate in which the wife grew up? What was her relationship to her father and mother as a child? What is it now—is she mature or dependent? How did she acquire her sex education? What is her attitude toward her female role, toward sex, toward pregnancy? Has she had any traumatic sex experiences? What is the physician's evaluation of her emotional maturity and stability?

Marital history: The answers to the following questions may elicit clues to the causative or contributory factors in the existing infertilty. Is this the first marriage for both? If not, what is the marital and pregnancy history with any former mate? What is the frequency of intercourse, the history of libido, potency of the husband, depth of penetration? Is intercourse pleasurable, and if not, why? Is the wife a willing and actively participating mate? What is her experience in regard to orgasm? How long have they been involuntarily sterile? Was there a prior period of voluntary sterility? If so, what was their method of contraception? For how long does she remain quietly in bed after intercourse? (It is surprising how often the physician will learn that some women always get up

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

to void or "to wash" immediately after intercourse. Occasionally we are astonished to discover that women, anxious to conceive, invariably douche right after intercourse "to keep clean.")

Physical Examination

Careful general physical examination should precede any tests. Body morphology, fat, and hair distribution are related both to heredity and to endocrine function. The physician wants to know that there is no general health factor that might contraindicate pregnancy and that the woman is in good physical condition for pregnancy.

Gynecological Examination

The gynecological examination may reveal defective or immature development, past or present infection, or chronic pelvic congestion. The last two may cause mechanical interference to sperm migration.

Some women who come for examination only because they cannot become pregnant are found to have an intact hymen. Removal of this, together with instruction in the facts of life, brings a happy result promptly for 90 per cent of these couples.

Retroversion: A common error is to tell a woman that she cannot become pregnant because "her womb is turned." Twenty per cent of retroversions are present from birth (congenital). If such a uterus is of mature development and freely movable and if the postcoital test shows that sperm migrate freely into the uterus, then the retroversion is not causing or contributing to the infertility. An acquired retroversion with accompanying pelvic congestion may reduce fertility. An adherent retroversion is usually accompanied by inflammatory disease of the tubes, which seriously interferes with fertility. When a retroverted uterus can be brought forward, it should be kept in normal position with a supporting pessary.

Fibroids: The presence of small fibroids on the outer wall of the uterus usually does not interfere with fertility. When the fibroids are large, distort the uterus considerably, or especially if they occupy part of the uterine cavity, then they often do interfere with fertility. In the latter cases, their size, number, and location usually warrant surgery per se. When operating for fibroids on a woman who desires children, every attempt is made to remove the individual fibroid nodules (myomectomy), leaving the uterus intact. Such surgery is often followed by successful pregnancies if all other factors are normal.

Anatomical Tests

Postcoital Test (Huhner test): This test is usually done three to eight hours after intercourse and provides microscopic proof as to whether the sperm are able to reach the cervical canal in sufficient numbers, and whether the cervical secretion allows the sperm to travel freely into the uterine cavity. It is planned for the day before, or day of, expected ovulation, at which time the cervical secretion is most favorable for sperm reception and migration. The postcoital findings are dependable only if the test is done around the time of ovulation and if the quantity and quality of the sperm have already been established by detailed examination of the semen.

Tubal patency test (Rubin test): We are greatly indebted to Dr. I. C. Rubin for this simple means of testing whether the tubes are open. The kymographic tracings taken during the test record the contractile ability (peristalsis) of the tubes. Both patency and peristalsis are necessary for fertility. The gas used is carbon dioxide and requires control of the pressure and the volume.

A normal tube has a freely open passageway throughout its length, continuous with the uterine cavity at one end and opening into the abdominal cavity at its free end. The normal tube is free to contract rhythmically. This rhythmic contraction is apparently necessary to bring together the sperm traveling from the uterine end and the ovum, which enters the tube from the abdominal end. Impregnation takes place in the tube.

Normal tubes usually cannot be felt on examination. If they are sufficiently diseased to form pathological masses, then the reason for the infertility is thereby apparent. However, tubes that seem normal on pelvic examination may still have an obstructed lumen, or may be unable to contract rhythmically due to adhesions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The test should be done three to five days after a period and before ovulation. Gas (only carbon dioxide) is blown through the cervix and, with normal patency, flows freely through the continuous passageway into the abdominal cavity. The machine used should give accurate pressure and volume control of the gas, and an attached kymograph records this passage and the rhythmic contractions.

It is unnecessary to perform this test if there is any contraindication to pregnancy or if the husband is sterile.

This test must *not* be done if:

1. There is any systemic infection, or any infection in the generative tract and appendages;
2. There is uterine bleeding;
3. There is any possibility of pregnancy having already started. The temperature graph will reveal an early unsuspected pregnancy. A study of the basal temperature graph and limiting this test to the preovulatory phase of the cycle will avoid such an error.

Salpingohysterography: This is similar to the Rubin test except that instead of carbon dioxide, the physician injects radio-opaque fluid into the cervix and X-rays are taken. We can thereby visualize the continuous passageway of cervical canal, uterine cavity, tubal luminae, and the spillage of the fluid into the peritoneal cavity if the tubes are patent. If the tubes are closed, we can see the site of closure. Such X-rays will also reveal pathology in the endometrial cavity, such as polyps and small submucous fibroids, as well as unsuspected congenital or other malformations that cannot be felt by examination.

Physiological Tests

These are to evaluate the function of the pituitary, thyroid, adrenals, and ovaries essential to produce a fertile ovum or to maintain it after impregnation.

Basal temperature: Daily recording of basal temperature (morning temperature before arising and before any activity) is a simple means of determining if and when ovulation takes place. In most women ovulation occurs 12 to 14 days before menstruation, regardless of the length of the interval between periods. The temperature before ovulation is 0.6 to 1.0 degrees (Fahrenheit) lower than it is after ovulation. If no period occurs and the basal temperature remains elevated for 18 or more days, we can thereby diagnose pregnancy earlier than with any other test.

Subjective signs of ovulation: Some women have a characteristic ache in the lower abdomen on the day of ovulation ("Mittelschmerz"). Some may notice some scant and brief bleeding. Many women have an increased slippery vaginal discharge that is like raw egg white.

Objective signs of ovulation: The physician can often detect the day of ovulation by characteristic changes in the vaginal and cervical secretions.

Endometrial biopsy: This is a simple office procedure. A few small pieces of the tissue lining the uterine cavity (endometrium) are removed and studied microscopically. This gives us valuable information about ovulation and about the response of the endometrium to the various ovarian hormones necessary for pregnancy.

Psychological Investigation

Psychosomatic gynecology is a relatively new field, but it deserves increasing attention. The emotional state of the woman is a potent factor influencing her endocrine physiology. Emotional conflicts, fears, and tensions—particularly in relation to sex, pregnancy, and to the total husband-wife relationship—may be the major, if not the determining cause of infertility in some women. A neurotic mother-daughter relationship, such as a corroding hostility or an overdependent child and an overprotective-possessive mother, may inhibit mature endocrine function. In some women various tensions may inhibit ovulation for years. In my experience, impotence of the husband (unless he is old) is invariably due to psychological foctors. In many instances this relates back to emotional traumas in his parental relationship. Careful history of all emotional factors is an important part of the diagnostic study.

Starting with the history, and going through each step of the diagnostic study, every factor, small or large, that contributes toward reducing fertility is considered. In most infertile couples, two or more causative factors will be found in each mate.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Prognosis and Therapy

Prognosis depends upon the findings. We are helpless when there is absence or atrophy of the gonads or if the union of a fertile sperm and fertile ovum cannot be effected. Fortunately, only a small percentage of cases falls in this group. When the prognosis is hopeless, it is the physician's responsibility to present the true facts and to help the couple make a healthful emotional adjustment. For the emotionally suitable couple, advice and help in adopting a child is often the indicated therapy.

With the exception of the small number of couples with irremediable sterility, the dire prediction "You cannot become pregnant" should be avoided. Many an "expert" has been proved wrong over and over again. The prognosis is best if the combined fertility is not too low and the etiological factors are remediable.

The plan of therapy should be as well organized as the diagnostic study. No one plan can be prescribed. Each couple must be treated on the basis of the individual findings.

Raising the constitutional level of each mate to the optimum is the first step. General constitutional diseases such as tuberculosis, hyperthyroidism, hypertension, chronic nephritis, or syphilis, constitute a contraindication to pregnancy, and, where possible, these conditions should be treated.

Obesity or malnutrition should be corrected. Alcoholic excesses must be avoided. An infertile couple should be advised to give up smoking. It is impossible to estimate individual susceptibility to the toxins absorbed by smoking, but in general, the increased salivation induced by even moderate smoking, its consequent interference with normal digestive processes, the absorption of the toxins by the buccal and nasal mucous membranes, and the ingestion of various toxic by-products of smoking that usually reach the lungs and stomach will undoubtedly depress the fertility of susceptible individuals.

When the diagnostic study shows insufficient anatomical or physiological abnormality to account for the couple's infertility, further search for emotional tensions may yield the clue. Emotional factors are to be suspected when the husband is of normal fertility and the only abnormal findings in the wife relate to functional disturbances of the menstrual cycle. These disturbances, coupled with an anxious or tense personality, should raise the question of psychogenic tensions being sufficiently strong to interfere with normal endocrine function.

Psychiatric consultation or treatment may be needed prior to or concomitant with physical or endocrine treatment. Pregnancy is no cure for psychosis—or severe neurosis. In fact, if the wife is in a state of depression, presumably because she is not pregnant, no attempt should be made to help initiate pregnancy. Severe neurosis is a contraindication to pregnancy, and referral to a psychotherapist is indicated.

Some women will become pregnant after the first visit because of release of anxiety. Many become pregnant during or immediately after the diagnostic study and before any treatment is initiated. The tests themselves are apparently helpful mechanically and/or emotionally. On the other hand, some women may have their fertility reduced as a result of intensive study and treatment. It is most harmful for a woman to become too involved in daily temperature recordings and in timing intercourse according to the calendar rather than according to natural desire. Joyous and spontaneous sex life is the best treatment for the endocrine glands. Couples should be frank with their physicians and communicate any emotional feelings—whatever they may be.

Endocrine treatment should be instituted after the diagnostic study is completed, and only if and as the various tests indicate the need. Great progress has been made in the development of powerful hormones.

Therapeutic (Artificial) Insemination

This has received a great deal of publicity recently. Its application has a limited field of usefulness, as follows:

Insemination with the husband's semen is indicated when:

1. The only abnormal factor disclosed in the diagnostic study is that abnormal cervical mucus does not allow the sperm to pass through into the uterus.

2. The wife is of apparently good fertility, and the husband's sperm number is very low but with normal vitality and morphology. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

my own experience, intra-uterine insemination of sperm with *poor* vitality and *abnormal* structure resulted in successful pregnancies only occasionally.

3. The husband is impotent and the marriage is stable. Psychiatric consultation should precede this therapy. In this small group, many of the husbands have had considerable psychotherapy without relief of the impotence. Many of these couples have an excellent interpersonal relationship in spite of this sexual disability, and can usually be helped to a better sexual relationship as well, within the framework of his impotence. Enabling such a couple to achieve parenthood is most satisfying provided the physician ascertains that the marriage is stable and the couple suitable as parents.

4. Anatomical anomalies of the wife or husband (congenital or acquired) prevent complete intromission and cervical insemination.

Insemination with donor's semen is indicated when:

1. The husband is sterile, or the sperm is so infertile as to render him clinically sterile.

2. Rh negative–Rh positive incompatibility has already resulted in the birth of an erythroblastotic infant, and the couple request insemination of the wife with the semen of an Rh-negative donor.

3. The husband's family history is so bad genetically that he is unwilling to perpetuate his genes.

4. An abnormal child has already been born to the couple and traced to the husband's genetic strain.

Therapeutic donor insemination can be considered only for couples who are mature, who have a true love of children, and who are entirely *en rapport* as to this form of therapy to cure their barren marriage. It is most important that the marriage be stable and the relationship well rooted. If their religion forbids this therapy, they should be so informed.

With resources available from which to choose donors of superior moral, intellectual, and eugenic background, and with equally careful and experienced selection of suitable couples, this therapy results in superior children who contribute immeasurably to the happiness of the couples and the welfare of the community.

Secondary Sterility

Secondary sterility is the inability on the part of a couple to initiate a pregnancy after having accomplished one or more previous pregnancies. Cervical and tubal pathology are the more common causes of this condition. Even without any intervening constitutional or specific infections, the fertility of either mate may become reduced considerably over a period of several years. The diagnostic study should be as thorough for both husband and wife as it is for primary sterility. Therapy is determined by the findings.

Spontaneous Abortion

Spontaneous abortions terminate 12 to 15 per cent of all pregnancies. A woman who has had three or more consecutive abortions is classified as a habitual aborter. Of these, some abort regularly in the first two months of pregancy. The cause may be defective ovum or sperm wherein the pregnancy can be initiated but cannot be carried through the first trimester. Another cause of early habitual abortion is deficiency of the hormones necessary for the implantation and nurture of the fertilized ovum in the uterus. Occasionally local pathology of the uterus itself will prevent a pregnancy from proceeding. In late habitual abortion, the pregnancy progresses normally and the abortion takes place after four or six months. These abortions later in pregnancy may also be due to an endocrine deficiency or to a defect in the upper cervical opening. Various endocrine tests and special X-ray examination of the uterus and cervix are the diagnostic steps to be taken. Psychogenic factors may be the sole cause or important contributory causes. Diagnosis and treatment of abortion have been improving constantly in recent years.

Prophylactic Treatment

In these days of preventive medicine, we must stress the prophylactic treatment of sterility. Many instances of severe reduction in future fertility must occur in childhood. Undoubtedly some severe infections during childhood may destroy germinal epithelium in the testes. This could account for the healthy adult male who is found to have this destruction on

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

testicular biopsy but with no history to account for it. It might be revealing if physicians palpated testes regularly when examining male children during the course of any severe general infection, at any age.

Teaching parents how to instill wholesome sex attitudes in their children will prevent many of the psychosomatic causes of infertility in both men and women.

Healthy family relationships help toward mature sexual development and will prevent those instances of impotence and frigidity that stem from a traumatic emotional climate during the growing-up years. Healthful habits of eating, sleeping, working, relaxation, and overall living are rooted best in childhood. This includes education of the young in the harmful effects of smoking and excessive drinking.

Innate fertility cannot be estimated accurately. Some couples procreate easily despite the presence in each mate of several factors that are not conducive to fertility. In dealing with an infertile mating, however, we are dealing with a couple whose inherent fertility is obviously reduced. Improving the fertility of each mate to the individual's optimum with therapy based on a careful diagnostic study will give the best results.

References

Buxton, C. L., and Southam, A. L., *Human Infertility.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1958.

Blinick, G., and Kaufman, S. A., *Modern Office Gynecology.* Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1957.

Cohen, M. R., Stein, I. F., Sr., and Kaye, B. M., "Optimal Time for Therapeutic Insemination." *Fertil. & Steril. 7;* 14, 1956.

Davis, M. E., "Problems of Sterility Today." *Am. Pract. & Digest Treat. 1;* 1, 1946.

Decker, A., and Decker, W., *Practical Office Gynecology.* Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1956.

Dickinson, R. L., "Ensemble of Ovulation." *J. Contracep. 3;* 219, 1938.

Farris, E., *Human Ovulation and Fertility.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1956.

Gepfert, J. R., "Reconstruction of the Oviducts in the Human." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 45;* 1031, 1943.

Goldberger, M. A., "Clinical Evaluation of Hysterography." *J. Mt. Sinai Hosp., New York.* No. 1; 243, 1943.

Greenhill, J. P., *Office Gynecology* (7th ed.). Chicago: Year Book Publishers, Inc., 1959.

Guttmacher, A. F., *Babies by Choice or by Chance.* New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959.

Holden, F. C., and Sovak, F. W., "Reconstruction of Oviducts—An Improved Technique." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 24;* 684, 1932.

Huhner, M., *Sexual Disorders in the Male and Female Including Sterility and Impotence.* Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co.

Kaplan, Ira, "The Genetic Implications of Clinical Radiation of Women Suffering from Sterility." *J.A.M.A. 52;* No. 1, 13-16, 1960.

Kleegman, S. J., "Office Treatment of Pathologic Cervix." *Am. J. Surg. 48;* 294, 1940.

Kleegman, S. J., "Diagnosis and Treatment of Infertility in Women." In R. J. Lowrie (ed.), *Gynecology.* Chicago: Charles C Thomas, 1952, Vol. I, Chap. 48; Vol. II, Chap. 70.

Kroger, W. S., and Freed, S. C., *Psychosomatic Gynecology.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1958.

Mann, E. C., "The Role of Emotional Determinants in Habitual Abortion." *S. Clin. North America.* April, 447, 1957.

Mazer, Charles, and Israel, S. Leon, *Diagnosis and Treatment of Menstrual Disorders and Sterility.* New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1959.

Meigs, J. V., "Endometrial Biopsy and the Uterine Index." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 38;* 161, 1931.

Papanicoloau, G. V., "The Sexual Cycle of the Human Female as Revealed by Vaginal Smears." *Am. J. Anat. 52;* 519, 1933.

Portnoy, L., "Artificial Insemination." *Fertil. & Steril. 7;* No. 4, 327, 1956.

Potter, R. G., Jr., "Artificial Insemination by Donors: Analysis of Seven Series." *Fertil. & Steril. 9;* 37, 1958.

Rock, J., "Causes and Relief of Infertility." In J. V. Meigs and S. H. Sturgis (eds.), *Progress in Gynecology* (2nd ed.). New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1950.

Rubin, I. C., *Utero-Tubal Insufflation.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1947.

Schellen, A. M., *Artificial Insemination in the Human.* New York: Elsevier Pub. Co., 1957.

Simmons, Fred, "Diagnostic Techniques and Treatment of the Sterile Couple." In J. V. Meigs and S. H. Sturgis (eds.), *Progress in Gynecology* (2nd ed.). New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1950.

Speck, G., "Phenolsulfonphthalein as a Test for the Determination of Tubal Patency." *Am. J. Obst. & Gynec. 55;* 1048, 1948.

Speck, G., "Determination of Time of Ovulation. *Obst. & Gynec. Surv. 14;* No. 6, Dec., 1959.

Stone, A., and Ward, M. E., "Factors Responsible for Pregnancy in 500 Infertility Cases." *Fertil. & Steril. 7;* No. 1, 1956.

Tompkins, P., "Basal Body Temperature Graphs as an Index to Ovulation." *J. Obst. & Gynaec. Brit. Emp. 52;* 241, 1945.

SOPHIA J. KLEEGMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Islam, Sex Life in*

COMPARED with Europe, the Arab Middle East is a relatively homogeneous culture area. However, within the area dramatic cultural differences are found. Corresponding to these cultural differences, there is a great variation in sex life. Marked differences in sexual attitudes and practices exist among the urban, village, and Bedouin populations as the regions—the Arabian peninsula, the Levant, and the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys—are the homes of various Arab subcultures.

General Description of Sexual Behavior

Sexual Frankness

Many European travelers in the area have felt that the Arab is abnormally concerned with sex. Harrison (1924) reports that the Arabs have an abnormally developed sex appetite and that their whole emotional life revolves about it. Philby (1952), visiting the same area several years later, was impressed by conversations about sex. He remarked upon the frankness and freedom with which men of the Arabian highlands spoke of their amorous dreams, of how many times they had sex relations each night, and of the slave girls they kept as concubines. Granqvist (1947) felt that the very separation between the sexes was sexually stimulating. In her study of a Palestinian village, she found that the barriers raised between them made the sexes more interesting to each other. To her it appeared that the awakening of sexual feelings among the Arabs had the force of strong natural power. She noted that the girls secretly wished to show their beauty to the young men and bask in their admiring glances but that this was prevented by the strict isolation of the sexes demanded by society. Granqvist (1950) even attributed two-thirds of the pregnancies to the passion of jealousy of women who wanted to show others that they were still going to bed with their husbands and demanded their rights to have intercourse with their husbands.

Sexual passions in the Arab world are often aroused by less blatant means than these direct demands for intercourse. The woman goes about in public almost completely covered and the revelation of small parts of her body becomes infused with erotic significance. Thomas (1932) tells us that the hand has sexual significance and that to grasp a woman's hand is a shameful overture. The wearing of the veil is enjoined in the *Quran* (XXIV:31): "... they should Draw their Veils over/ Their bosoms and not display/ Their beauty...." The breasts are also used erotically. Musi (1928) observed that among the Rwala Bedouins of Saudi

* Appreciation is expressed to the staff of the Human Relations Area Files at Yale University for their assistance in gathering information on sex life among Bedouin tribes and agricultural villages.

The author's research on the sex life of a restricted sector of the urban population was made possible by funds granted by the Ford Foundation. That Foundation is not, however, the author, owner, publisher, or proprietor of this research and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements or views expressed therein.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Arabia, women raised their dresses so that their breasts showed through when the men went forth to battle as a promise of what awaited the victors and to encourage them to bravery. Philby was puzzled to note that a married woman, while traveling, sat down by a stream to wash and drink and exposed her bust. However, this reflects the differing significance of the breasts of the wed and unwed. The breasts are also revealed in public during nursing and do not have the same erotic meaning. Musil also reports on the sexual significance of hair among the Rwala. He says that long hair and tresses are the chief adornment of women and that every youth wants to marry a girl so adorned. Dickson (1951), observing practices in Kuwait, notes that from the day she marries a woman must religiously keep her person free from hair and that this is done in the public bath either by using zinc and arsenic or by plucking the hairs by hand.

Virginity and Sexual Controls

Yet the Arab culture places severe restrictions on certain forms of sexual expression. The demand that a girl be a virgin at marriage is ubiquitous in the Arab world. Musil remarked that girls are so aware of the severe punishment for losing their virginity that when they meet their lovers they place a saber between them, warning, "I am a maiden. Fear Allah!" The disgrace attendant upon having been compromised is so great that a false accuser of a girl may have his hand cut off by the girl's kinsmen. Granqvist (1935) told of a girl whose reputation was stained and whose parents had to save the situation by quickly getting her married off in a distant place. According to Dickson, pride in virginity is so great in Kuwait that it is considered good form among the Bedouin for the young wife to struggle with her husband to save her virginity. A custom common throughout the Arab Middle East is for a husband, after first cohabitation, to take the bedsheet to the bride's male and female relations and to call out in pride and pleasure, "God whiten your faces. You have indeed kept your daughter pure." In Oman, according to Thomas, an unmarried expectant mother would, on discovery, be murdered by her father or her brother. In South Arabia the girl would be turned out of the tribe to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak vengeance on a female relation of the seducer.

Sexual control through castration occurs. Eunuchs were known in earlier days but are quite rare today. The castrating of eunuchs is forbidden to a Muslim, and Coon (1951) says that the Muslims employ Coptic Christians to perform the operation. Although eunuchism as a control on sexual behavior has been known, celibacy is almost unknown in Islam. The *Quran* (S II:223, v.248-9) recommends marriage, saying, "Your wives are a tilth unto you;/ So approach your tilth/ When or how ye will." Bliss (1917), studying the Levant near the turn of the century, found that celibates of either sex were almost unknown except for a few in the more rigid dervish orders.

Although not forbidding sexuality, Islam does set limits upon the times when intercourse is permitted. The *Quran* (S II:187:197) notes that one is not to have intercourse during the days of the fast: "Then complete your fast/ Till the night appears;/ But do not associate with your wives while ye are in retreat/ In the mosques. Those are/ Limits [set by] God."

Prostitution

The isolation of the sexes before marriage is bound to give rise to tensions. These are managed by allowing some limited contact between the sexes. The *Quran* (XXIV:33) does not explicitly forbid prostitution but discourages forcing a girl into prostitution. It says, "But force not your maids/ To prostitution when they desire/ Chastity, in order that ye/ May make a gain/ In the good of this life." There are sharp differences in the role of prostitution in the urban and Bedouin sectors. Worthington (1946) found organized brothels in Lebanon and Syria. The permissive attitude toward prostitution is confirmed by Dickson, who notes that in Kuwait a man may indulge in strange women without disgrace—provided they are "public" and work for hire—but he notes that the Quranic injunction not to let a chaste girl lapse is taken seriously. He further reports that in the larger towns prostitutes live in separate quarters and that they are usually girls without relatives. Were they to have men relatives the girls would probably be killed. These girls are

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

not allowed to roam the streets and accost men but keep male and female servants to procure for them. Dickson as well as others has noted that there is no prostitution among women of the desert. However, the consensus seems to be, as maintained by Bailes (1952), that there are few Arab girls among the prostitutes, not only in the deserts but even in the towns. Most of the girls are imported from Somaliland, Sudan, or Ethiopia. Yet Dickson reports that in Kuwait, during the absence of the husbands who go pearling, there is some amateur prostitution among the divers' wives who practice it because of a need to supplement family income. These women are said to practice noncoital forms of intercourse through fear of having a child.

As might be expected, there is a correlation between prostitution and venereal disease. Sinderson (1947), who gave much attention to the urban population, found venereal disease a problem in the Middle East. On the other hand, Marett (1953) who focused his attention on Saudi Arabia, held that venereal disease does not exist in Saudi Arabia proper because prostitution does not exist. He excepts Bahrein from this generalization and attributes the venereal disease there to the employment of Indian prostitutes.

Homosexuality

Another possible consequence of isolation of the sexes is the prevalence of homosexuality. There is a good deal of discussion about homosexuality among Middle Easterners. Usually it is noted with tolerant jocularity. *The Handbook of Arabia* states that in the Hadhramaut dancing is permitted only among persons of the same sex. This observation applies rather generally throughout the area. It is the opinion of students of the area that this monosexual social life leads to more homosexuality among women than among men, often attributed to the fact that the men have recourse to prostitutes. Campbell (1949) relates how homosexuality may develop among women from precisely the social situation that allows men to be heterosexual. He repeats a tale of an Arab leader who kept some 3,000 women in concubinage. These women were condemned to live unloved and unseen in the vast harem until they kissed and made love to each other from very sadness of heart. Gulick (1955) was impressed by the homosexual nature of the women's solo wedding dances in Lebanon. He related them to ancient fertility themes, saying that the pelvic movements have the purpose of sexual stimulation. Dickson tells of a form of homosexuality in Kuwait in which widows and sexually starved women have sexual relations with Negresses, who act the part of the men and who tend to become overbearing and jealous tyrants over their protégées. However, he presents no evidence on the frequency of this arrangement.

Middle Eastern folklore is replete with tales of shepherds having intercourse with sheep and of sexual contacts with donkeys. There is no objective evidence on this. Musil claims that animal intercourse is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is homosexuality. The penalty for both is death.

Circumcision

Although an Arab may not marry until he is circumcised, its significance seems to be more related to his membership in the larger group. Male circumcision is, of course, enjoined in the *Quran*. However, in practice, observers have found that among some Bedouins it is exaggerated into an ordeal of bravery. Philby found that, among the Tihama tribes of the Arabian Highlands, deferred circumcision is the general rule and that the ordeal is regarded as a test of personal courage and endurance. He says that circumcision in these tribes involves cutting the skin across the stomach below the navel and thence down to the thighs, after which it is peeled off, leaving the whole area—stomach, pelvis, scrotum, and inner legs—completely uncovered. Philby adds that this ordeal has of late been forbidden by the Wahabbi administration of Saudi Arabia.

There has been some debate among students of the Middle East as to the extent of female circumcision. Granqvist (1947) did not find it practiced in the Palestinian villages she studied. However, Worthington claims it is spreading in the Sudan and attributes this to Muslim influence. He says that it is carried out between the ages of 4 and 10 and assumes two principal forms: the Sunna form in which one or more

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

of the sexual parts is excised, and the Pharaonic form in which infibulation or partial occlusion of the vaginal orifice is performed, in addition to the removal of some parts.

Marriage

As is well known, the *Quran* allows a man to take as many as four wives at a time. Actually, polygyny is not as widespread in the Middle East as it theoretically might be because of the requirement that a man be able to provide for his wives and because the number of men and women is more evenly distributed than it was among the warlike tribes of the Quranic period. The Rwala Bedouins studied by Musil are probably closest to the tribal form that existed in those days. He writes that the Rwala usually have one woman in a tent, less often two or three. The tendency is to remain faithful to a wife until the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy and then to look for another girl.

When marrying, a Rwala man spends seven nights with the new wife but must also devote himself to any previous wives. As far as adultery of the wife is concerned, Twitchell (1953), in discussing adultery in Saudi Arabia, says a girl is liable to be buried to the waist in a pit and stoned to death. However, he points out that adultery is uncommon, attributing this to the fact that a man may have four wives. The United Nations report estimates that not more than 5 per cent of the married men in the region have more than one wife at a time. Granqvist, in her study of a Palestinian village (1935), found that of a total of 199 married men, 13 per cent were polygynous.

Concubinage, as a way of increasing the number of women beyond four, exists wherever slavery is continued. A half-century ago there were still remnants of slavery in the Levant, and Bliss found concubinage with slaves a recognized right of the husband. Today, traces of slavery remain only in the Arabian peninsula. Dickson, in his study of Kuwait towns, found that a bought slave girl is a man's property and that it is not wrong for the master to take her as his concubine.

The Arab family emphasizes the husband-wife relation more than that of the parents with their children. Harrison says that the world of the Saudi Arabian Arab does not revolve about his children. They are a mere incident, although petted and spoiled. A man delights in the physical enjoyment of a new and pretty wife.

The attitude toward intercourse is not that it is a service rendered by the woman to the man but a service that he renders to her. This is reflected in an observation by Musil that, among the Rwala, if a near relation of a woman dies her husband is expected to have intercourse with her for several nights in order to comfort her.

Restrictions Placed upon a Man's Enjoyment of His Wife

Granqvist (1947) lists restrictions imposed upon the man regarding intercourse. She writes that when a man wants to have intercourse with his wife he lifts up her garment and says, "I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful." This is said so that Satan will retire and God be present, for it is believed that the woman is exposed to danger if the name of God is omitted. Granqvist (1935) also says that when a man returns from a long journey he must sometimes wait three weeks before he can have intercourse with his wife. However, this is not confirmed by other observers.

A further restriction placed on marital intercourse relates to the notion of menstrual uncleanness. The injunction against intercourse during menstruation is found in the *Quran* (S II:222:247), where it is written, "So keep away from women/ In their courses, and do not/ Approach them until/ They are clean./ But when they have purified themselves,/ Ye may approach them/ In any manner, time or place/Ordained for you by God." Observers have reported that this avoidance during menstruation is adhered to. Khadduri (1955), in discussing Muslim law, explains that a husband may not divorce his wife during her menstrual period since he usually does not have intercourse with her at that time. Thus, his failure to have intercourse at that time would not indicate that an aversion exists. Granqvist (1935) says that in a Palestinian village a man becomes unclean if he sleeps with his wife during her period. Musil observed that among the Rwala men do not touch women for three to five days during their period.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Bailes discusses marital adjustment in relation to frigidity of Arab women. She quotes from a book by Carver, who states that no wives are more abused, embittered, and more obviously frigid than the Arabian wives. Female frigidity, according to Carver, plays an important role in the Arab cultural pattern, making for the world's unhappiest husbands. Although there is a grain of truth in this observation, it appears exaggerated.

Sexual Behavior among the Baghdad Elite

During 1954, the author had occasion to obtain histories of sexual behavior from 101 individuals in Israel. These included sixty histories of Jews who had recently migrated from Baghdad, Iraq. The sample was a fairly homogeneous one. The interviewees were in their twenties and thirties at the time of the research. All had completed secondary school in Baghdad and came from families in the upper economic brackets. Only data on the unmarried are reported here. The data were gathered according to the format used in Kinsey's studies (1948, 1953), with comparable results (see p. 555).

The unit of reporting is the mean number of orgasms per week at each age for each source. (For details of interviewing procedure and definitions of terms, the reader is referred to the article, "Sex Life in Israel" in this book, where comparable data for native-born Israelis are presented.) Since these data concern a restricted sector of an urban community, they cannot, of course, be generalized to apply to rural, Bedouin, or lower-class urban Arabs. However, the patterns of the Baghdad Jews studied probably have a good deal in common with the patterns that would be found among Muslim and Christian urban Arabs of the same educational and economic strata.

Age of Maturity

The average age of first ejaculation for males of the Baghdad-born sample was slightly above that of the American males studied by Kinsey. The Iraqi males report their first ejaculation at a mean of 14.24 years. Those studied by Kinsey report 13.88 years. It also appears that maturity comes a bit later to the Iraqi females. The mean age of first menstrual period was 13.17. The American females interviewed by Kinsey had a mean age of 13.0. Similarly, the Iraqi females experienced their first orgasm at a mean age of 14.18. Although Kinsey does not report this figure explicitly, American females seem to experience their first orgasm somewhat later.

Total Outlet

The total outlet of the Baghdadi males varies from about three orgasms in two weeks at the time they enter high school to five orgasms in two weeks at graduation (Table 1). This frequency is maintained through the age of 21 and then drops back to two in three weeks by the mid-twenties. This total outlet is slightly lower than that of Kinsey's American sample. American males average about two and a half orgasms a week, or about five in two weeks during the entire period.

The total outlet of Iraqi females is considerably less than that of the males. Upon entering high school the frequency jumps from one orgasm in ten weeks to about three in four weeks, and then drops back to about one in two weeks by graduation. During their early twenties, the Iraqi females again experience about three orgasms in four weeks. This pattern is slightly higher than Kinsey's finding among American females of the same educational and economic status, which is about one orgasm every two or three weeks.

TABLE 1. TOTAL OUTLET

Mean Number of Orgasms Per Week

AGE	IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)	IRAQI FEMALES (BAGHDAD)
11	.37	.23
12	.81	.22
13	1.23	.19
14	1.57	.84
15	1.74	.73
16	2.06	.48
17	2.33	.57
18	2.50	.59
19	2.30	.63
20	2.25	.81
21	2.39	.64
22	1.58	.70
23	1.58	.81
24	1.74	—
25	1.29	—
26	1.33	—
27	.93	—
28	1.05	—
29	.70	—
30	.70	—

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Masturbation

By the age of 16 about two-thirds of Baghdadi males have tried masturbation and about three-fourths have done so by their early twenties (Table 2). For those actively practicing masturbation the frequencies drop from over three times a week in the pre-high school period to about twice a week during high school and to about once a week in their early twenties. During secondary school masturbation accounts for about half of the weekly orgasms of the entire male population. By the early twenties, only one in three orgasms derives from self-stimulation, and in the mid-twenties only one in four.

Kinsey found that American males had a higher accumulative incidence during most of the period and also a slightly higher frequency. American males who masturbated did so over twice a week at age 15 and about one and a third times each week between 21 and 25. Masturbation also accounted for more of the total outlet for the American males, being four-fifths of the total at age 15 and over half of the total between 21 and 25.

Iraqi females were somewhat slower to begin masturbating than were the males (Table 3). At age 15 one in four females have begun masturbating and by 18 half have had the experience. By their early twenties about eight out of ten of the females interviewed had masturbated at one time or another. For those active in masturbation, the frequency showed a steady decline from once a week at the time of entering high school to once in two weeks by graduation time. During the early twenties the frequency drops to less than once a month. The importance of masturbation as an outlet varies considerably by age. During early adolescence, about one out of four of all orgasms for the population is achieved through masturbation. By late adolescence the proportion drops to one in ten but rises again to one in four by the early twenties.

The females studied by Kinsey masturbated much less. Only about a third had had the experience by age 20 and not quite half had had it by age 25. Throughout, the frequency was approximately once in two or three weeks. However, the relative importance of masturbation as an outlet for the American females was more significant. At age 15, masturbation accounted for 93 per cent of the orgasms and for about half of the orgasms at age 25.

TABLE 2. MASTURBATION AMONG IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
41	11	9.8	.37	1.27	9.8	3.87	1.93	100.0
41	12	12.2	.42	1.39	12.2	3.90	1.67	51.8
41	13	22.2	.67	1.65	22.0	3.06	2.40	54.4
41	14	29.7	.85	1.81	31.7	2.69	2.36	54.1
41	15	51.2	.97	1.50	48.8	2.04	1.59	55.7
41	16	63.3	1.10	1.88	58.4	1.89	2.15	53.4
41	17	63.3	1.20	2.18	53.7	2.24	2.57	51.5
40	18	62.5	1.10	2.20	52.5	2.10	8.53	44.0
36	19	69.4	.96	1.80	55.6	1.73	2.13	41.7
34	20	67.6	.89	1.93	50.0	1.28	2.45	39.5
33	21	69.7	.90	1.02	57.5	1.57	1.06	37.6
28	22	71.4	.49	.74	53.6	.91	.80	31.0
22	23	72.7	.43	.68	54.5	.29	.77	27.2
21	24	76.2	.38	.66	47.6	.80	.77	21.8
13	25	53.8	.34	.65	30.7	1.09	.76	26.4
10	26	60.0	.37	.49	30.0	1.25	.73	27.8
7	27	71.4	.53	.43	42.8	1.25	.84	56.9
4	28	50.0	.50	.29	—	1.01	.99	47.6
4	29	33.0	.00	—	33.0	.02	.01	—
3	30	33.0	—	—	—	—	—	—

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 3. MASTURBATION AMONG IRAQI FEMALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	5.2	.05	.94	5.2	1.00	0.00	21.7
19	12	10.5	.04	.37	10.5	.41	.66	18.2
19	13	10.5	.04	.37	10.5	.41	.66	21.0
19	14	21.0	.21	.55	—	1.02	2.25	25.0
19	15	21.0	.21	.55	—	1.02	2.25	28.7
19	16	26.3	.12	.21	5.3	.58	1.13	25.0
15	17	33.0	.07	.21	26.7	.27	.48	12.3
14	18	50.0	.08	.20	42.9	.20	.06	13.5
13	19	61.5	.08	.17	45.6	.18	.06	12.0
10	20	80.0	.12	.25	50.0	.25	.67	14.8
8	21	75.0	.15	.21	62.5	.25	.09	23.4
6	22	83.3	.16	.17	66.7	.16	.09	22.8
4	23	75.0	.22	1.10	75.0	1.63	.90	27.1

TABLE 4. PETTING TO ORGASM AMONG IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
41	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	12	2.4	.35	.22	2.4	14.00	—	43.2
41	13	4.9	.24	.16	2.4	10.00	—	19.5
41	14	7.3	.23	.12	4.9	4.75	3.18	14.6
41	15	17.1	.26	.11	14.6	1.79	2.64	14.9
41	16	22.0	.29	.11	17.1	1.75	2.38	14.1
41	17	29.3	.30	.11	24.4	1.23	2.11	12.8
40	18	30.0	.31	.12	17.5	.80	.25	12.4
36	19	44.4	.36	.12	35.3	1.08	2.03	15.6
34	20	50.0	.40	1.27	32.4	1.26	2.04	17.7
33	21	51.5	.42	.65	36.3	1.16	.74	17.6
28	22	46.4	.20	.51	28.6	.72	.76	12.6
22	23	54.5	.34	.67	27.2	1.25	.74	21.5
21	24	57.1	.35	.65	33.3	1.04	.76	20.1
13	25	53.8	.27	.59	30.7	.89	.84	20.9
10	26	50.0	.10	.08	20.0	.52	.31	7.5
7	27	28.6	.00	—	14.3	.05	.01	—
4	28	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Petting to Orgasm

About one in four of the Baghdadi males achieves orgasm through petting by the conclusion of secondary school, and about one out of two have done so by the age of 20 (Table 4). The failure of the accumulative incidence to increase after this age indicates that males who did not have this experience by the age of 20 or 21 do not tend to be initiated into the practice thereafter. For those active in petting to orgasm, the frequency drops from somewhat under twice a week during adolescence to a little over once a week on the average during their early twenties. During the entire period, petting accounts for about 15 per cent of all the orgasms of this male population.

Kinsey's study showed that about the same proportion of American males, a little more than half, had experienced orgasm through petting by their early twenties. However, the American males active in petting use this outlet

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

less frequently, having about one such orgasm in three weeks. At no time does this outlet account for more than 7.5 per cent of their total outlet.

Petting to orgasm is a much less frequent occurrence for Baghdadi females (Table 5). About one in four have had the experience by age 18, and a bit over one in three by their early twenties. Even for those active, the experiences were few and far between. Until age 20, even the females who had the experience at all did not do so more than once or twice during the year. After this, those active in petting were reaching orgasm through petting on the average of once in three weeks. During adolescence it accounts for an insignificant proportion of their total orgasms and for about 10 per cent during the early twenties.

Although not a frequent occurrence in the sample of American females studied by Kinsey, the American incidence of petting to orgasm is higher than that of the Baghdadi females.

TABLE 5. PETTING TO ORGASM AMONG IRAQI FEMALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	5.2	.00	—	5.2	.02	.00	—
19	12	5.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	13	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	14	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	15	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	16	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	17	20.0	.01	.00	13.3	.04	.00	.00
14	18	28.6	.00	.00	7.1	—	—	—
13	19	38.5	.03	.23	7.7	—	—	4.6
10	20	20.0	.05	.22	10.0	—	—	6.1
8	21	37.5	.07	.21	25.0	.29	.08	10.9
6	22	50.0	.12	.21	33.3	.37	.03	17.1
4	23	75.0	.44	.71	50.0	.88	.88	54.3

TABLE 6. INTERCOURSE WITH COMPANIONS AMONG IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
41	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	17	4.9	.05	.31	4.9	1.06	1.32	2.1
40	18	5.0	.10	.63	5.0	2.06	2.73	4.0
36	19	8.3	.13	.68	5.6	2.50	2.12	5.1
34	20	11.8	.03	.17	5.9	.51	.69	1.3
33	21	12.1	.05	.21	6.6	.86	.18	2.9
28	22	14.2	.02	.79	3.4	.75	—	1.2
22	23	18.1	.06	.18	13.6	.45	.33	3.8
21	24	28.6	.15	.46	14.3	.83	.82	8.6
13	25	15.4	.06	.21	15.4	.42	.47	4.6
10	26	20.0	.12	.66	20.0	.62	.27	9.2
7	27	14.3	.07	.21	14.3	.50	.18	5.3
4	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

The accumulative incidence reaches 34 per cent by age 25 and those actively engaged during their early twenties were having orgasms from this source on an average of once in three months. This outlet always accounted for less than a fifth of their total orgasms.

Premarital Intercourse with Companions

It is very rare for an Iraqi male to achieve orgasm in intercourse with a female companion during adolescence (Table 6). By the age of 20, slightly less than 12 per cent have had the experience. Even in the ensuing years less than one in five have ever used this outlet. However, for those few who do achieve sexual liaisons with their companions, intercourse takes place relatively frequently. At age 18, the frequency for those active is about twice a week. During the early twenties the frequency varies between three and four times a month. Intercourse with companions accounts for only an insignificant part of the total outlet for the population as a whole.

The comparable males in Kinsey's study had an accumulative incidence of 44 per cent by age 20 and 64 per cent by age 25. Those active were having intercourse with companions about three times a month. At age 20, this outlet accounted for about 9 per cent of all orgasms and for about 19 per cent at age 25.

None of the females in the sample interviewed reported experiencing intercourse with companions during the entire period under study. The females from the same educational group in Kinsey's study show an accumulative incidence of intercourse with companions of about 10 per cent by age 20 and 24 per cent by age 25, with frequencies of about three times a month for the active group.

Intercourse with Prostitutes

Orgasms achieved through intercourse with prostitutes plays an important role with the Iraqi males (Table 7). By age 18, one in three males has had the experience of visiting a prostitute, and by the early twenties three out of four have done so. Those active during high school tend to visit prostitutes about once a week. During the following years the frequency drops to about once in two weeks. Late adolescents on the whole achieve about one in seven or eight of their orgasms through intercourse with prostitutes. After the age of 21, this accounts for a quarter to a third of the total outlet.

The accumulative incidences of intercourse with prostitutes of American males as found by Kinsey is roughly similar to that of the Iraqi males. However, American males seem to begin later. By the age of 18 less than 14 per cent of American males had visited a prostitute and by 25 less than 29 per cent had done so. During late adolescence the active population tends to visit prostitutes about once in five weeks, and during their early twenties the frequency rises to about once in two weeks. During late adolescence, less than 3 per cent of all orgasms of the American sample were achieved with prostitutes, while during their early twenties the relative proportion rose to 3.5 per cent. Thus, it claims a less important place in the total outlet for American males than for Iraqi males.

Spontaneous Orgasms

By early adolescence, three out of four Iraqi males have experienced a spontaneous orgasm without mechanical self-stimulation or social sexual contact (Table 8). Almost all of them have had such orgasms by the close of adolescence. The experience is a recurring one, with almost all of the population experiencing it throughout all of the years. The active frequency tends to decrease with age. Upon entering high school, these males have about one spontaneous orgasm a week. The frequency drops to about one nocturnal emission in two weeks by the early twenties. During most of the period this accounts for about a fourth of their orgasms.

The males in Kinsey's sample had about the same accumulative incidence but had only about one nocturnal emission in three weeks, and these accounted for about a sixth of all their orgasms.

About half of the Iraqi females entering high school have had spontaneous orgasms and about three-fourths experience orgasm from this source before graduation (Table 9). The accumulative incidence rises only a few percentage points by their twenties. During early adolescence about half of the females are ex-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 7. INTERCOURSE WITH PROSTITUTES AMONG IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)

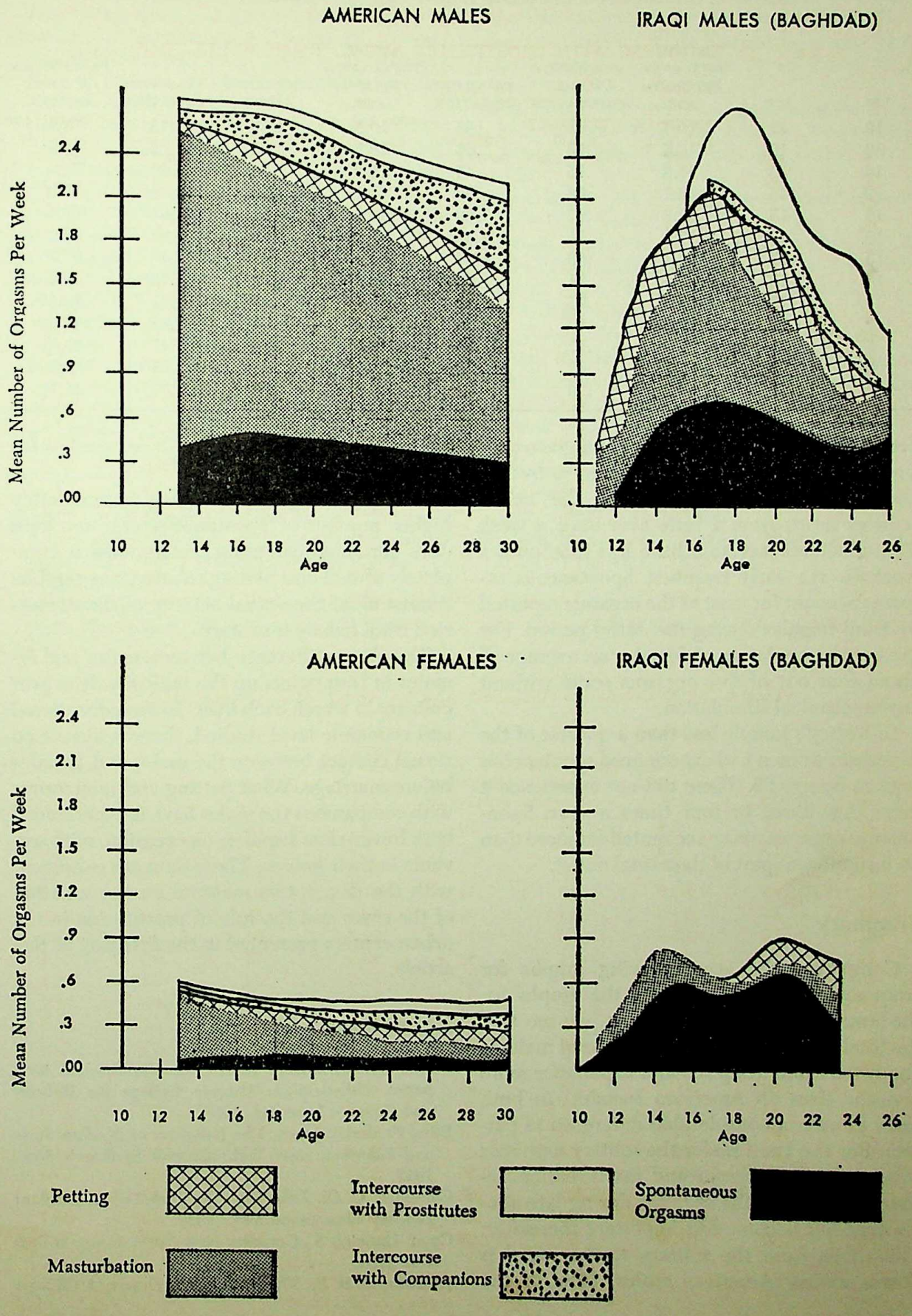
N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
41	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	14	2.4	.00	.00	2.4	.05	—	—
41	15	2.4	.00	.00	2.4	.25	—	—
41	16	14.6	.15	.65	14.6	1.05	1.51	7.3
41	17	17.1	.14	.64	14.6	1.02	1.50	27.5
40	18	35.0	.35	.96	35.0	1.01	1.43	14.0
36	19	47.2	.29	.74	47.2	.62	.99	12.6
34	20	61.8	.38	.65	61.8	.61	.74	16.8
33	21	66.7	.56	1.22	66.7	.84	1.43	23.4
28	22	78.6	.45	.65	67.6	.67	.70	28.5
22	23	81.8	.43	.55	72.7	.59	.57	27.2
21	24	76.2	.58	1.05	76.2	.76	1.15	33.3
13	25	61.5	.30	.55	63.8	.56	.65	23.2
10	26	90.0	.41	.31	90.0	.45	.59	30.8
7	27	85.7	.15	.59	85.7	.18	.09	16.1
4	28	75.0	.10	.32	—	.14	.10	9.5
4	29	66.0	.10	.10	66.0	.10	.02	14.3
3	30	100.0	.10	.10	100.0	.10	.02	14.3

TABLE 8. SPONTANEOUS ORGASMS AMONG IRAQI MALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
41	11	2.4	.00	.00	2.4	.25	—	—
41	12	4.9	.05	.31	4.9	1.12	1.23	6.2
41	13	31.7	.32	.77	31.7	1.02	1.11	26.0
41	14	61.0	.49	.84	61.0	.81	.96	31.2
41	15	75.6	.52	.69	75.6	.68	2.29	29.8
41	16	85.4	.52	.76	82.9	.64	.80	25.2
41	17	87.7	.64	.80	85.4	.75	.82	27.4
40	18	90.0	.64	.89	87.5	.74	.92	25.6
36	19	91.7	.57	.66	88.9	.64	.67	24.7
34	20	91.2	.56	.81	88.2	.64	.84	24.8
33	21	96.9	.46	.54	93.9	.49	.55	19.2
28	22	96.4	.42	.49	89.2	.47	.49	26.5
22	23	100.0	.33	.45	90.9	.36	.46	20.8
21	24	90.5	.31	.46	76.2	.40	.50	17.8
13	25	92.3	.33	.52	92.3	.36	.54	25.6
10	26	90.0	.34	.32	90.0	.38	.59	25.6
7	27	85.7	.18	.30	85.7	.21	.22	19.4
4	28	75.0	.45	.66	75.0	.60	.47	42.8
4	29	100.0	.60	.38	100.0	.60	.43	85.7
3	30	100.0	.60	.38	100.0	.60	.43	85.7

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS



CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 9. SPONTANEOUS ORGASMS AMONG IRAQI FEMALES (BAGHDAD)

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	10.5	.18	.66	10.5	1.75	1.12	78.3
19	12	10.5	.18	.66	10.5	1.75	1.12	81.8
19	13	15.8	.15	.45	15.8	1.00	1.96	78.9
19	14	42.1	.63	.30	42.1	1.50	2.93	75.0
19	15	52.6	.52	1.20	47.4	1.11	.62	71.2
19	16	57.9	.36	1.34	47.1	.85	3.92	75.0
15	17	66.7	.50	1.34	60.0	.83	.48	87.7
14	18	78.6	.51	.93	71.4	.72	.78	86.4
13	19	69.2	.54	.91	61.5	.88	.67	83.0
10	20	80.0	.64	.86	70.0	.91	.68	79.0
8	21	75.0	.42	.22	62.5	.68	1.41	65.6
6	22	66.7	.42	.22	50.0	.85	1.08	60.0
4	23	50.0	.26	.49	50.0	.52	.67	32.1

periencing spontaneous orgasm in a given year and about three-quarters are doing so by late adolescence. The frequency of the active females drops from a little over once a week during adolescence to a little less than once a week by the early twenties. Spontaneous orgasms account for most of the orgasms reported by Iraqi females during the entire period. For the entire population of females an average of about four out of five orgasms come without any mechanical stimulation.

In Kinsey's sample less than a quarter of the American women had experienced spontaneous orgasm by age 25. These did not experience it more than three or four times a year. Spontaneous orgasms never accounted for more than an insignificant part of their total outlet.

Summary

Comparing the accompanying graphs for Iraqi males and females with the graphs for the American males and females, we see that the total outlet for American and Iraqi males is about the same. Iraqi females experience more orgasms than do American females. In both cases there is a considerable difference in pattern. For the Iraqi males the solitary activities of spontaneous orgasm and masturbation account for most of the orgasms during late adolescence but become less important thereafter. This move from the solitary to the social is slower among American males. Most of the Iraqi's social sexual behavior is accounted for by visits to prostitutes.

The Iraqi female experiences a remarkably higher number of spontaneous orgasms than does her American sister. Intercourse is completely absent and petting relatively negligible. Almost all of the sexual activity of the unmarried Iraqi female is solitary.

The sharp difference between males and females in Iraq points up the radically divergent cultures in which each lives. In the educational and economic level studied, there is almost no sexual contact between the males and females before marriage. What petting and intercourse with companions the males have is experienced with lower-class females; on occasion, with servants in their houses. These data are consistent with the descriptive material on the isolation of the sexes and the role of prostitution in the urban centers presented in the first part of this article.

References

Bailes, Sylvia, *Slavery in Arabia.* Unpublished term paper. Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1952.

Bliss, Frederick Jones, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

Campbell, C. G., *Tales from the Arab Tribes.* London: Lindsay Drummond Ltd., 1949.

Coon, Carleton S., *Caravan.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951.

Dickson, H. R. P., *The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse*

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1951.

Glubb, J. B., *The Sulubbi and Other Ignoble Tribes of Southwestern Asia, General Series in Anthropology No. 10.* Menasha, Wisc.: George Banta Pub. Co., 1943, pp. 14-17.

Granqvist, Hilma, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, II.* Helsingfors: Societas Scientarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Vol. VI, No. 8, 1935.

Granqvist, Hilma, *Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs: Studies in a Mohammedan Village in Palestine.* Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1947.

Granqvist, Hilma, *Child Problems Among the Arabs.* Helsingfors: Söderström & Co., 1950.

Great Britain, Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division Naval Staff, Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia, Vol. 1.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920.

Gulick, John, *Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village.* New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1955.

Harrison, Paul W., *The Arab at Home.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1924.

Khadduri, Majid, and Liebesny, Herbert J. (eds.), *Law in the Middle East, Origin and Development of Islamic Law, Vol. 1.* Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1955.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Marett, William C., "Some Medical Problems Met in Saudi Arabia." *United States Armed Forces M. J. 4;* 31-38, 1953.

Musil, Alois, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins.* New York: The American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 6, 1928.

Philby, H. St. John B., *Arabian Highlands.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952.

Sinderson, Harry, "Some Health Problems of the Middle East." *The Royal Central Asian J. 34;* 131-143, 1947.

Tannous, Afif I., "Missionary Education in Lebanon." *Social Forces 21;* 338-343, 1943.

The Quran, Lahore, 1937.

Thomas, Bertram, "Anthropological Observations in South Arabia." *J. Royal Anthropol. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland 62;* 83-103, 1932.

Twitchell, K. S., *Saudi Arabia.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953.

United Nations, "Social Conditions in the Middle East." *Preliminary Report on the World Situation.* New York: United Nations, 1952.

Worthington, E. B., *Middle East Science.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946.

SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Israel, Sex Life in*

ISRAELI patterns of sexual behavior are as divergent as the ethnic composition of the Israeli population. Sharp differences in attitudes and behaviors exist among immigrants from various European countries, immigrants from Middle Eastern lands, and native-born Jews as well as native-born and immigrant Arabs. Patterned differences according to ethnic origin are superimposed upon variations deriving from economic and educational differences and urban versus agricultural and Bedouin rural populations.

The author has assembled systematic quantitative data from a narrow segment of the population. In 1954, 101 interviews on sexual behavior were carried out. All the interviewees were from the middle and upper economic strata and had at least a high-school education. They were about equally divided between native-born Israelis of Eastern European parentage and recent immigrants from Baghdad. Most of the subjects were in their twenties and thirties at the time of the interview. The sample was not random, but it was highly homogeneous. The results are not, in general, applicable to the whole population but are suggestive of the patterns found in these sectors. This article will report on the unmarried portion of the native-born sample. (Data from the Baghdad sample are included in the article, "Sex Life in Islam.")

* This research was made possible by funds granted by the Ford Foundation. That Foundation is not, however, the author, owner, publisher, or proprietor of this research and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements or views expressed therein.

The Interviews

In interviewing, it was necessary to establish a rapport that would allay the subjects' anxiety. All interviews were carried out verbally in a face-to-face situation. Interviewing in a closed room and with no one else present assured the respondent of privacy and promised secrecy. The protocols were recorded in a code in the presence of the interviewee. This was intended to add to the subject's assurance that no one else could read his sex history. A professional atmosphere was maintained by asking the questions in a matter-of-fact way. Slang references to sexual behavior were avoided.

It was discovered that anxiety could be kept at a minimum if the interview was begun with questions that provoked the least anxiety, slowly leading into more disturbing questions. Thus, the interview opened with questions about education and military experience. Then the question of source of sexual knowledge was broached. Subsequently, the age of first ejaculation, first menstruation, and first orgasm were requested. This led naturally to a question about the source of this first orgasm; and then this behavior was followed year by year through to the present. Interrogation about other sources of orgasm followed.

For males, questions were usually asked, in order, about nocturnal emissions, intercourse with prostitutes, intercourse with companions,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

petting to orgasm, masturbation, and homosexuality. For females, the usual order was spontaneous orgasm, petting to orgasm, masturbation, intercourse with companions, and homosexuality. This "order of anxiety" was empirically determined and was the same for the native-born Israeli and Iraqi samples. Questions were asked in the format established by Kinsey (1948, 1953) so as to produce comparable results.

From prior information on the personality and culture of Middle Eastern women, difficulties were anticipated in interviewing Iraqi females. This did not prove to be the case. The relative ease with which it was possible to interview the Iraqi females may have been due to three factors. First, they were passing through a cultural transition. They had already left the society of Baghdad and had not yet been fully integrated into the new society. The old normative structure had been shattered and not yet replaced. Second, there was some generalization from the situation of a medical interview, since the interviewer was called doctor (of psychology). Finally, the females interviewed were rather sophisticated and were eager to become part of Western society. It appeared to some that providing information on sexual life was a normal way to behave in European society.

In the entire sample, there were only two failures to complete the interview. Both were late adolescent females; one from Baghdad and one native-born Israeli.

Validity

Several measures were taken to maximize the validity of the responses, *i.e.*, the accuracy with which responses reflected actual behavior. Respondents were not asked if they had engaged in a given behavior; rather, they were asked about the first time they had experienced it. The burden was on the respondent to deny having had the experience. When a respondent had difficulty in recall, it was found useful to begin with current behavior and work back to previous years. The interviewer constantly watched the emerging pattern of responses for its internal consistency.

A strong assurance of validity was the degree of involvement of the subjects. It was found that respondents became emotionally involved regarding the accuracy of their own responses and tended to become apologetic if they had difficulty in recalling the frequency of a given behavior at a given age. However, despite these safeguards, there is no doubt some invalidity in the responses because of the unintentional perceptual distortions to which all recall of past material is subject. This includes distortions deriving from deeper motivational forces that press toward minimization or exaggeration of various types of behavior. Among a small number of married couples interviewed, the males showed a tendency to report higher frequencies of marital intercourse than the females.

Definitions

The unit of reporting is the average number of orgasms per week at a given age from a given source.

Orgasm: A building up and sudden spasmodic release of muscular tension associated with clearly sexual activity. Sexual arousal without spasmodic release was not counted. For males, only ejaculations were counted.

Total outlet: The mean number of orgasms per week at a given age from all sources together.

Accumulative incidence: The proportion of the population ever having experienced orgasm from a given source up to a given age. For example, a 20-year-old who had intercourse at age 17 is counted in the accumulative incidence as having had the experience, although he may not have had any intercourse at age 20.

Active incidence: The proportion experiencing orgasm from a given source during a given year.

Spontaneous orgasm: An orgasm coming without any intentional mechanical stimulation of the body. This includes orgasms occurring spontaneously during exercise, and from sexual stimulation from reading or dreaming. This category covers nocturnal emissions among males.

Masturbation: Mechanical self-stimulation of the genitals or other erogenous zones, leading to orgasm. Stimulation may be manual or by

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

bringing the erogenous zone into contact with an inanimate object.

Intercourse with prostitutes: Heterosexual intercourse in which the partner participates in consideration of a direct money payment.

Intercourse with companions: Heterosexual intercourse in which no direct money payment is involved.

Petting to orgasm: Heterosexual stimulation of genitals or other erogenous zones, leading to orgasm and without intromission of the penis. This varies from mere stroking of one by the other to actually placing the genitals in apposition without penetration.

Homosexual experiences were too infrequent in the samples to be reported quantitatively. None of the subjects admitted to intercourse with animals.

Results

Comparative data are based on the findings of Kinsey as reported for the highest educational group among single white males and females.

Age of Maturity

Native-born Israeli males report their first ejaculation at a mean age of 13.50 years. This compares with a mean age for first orgasm for the native-born Israeli females of 12.87 years. Their first menstrual period came at a mean age of 13.03 years. In all of these cases, the ages are slightly, but not significantly, below those reported by Kinsey for a comparable sample of American males and females.

Total Outlet

Males of 15 experience an average of two orgasms per week from all sources together. During the early twenties, the figure rises to about two and a third a week, or about twelve a month. The females at 15 have about three orgasms a month and increase to slightly over two a week by their early twenties. The males in the Kinsey sample had about the same order of activity as the Israeli males. However, the females in this sample have about five times the number of orgasms in their twenties as those studied by Kinsey. In the Kinsey sample the males were about six times as active as the females, but it appears that the Israeli female has almost the same frequency of sexual activity as the Israeli male (Table 1).

TABLE 1. TOTAL OUTLET

AGE	ISRAELI-BORN MALES	ISRAELI-BORN FEMALES
11	.23	.01
12	.06	.01
13	1.72	.19
14	1.81	.50
15	1.93	.76
16	2.23	.88
17	2.57	1.47
18	2.08	1.80
19	1.99	2.19
20	1.85	2.01
21	2.37	3.67
22	2.36	2.31
23	2.12	2.18
24	2.39	1.91
25	1.52	—

Masturbation

By age 13, 40 per cent of the males have had experience in masturbating (Table 2). Over 75 per cent masturbated by age 16, and by the early twenties almost all have at one time or another tried this outlet. The proportion active in any given year rises to almost two-thirds by age 16 and then drops to about a fourth during the early twenties. Those who were masturbating did so on the average of twice a week during adolescence and somewhat less than once a week after 20. The decreasing importance of masturbation as a source of orgasm is reflected in the decreasing proportion of the total outlet of the whole population which it accounts for. At age 16, about two-thirds of all orgasms are self-stimulated; by age 21 only one in six orgasms is so accounted for.

Kinsey found that American males, in the same social and educational category, show about the same accumulative incidence of masturbation. They have a mean frequency of 2.22 per week at age 15, dropping to 1.31 between 21 and 25. Masturbation accounts for almost four-fifths of the total outlet at 15, and by age 21 over half of the orgasms are still from this source. The picture of higher adolescent and lower adult masturbatory frequency of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 2. MASTURBATION AMONG ISRAELI-BORN MALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
22	11	9.1	.23	1.07	4.5	5.00	—	100.0
22	12	9.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	13	40.9	1.16	2.09	40.9	2.83	2.48	67.4
22	14	63.6	1.22	1.89	35.8	2.06	2.10	67.4
22	15	72.7	1.31	1.91	27.3	2.06	2.05	68.0
22	16	77.3	1.18	1.93	63.6	1.86	2.16	52.9
22	17	81.8	1.26	2.51	59.1	2.14	3.00	49.0
22	18	81.8	.72	1.53	54.5	1.31	1.90	34.6
20	19	80.0	.46	.62	60.0	.76	.66	23.1
19	20	78.9	.57	1.58	47.4	1.21	2.18	30.8
14	21	85.7	.34	.71	43.0	.79	.95	14.3
11	22	90.9	.15	.32	27.3	.54	1.77	6.3
8	23	100.0	.05	.04	37.5	.13	—	2.4
7	24	100.0	.02	.04	28.6	.12	.07	.8
4	25	100.0	.05	.02	50.0	.11	—	3.3

TABLE 3. MASTURBATION AMONG ISRAELI-BORN FEMALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	15.8	.01	.05	5.3	.25	—	100.0
19	12	15.8	.01	.05	5.3	.25	—	100.0
19	13	26.3	.13	.28	21.1	.63	.32	68.4
19	14	52.6	.28	.48	47.5	.59	.56	56.0
19	15	63.2	.49	.78	60.0	.85	.88	64.5
19	16	63.2	.54	.97	58.0	.94	1.13	61.4
19	17	73.8	.65	1.07	63.2	1.03	1.20	44.2
18	18	77.8	.62	.87	66.7	.93	.93	34.4
15	19	80.0	.89	1.27	66.7	1.33	1.36	40.6
13	20	84.6	.86	1.11	69.2	1.24	1.15	42.8
11	21	81.8	1.71	8.81	72.7	2.39	3.29	46.6
8	22	87.5	1.59	3.44	75.0	2.19	3.89	68.8
7	23	100.0	.96	1.44	85.8	1.12	1.50	44.0
3	24	100.0	.67	.76	66.7	1.00	.71	35.1

Israeli sample is closer to the pattern that Kinsey found in the lower educational and economic groups in America.

The data on masturbation for the females are roughly similar in accumulative incidence to those of the males (Table 3). Again about two-thirds of the females have begun masturbating by age 16, and by age 22 almost all have had the experience. However, unlike the males, the proportion of females active in each year shows a steady rise from 60 per cent at age 15 to 75 per cent at age 22. The active females are masturbating about once a week during adolescence. The frequency increases to between one and a half and two times a week during the early twenties. At mid-adolescence, masturbation accounts for one-half to two-thirds of all orgasms for the females. Unlike the males, it still accounts for an average of 40 per cent of all orgasms during the early twenties.

Kinsey found much less frequent masturbation among American females in this same educational group, but what masturbation was found formed a larger proportion of their total outlet. The mean frequency tends to be between .3 and .4 per week. By age 20 not more

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

than a third had experienced masturbation and not more than half had tried this outlet by age 25. The relative importance of masturbation in the total outlet was greater for American females. At age 15, it accounts for 93 per cent of the total outlet and for about half of the weekly orgasms at age 25. The pattern of masturbation among Israeli females is closer to that of the American males than to that of American females.

Petting to Orgasm

Petting to orgasm is a universal experience among the males of the sample (Table 4). By age 16 over half have already achieved orgasm through petting, and by 21 over 90 per cent have done so. During high-school years about half of the males are actively engaged in petting to orgasm to the extent of about once in two weeks. By the early twenties the active proportion declines slightly. Those who continue achieve orgasm in this manner about once a week. Throughout adolescence and early adulthood petting accounts for about one out of eight of the orgasms experienced in the sample.

The males in Kinsey's sample were less active in petting. By their early twenties slightly more than half have had experience. Those active

TABLE 4. PETTING TO ORGASM AMONG ISRAELI-BORN MALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
22	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	14	4.5	.01	.01	4.5	.33	—	.6
22	15	27.3	.10	.32	27.3	.35	.57	5.2
22	16	54.5	.27	.45	50.0	.55	.50	12.1
22	17	68.2	.32	.45	54.5	.58	.46	12.5
22	18	77.3	.31	.44	54.5	.56	.47	14.9
20	19	80.0	.24	.40	50.0	.49	.45	12.1
19	20	84.2	.33	.57	47.4	.69	.67	17.8
14	21	92.9	.66	1.18	43.0	1.53	2.25	27.9
11	22	90.9	.34	.90	36.4	.92	1.39	10.2
8	23	100.0	.05	.08	37.5	.14	.10	23.6
7	24	100.0	.27	.41	57.1	.46	.45	11.3
4	25	100.0	.19	.24	50.0	.38	.18	12.5

TABLE 5. PETTING TO ORGASM AMONG ISRAELI-BORN FEMALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	12	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	13	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	14	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	15	5.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	16	10.5	.01	.02	5.3	.12	—	1.1
19	17	31.6	.30	.65	26.3	1.16	.83	20.4
18	18	44.4	.52	2.52	44.4	1.16	.83	28.9
15	19	60.0	.55	.69	60.0	.91	.76	25.1
13	20	69.2	.47	.81	61.5	.76	.94	23.4
11	21	81.8	.64	1.14	63.6	1.02	1.31	17.4
8	22	75.0	.16	.35	37.5	.46	.48	6.9
7	23	85.8	.27	.41	57.1	.47	.60	12.4
3	24	100.0	.24	.37	66.7	.36	.43	12.6

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 6. INTERCOURSE WITH COMPANIONS AMONG ISRAELI-BORN MALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
22	11	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	12	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	13	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	14	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	15	9.1	.05	.21	4.5	1.00	—	2.6
22	16	27.3	.24	.60	22.7	1.05	.91	10.8
22	17	45.5	.51	.79	40.9	1.25	.78	19.8
22	18	59.1	.45	.71	54.5	.83	.80	21.6
20	19	65.0	.56	.91	65.0	.85	1.01	28.1
19	20	71.6	.40	.73	52.6	.75	.87	21.6
14	21	85.7	1.11	1.37	78.6	1.41	1.41	46.8
11	22	100.0	1.59	1.31	100.0	1.58	1.08	69.9
8	23	100.0	1.89	2.37	100.0	1.89	2.37	89.2
7	24	100.0	1.87	1.41	100.0	1.87	1.41	78.2
4	25	100.0	.88	1.44	50.0	1.75	1.74	57.9

TABLE 7. INTERCOURSE WITH COMPANIONS AMONG ISRAELI-BORN FEMALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	17	5.3	.18	.80	5.3	—	—	12.2
18	18	11.1	.39	1.44	11.1	3.50	3.53	21.7
15	19	13.3	.38	1.29	13.3	2.84	3.06	12.8
13	20	7.7	.31	1.11	7.7	—	—	14.9
11	21	27.3	1.00	1.95	27.3	3.67	1.53	27.2
8	22	37.5	.16	.29	25.0	.61	.17	6.9
7	23	42.9	.60	.81	42.9	1.39	.61	27.5
3	24	33.3	—	—	—	—	—	0.0

have the experience about once in three weeks. At no time did this outlet account for more than 7.5 per cent of the total orgasms.

The females begin a bit later than the males (Table 5). Only one in three females has experienced orgasm through petting by age 17. About three-fourths have by age 21. At age 17 only one in four is active, while at 21 two in three females engage in petting to orgasm. Those who are active average about one experience a week during late adolescence. At this time it accounts for about a quarter of all orgasms experienced by the females in the sample. Petting becomes proportionally less important in the total picture after this.

Again the females in the Kinsey report are considerably less active, with only about one in three having had the experience by age 25. Their frequency is about one such experience in three months. Petting accounts for less than a fifth of the total orgasms.

Intercourse with Companions

By late adolescence, intercourse with companions accounts for a major share of orgasms experienced by Israeli native-born males (Table 6). Almost half have had intercourse by age 17, and the entire sample reported experience by age 22. At age 16, intercourse accounts for 11 per cent of all the orgasms of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

male sample, and for one out of five of their orgasms at age 18. During their early twenties about three out of four orgasms are achieved in intercourse. Those active are having intercourse about once a week during high school. The frequency increases to slightly under twice a week by their twenties.

The comparable males in Kinsey's study have an accumulative incidence of 44 per cent by age 20 and 64 per cent by age 25. Those active are having intercourse about three times a month. Intercourse with companions accounts for about 9 per cent of the orgasms at age 20 and for about 19 per cent at age 25. The difference between the two populations is striking. Intercourse with companions has from five to seven times the importance as an outlet for Israeli males during their early twenties as it does for American males. The active Israeli males have intercourse about three times as often as the active American males during this period.

Native-born Israeli females begin having intercourse somewhat later than the males (Table 7). By late adolescence only about 10 per cent have achieved orgasm in this way. About one-third have had the experience by age 22. However, once initiated into intercourse, they tend to maintain the practice. This is evidenced by the fact that the active incidence parallels the accumulative incidence. Those females active are considerably more active than the males. They have intercourse two to three times a week during late adolescence. In the immediate post-high school years, intercourse accounts for over 10 per cent of all orgasms for the female population, and by the early twenties for over 20 per cent.

In the American sample only 10 per cent of the females have had intercourse by age 20, and 24 per cent by age 25. Their frequency is roughly three times a month.

Spontaneous Orgasm

Three out of four 16-year-old native-born Israeli males have experienced spontaneous orgasm, usually in the form of a nocturnal emission (Table 8). By the age of 18, 90 per cent have had ejaculation with neither social nor mechanical contact. However, there is a steadily decreasing frequency of the occurrence. During the high-school period a nocturnal emission seems to be an almost weekly happening for the three out of four experiencing it at all. After the age of 20 there is a rather sharp drop in frequency. For the active population, spontaneous orgasm occurs about twice a month at age 21 and about once a month after age 23. This outlet also decreases in relative importance as a source of orgasms. During adolescence one in four orgasms are spontaneous, while in the early twenties only about one in ten is so.

TABLE 8. SPONTANEOUS ORGASM AMONG ISRAELI-BORN MALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
22	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
22	12	9.1	.06	.22	9.1	.63	.52	100.0
22	13	54.5	.56	1.51	54.5	1.03	1.96	20.9
22	14	63.3	.58	1.14	54.5	1.06	1.40	32.0
22	15	77.3	.47	.60	63.6	.74	.60	24.4
22	16	77.3	.54	.68	68.2	.80	.69	24.2
22	17	86.4	.48	.69	68.2	.70	.74	18.7
22	18	90.9	.51	.71	68.2	.75	.75	24.5
20	19	85.0	.57	.76	70.0	.82	.79	28.6
19	20	89.6	.39	.68	71.6	.61	.77	21.1
14	21	92.9	.26	.29	64.5	.41	.27	11.0
11	22	90.9	.28	.74	45.5	.61	1.06	11.9
8	23	87.5	.13	.17	62.5	.21	.18	6.1
7	24	85.7	.23	.35	71.4	.33	.38	9.6
4	25	100.0	.40	.45	75.0	.53	.45	26.2

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

TABLE 9. SPONTANEOUS ORGASM AMONG ISRAELI-BORN FEMALES

N	AGE	ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY TOTAL POPULATION	STANDARD DEVIATION	ACTIVE POPULATION PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY ACTIVE	STANDARD DEVIATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OUTLET
19	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0
19	12	10.5	.00	.00	10.5	.02	—	0.0
19	13	31.6	.06	.15	15.8	.37	.22	31.6
19	14	52.6	.22	.35	47.5	.47	.39	44.0
19	15	58.0	.27	.39	47.5	.59	.36	35.5
19	16	68.5	.33	.40	58.0	.57	.36	37.5
19	17	68.5	.34	.46	58.0	.59	.46	23.1
18	18	77.8	.27	.37	55.6	.49	.38	15.0
15	19	86.7	.37	.40	66.7	.55	.38	16.9
13	20	84.6	.37	.42	69.2	.53	.40	18.4
11	21	90.9	.32	.38	72.7	.44	.39	8.7
8	22	87.5	.40	.45	62.5	.64	.40	17.3
7	23	100.0	.35	.41	71.4	.49	.37	16.1
3	24	100.0	1.00	.50	100.0	1.00	.71	52.4

The accumulative incidences for the males in the Kinsey report are about the same as those for the Israeli males. However, nocturnal emissions occur in this sample only about once in three weeks. The relative importance of this outlet does not differ much from that for the Israeli males. In the Kinsey study, nocturnal emissions account for about a sixth of the orgasms experienced during the entire period.

The experience of Israeli females with spontaneous orgasms parallels that of the males (Table 9). By the end of high school about three out of four native-born Israeli females have had spontaneous orgasms, and about 90 per cent have had them by the early twenties. For those experiencing this outlet, frequencies are about once in two weeks during the entire period. As with the males, the relative importance of this outlet shows a steady decline with age but the drop is not so radical. During adolescence, about one orgasm in three for the entire native-born Israeli female population is accounted for by this outlet. By their early twenties only about one in six orgasms comes spontaneously.

The picture of the Israeli females differs sharply from that discovered by Kinsey in the United States. By age 25, less than a quarter have experienced this outlet. The women interviewed by Kinsey did not experience spontaneous orgasm more than three or four times a year. Throughout, this never accounted for more than an insignificant proportion of their total outlet.

Summary

During most of the period studied, the total outlet of native-born Israeli males was about the same as that of the American males. They differed, however, in the sources of their orgasms. For the Israeli male, spontaneous orgasm and masturbation account for most of the sexual activity in adolescence. As he approaches his twenties, this solitary sexuality is replaced by the social sexuality of petting and especially intercourse. The unmarried American male essentially maintains his solitary pattern through his early twenties. Petting and intercourse begin to assume a place of greater importance by the late twenties.

The total outlet of the native-born Israeli female is about the same as for the Israeli and American males. However, masturbation increases in importance with age, as does petting. Intercourse seems to have a greater relative importance during late adolescence than during the early twenties, when it is replaced by petting. It regains its importance by the late twenties. The American female has only a fraction of the total outlet of the Israeli female. However, the pattern varies. During late adolescence, most of the American female's activity is solitary, while about half of that of the Israeli

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

female is social. By the mid-twenties, both patterns become similar in being about equally divided between solitary and social sources of orgasm.

These differences are probably not accounted for by physiological variations or by the influence of nutrition or climate. Rather, they may be accounted for by differences in society and culture. The fact that the total activity of the Israeli male and female is about the same hints that the usually discovered lower activity of the female may not be due to inherent physiological or psychological characteristics.

The Israeli youth studied were adolescent members of youth movements. Males and females mixed freely and most activities could be carried on by either. The higher proportion of intercourse on the part of the males reflects two facts. First, those females who do have intercourse are doing so with more than one male. Second, and more important, the middle- and upper-class males in the sample are having intercourse with lower-class females not appearing in this study.

The general fact that intercourse is more common among these unmarried Israelis is partly understandable in terms of early Zionist utopian ideology, which viewed intercourse as incidental. It may also be related to the youth culture's independence of the adult culture in Israel. Thus, adult values, or the attempts by the adult community to restrict the sexuality of the youth, are less effective in Israel than in America.

The observer of the Israeli scene will be puzzled. The general impression is that the social life of Israeli youth takes place in small cliques within the youth movements. These cliques include both boys and girls, and pairing off seems rare before the twenties. There is no "dating" culture. Yet the petting and intercourse data reflect some pairing off. It is likely that this pairing off for sexual activity is a rather transient affair.

References

Baratz, Joseph, *A Village by the Jordan: The Story of Degania.* New York: Roy Pub., 1955.

Irvine, Elizabeth E., "Observations on the Aims and Methods of Childrearing in Communal Settlements in Israel." *Human Relations 5;* 247-275, 1952.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Kinsey, Alfred C. *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953.

Maletz, David, *Young Hearts.* New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1950.

Reifen, D., "Sexual Offenses Against Children: A New Method of Investigation in Israel." *Megamot 7;* 339-405, October, 1956. (Hebrew with English summary.)

Shumsky, Abraham, *The Clash of Cultures in Israel, a Problem for Education.* (Teachers College Studies in Education.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Spiro, Melford E., *Kibbutz, Venture in Utopia.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.

Spiro, Melford E., *Children of the Kibbutz.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Wolman, Benjamin, "Sexual Development of Israeli Adolescents." *A. J. Psychother. 5;* 531-559, 1951.

SAMUEL Z. KLAUSNER

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Jealousy

JEALOUSY may be defined as a feeling of displeasure accompanied by an urge for release which expresses itself either as fear of imminent loss of the love-object or as displeasure over a real or imagined erotic union that the love-object has with someone else. The feeling can be directed toward the love-object, toward the rival, or toward both.

In this definition no differentiation is made between jealousy when there is actually a "third party" and when there is merely the possibility of a "third party." The definition is purely descriptive. It says nothing of motive or of the inner structure of the feeling itself. We shall soon see, for example, that jealousy is not a *pure* feeling of displeasure. There are also some other important aspects of the problem, which are not taken into consideration in this preliminary definition.

Many attempts have been made to differentiate various types of jealousy: for example, masculine and feminine, primitive and social, normal and abnormal, sexual and nonsexual; but all these categories tend to merge into one another. By *primitive* jealousy is understood the rivalry felt by the loser in the courtship battles of animals. *Social* jealousy refers particularly to the concept of man's right to possess his wife. We will distinguish here, for practical reasons, between *sexual* and *nonsexual* jealousy, but it must be understood that this distinction only makes sense when the word sexual is used in its old and narrow meaning. Once the word sexual is used in its psychoanalytical meaning, the distinction disappears.

So-called Nonsexual Jealousy

Ludwig Klages (1928) has pointed out that jealousy is not limited to "feelings of sexual affection," but extends over the whole area of affectionate feeling.

The Oedipus Situation as a Pattern

From a psychoanalytical point of view, jealousy is rooted mainly in the Oedipus situation of the child. According to Freud, "normal" jealousy arises "from the Oedipus, or from the sibling, complex of the first sexual period." Flugel adds, "With the first establishment of object love toward the parent of the opposite sex, the conditions are present for the arousal of jealousy toward the parent of the same sex." This is the negative aspect of the Oedipus complex.

The Dutch psychologist Rita Vuyk (1959) distinguishes between jealousy, envy, and rivalry in the relations of children. Jealousy is the negative feeling occasioned by "the fear of losing something one has to a competitor." Envy is the negative feeling that arises when "someone else has something we want, or is allowed to do something forbidden to us." Rivalry is the "desire and effort to do better than others or another." "Jealousy arises when the child feels his sole possession of his mother is threatened, envy when he thinks another child is the sole possessor, rivalry when he believes achievement is a means to sole possession of the mother."

Parents show an unconscious jealousy in their relations with their children, a factor that can strengthen the irritation caused by the children, due, for example, to restricted living space. This apparent jealousy can also lead children to feel fear of retaliation and this fear is the most common cause of the child's overcoming the incest tendency (Flugel).

Where there are brothers and sisters, they naturally become rivals for the parents' favor.

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

Experience shows that this particular hate aspect within the family group appears strongest in the attitude of older toward younger children, but it is unlikely ever to be entirely lacking.

Situations Deriving from the Oedipus Complex

Negative feelings deriving from this impulse to jealousy within the family are often transferred to other aspects of social life. In the opinion of Flugel, a renewal of jealousy toward the parent of the same sex is normal when the child acquires a stepparent of the other sex. Thus, a boy acquiring a stepmother will be jealous of his own father.

Negative feelings toward a parent can later develop into a social attitude toward authority and be transferred to persons placed in authority. It is often very apparent in the attitude of individuals toward their church authorities, their teachers or physicians, their schools, city authority, state, or king. Flugel adds that the Christian doctrine of the Annunciation is based, at least in part, on a desire to avoid sexual jealousy of the Father, together with the envy, hostility, or contempt that would inevitably—especially in view of the general Christian attitude toward sex—accompany the notion of the Father as a sexually active being.

Jealousy of the mother, arising from the negative Oedipus complex, can later be transferred by the man to his wife as the mother of his children. The custom of male pseudopregnancy or couvade apparently derives from this.

It is further generally assumed that the hostile attitude of the older generation toward the younger, as expressed in the initiation rites of primitive peoples, is also partly due to jealousy.

Jealousy of and hostile feelings toward children on the part of parents also play their part in later life, especially when the child "in certain of the more important aspects of life" achieves superiority. This tendency, however, is nearly always mitigated by an impulse to identify with the child. When children marry, their parents often reveal a jealous attitude toward the son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

Jealousy between parents and children is always present in some degree. According to Flugel (1950),

It is therefore not surprising that we find evidence of sexual jealousy between parents and children in many early myths and customs and in the legends and beliefs of many peoples, both cultivated and uncivilized. There is good ground for supposing that parent hatred based on jealousy has been called into existence in innumerable successive generations and has thus had ample opportunity to impress itself on the forms, traditions, and institutions of human society. These impulses are particularly noticeable in monogamous families because here the hatred bred of jealousy would necessarily be directed on to a single individual, while in more flexible polygamous marriages it might lose in intensity through diffusion over a number of different persons.

Whereas many "savages" appear to exhibit a very considerable degree of affection toward their children, parents in civilized communities have often shown themselves, under a veneer of kindness or consideration, to be singularly brutal and selfish in their treatment.

Jealousy and the form of the family group are always closely connected. At one extreme is the proverbial primitive possession-jealousy of the lord of the harem and at the other the friendly group marriages, as found, for example, in Hawaii and Tibet. Here, with polygamy and polyandry, jealousy among partners of the same sex is rare.

The importance for culture development of the impulse to revolt against parents must not be forgotten, however. Many examples of outstanding cultural achievement are directly attributable to the father-son conflict. Flugel correctly points out that the "good" son or daughter frequently becomes a bad husband or wife, an inferior individual, and an unsatisfactory member of society.

True Sexual Jealousy

In the Animal Kingdom

Jealousy in the wider social sense is not unusual among the higher animals. Wolfgang Köhler reports jealousy among chimpanzees, another finds jealousy among parrots. Jealousy appears to be by no means an alien emotion to many domesticated animals. The courtship battles of animals are generally regarded as expressions of sexual jealousy in the narrow sense. Theodore Zell (1919) holds that ob-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

serving the battles of stags first induced man to fight duels.

The attitude of the animal derives from the social organization of its species and from its mating habits. The fiercest courtship battles thus appear among the males of polygamous mammals. Such polygamy may be seasonal, as among the harem-acquiring solitary animals, stags, antelopes, wild pigs, and goats, and among the harem-acquiring herd animals, such as seals and kangaroos. It may also be perennial, as, for example, among howler monkeys. The courtship battles appear either as trials of strength during rut or as a defense of the harem by the "Pasha" against intruders. Wild pigs adopt an unusual arrangement, for sometimes the boar is not strong enough to drive away all rivals and we find equally strong boars joining a group of sows during the rutting season in a sort of seasonal group marriage.

One would expect similar courtship battles to appear among females of species that practice polyandry. This is, however, not the case; in the few instances of polyandry that occur in the animal kingdom, the males are very much smaller than the females and can even attach themselves to their mates. In this way, three to twelve dwarf males will attach themselves to the female Cirripeds alcippe, a kind of crayfish, and will remain with her during life. On another cirriped, *Scapellum stearnsi*, over one hundred such dwarf males have been observed.

Among Humans

It has been recognized for some time that jealousy among humans is not particularly a sign of ardent love, but rather that it denotes the opposite, a narcissistic complex. In 1665, François de La Rochefoucauld wrote, "There is more self-love than love in jealousy." The eighteenth-century philosopher Marquis de Vauvenargues called jealousy a "sickness of self-love." Among more recent authors, Ludwig Klages regards "capacity to love" and "the egoistic will to possess" as the two mainsprings of jealousy, the latter being the stronger. Wilhelm Stekel (1917) writes, "Jealousy is the projection of a bad adjustment on to the environment. It is an atavistic flare-up of brutish ego-feeling, such as occurred in primitive man when defending his property. All children are jealous. Jealousy takes us back to the springs of human instincts."

What does modern science have to say about this problem of jealousy? Apart from certain apt observations in the literature of character analysis, the problem seems to be primarily the concern of psychoanalysis and of social psychology.

Psychoanalysis regards jealousy as closely connected with narcissism. The degree of jealousy is generally proportionate to the narcissistic and not to the object-directed libido. The source of jealousy is a lack of capacity for love. According to Fenichel (1955), "The most jealous persons are those who are not able to love, but who need the feeling of being loved." Jones (1930) sees this overdeveloped self-love as compensation for an unconscious guilt complex.

Chronically jealous persons change the object of their emotion frequently. This restless, constant change of love-object arises from the fear that all the narcissistic demands that bind the jealous person to his love-object may finally be satisfied (Peine). Such a person is trying to satisfy his urge to be loved, his quest for reassurance, domination, and lack of frustration. This is what is meant by "possessing" a woman. Loss of the love-object means loss of one's own self-esteem. The jealous person shows pronounced inability to face the loss of love. When the love partner is regarded as personal property, the possibility arises that jealousy may become nothing but a support for self-esteem (Jones).

Especially prone to jealousy are those persons whose need for self-esteem is in the form of self-love. Demanding acceptance to compensate for an inferiority complex (the Othello type) may become a symptom of a neurosis. Such an inferiority complex is often linked to sexual impotence.

Sexual jealousy does not arise from frustration. If it did, defense against it would not be so difficult. The fact that it grows stronger and even becomes an obsession shows that it is in itself a defense mechanism. But what is jealousy a defense against? In Freud's opinion it is a defense against (1) the impulse to be unfaithful, and (2) the impulse to function as a homosexual. This applies to both normal and abnormal jealousy. An interesting theory of jeal-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

ousy from a psychoanalytical standpoint is expressed by Fenichel, who maintains that "jealousies develop wherever the need to repress impulses toward unfaithfulness and homosexuality clash with an unwillingness to accept a loss of love."

Pathological jealousy can lead to emotional outbursts and even to suicide or murder. The reaction to extreme consequences of jealousy depends on the attitude of the environment toward "understandable" emotional outbursts. For example, the almost routine acquittal handed down by French courts in crimes involving jealousy is usually regarded as a demonstration of the French national character and the general attitude of the French toward love.

Freud's attitude was, that women are more inclined to be jealous and envious than men, specifically because of penis envy and a greater narcissistic libido. Before Freud, Immanuel Kant recognized this when he said, "Men are jealous when in love, women even when not in love; for every lover won by other women reduces the number of lovers available to herself." But although the disposition to jealousy is generally more pronounced in women, we shall soon see that in specific sexual aspects the opposite is true.

In addition to psychoanalytical studies, there have also been sociological and social psychological studies on this subject. Helmuth Gottschalk (1936) investigated the problem of jealousy by interviewing 52 "normal, average persons," of whom 25 were men and 27 women. They were northern Germans and Danes, of various social strata and rural or urban surroundings, and belonged to three different religious denominations. The material should thus afford a fairly reliable insight into the world of modern northern Europeans.

In every sexual relationship there is a conflict that arises from the incompatible urges for close personal union and for variety. The urge for sexual variety is probably neurotic, but sometimes psychoanalysts appear to place too little value on the social relativity of our sexual behavior. In any case, an investigation of fidelity and infidelity in 93 marriages has shown that jealousy was not so insurmountable an obstacle to the solution of the problems of the marriage partners as is usually believed. The sexual history of mankind, moreover, shows that jealousy has varied so greatly in different places and at different times that one can easily conclude that social factors play an important part.

Gottschalk's investigation showed the prominent role played by sadism and masochism in the jealousy complex, and also the existence of certain differences in the jealousy shown by men and by women. Whereas 21 out of 25 men displayed a primarily sexual feeling of jealousy, for 21 out of 27 women sexual jealousy was not a primary factor.

In men, jealousy manifests itself in the first place as a shock of feeling either sexually inadequate or sexually repulsive, resulting in a simultaneous and sudden release of rivalry feelings, similar to those that occur in the animal world. The usual inquisitorial interrogation of the partner betrays a masochistic trait. Jealous males again and again demand a detailed reconstruction of the circumstance of and reasons for the acts of infidelity. In this way, jealousy serves as a form of self-punishment, and persons with masochistic tendencies are quite capable of creating situations that may give rise to jealousy. This aspect has been popularized in Schleiermacher's classic pun, "Die Eifersucht ist eine Leidenschaft, die mit Eifer sucht, was Leiden schafft" (jealousy is a passion which seeks with zeal what suffering creates).

Sexual jealousy also contains an element of direct lust. It may actually be sexually exciting. Sexual gratification may be obtained by the identification with the rival who has given reasons for jealousy. Combined with sadistic feelings, the act responsible for jealousy may be identified as a rape situation. This identification with a rapist may be extended on to subsequent sexual relations with the partner who has given reasons for jealousy. Jealousy in men is therefore a feeling that may contain gratification and pleasure as well as rejection and displeasure. Many previous researchers have not recognized this ambivalence of the jealousy complex. The unconscious provocation of situations leading to jealousy is motivated equally by the need for self-punishment and by the pleasure drive for sexual excitement.

Although the feeling of sexual rivalry may arise during a trivial flirtation or conversation,

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the specific shock of sexual displeasure related to jealousy becomes apparent only when there exists a closer relationship or union with a partner or, at least, the desire for it ("my" wife, "my" fiancé, "my" girl friend). A certain *drive for power* and an *urge for domination and possession* are therefore basic prerequisites for this shock of displeasure, with vanity, ambition, and imperiousness as close seconds. Gottschalk has expressed it thus: "The displeasure of jealousy does not arise because of a limitation of the sex-drive, but because of an injury to the possessive urge."

Women, according to Gottschalk, generally lack both these reactions of sexual rivalry and of injury to the right of sexual possession, and also the pleasure-displeasure ambivalence. In sexually free and natural women the *pleasure element* of sexually exciting images in the case of infidelity breaks through much more readily than in men. On the other hand, men often experience, as a result of social and moral notions, a suppression of the pleasure component, which amplifies the displeasure of sexual jealousy. Women are on the whole less jealous of the sexual union of the male with the rival than of the *spiritual union based on common interests;* the male asks *"What did you do?"*; the female, *"What did you discuss?"*

Sometimes *esthetic* feelings play a part in both sexes. The sense of the "esthetic" and the "unesthetic," however, is not relevant to the problem, being determined by external factors and also being differently constituted in different individuals.

The violation of the *possessive* feeling and the injury to self-esteem are *secondary, socially conditioned motives of jealousy.* Jealousy, therefore, according to Gottschalk, is "a natural, original, instinctive, sexual reaction which nevertheless is capable simultaneously of adapting itself to a large extent to the needs of society and of changing with them."

The element of the *injured self-esteem* (a kind of narcissistic injury) is a feeling of being scorned and is thus conditioned by social convention, which determines what is to awaken jealousy. Some people (as, for example, the Eskimos) who still practice wife-lending to guests show no trace of this injured self-esteem. In our society, on the other hand, the sex-denying philosophy of life influences the social basis underlying this narcissistic injury. If the sexual life is generally looked upon as "impure" and is overrated as something attainable only with great difficulty, then there naturally arises an injury to self-esteem when the partner takes up a new relationship.

The different valuation of the two sexes through the double standard is also a factor. For most men, women decline in "worth" if they engage in sexual relations that transgress convention. These men make an exception to this rule only as far as their own sexual acts are concerned. When, however, their partner is involved in a sexual act with another, they consider themselves "deceived." Thus, in our society the wife suffers less "social degradation" through the infidelity of her husband than the man does through the infidelity of his wife. Furthermore, a wife (particularly a happy one) is often proud of the erotic escapades of her husband, provided the desire to maintain the union with her remains unimpaired. This preference for social as opposed to sexual fidelity has been confirmed in an investigation of 250 Danish families by Gottschalk. An important reason why women generally show less real sexual jealousy than men thus lies in the double standard.

The socially conditioned injury to self-esteem occupies an important part in the jealousy complex. This fact may be noted in the not infrequent swapping of marriage partners with an almost complete lack of jealousy. The socially conditioned narcissistic injuries neutralize each other, as does also the overvaluation of the "sexual prerogatives."

Conversely, *insecure* persons are especially jealous, as are the vain and haughty ones. Here jealousy takes on the special form of a permanent fear of narcissistic injury. It expresses itself in those men who constantly supervise their wives, because to them even the thought of an eventual act of infidelity on the part of the "possessed object" is a most painful experience.

We must still deal with some fringe elements of jealousy. The displeasure over the loss of satisfaction of certain material, sexual, or spiritual needs is added as a fortifying factor to jealousy proper.

The sense of injury to the "feeling of soli-

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

darity" (perhaps a remnant of the herd instinct) plays an equally important role. This is exactly the opposite of external pressure, the "common necessity," a compensatory reaction to the feeling that one must always assert oneself in the struggle for existence. One wishes to be left "in peace." One does not want to feel threatened by external forces in one's own home. The injury to this feeling of solidarity, however, is felt more as pain, resignation, and disappointment than as jealousy. The feeling of solidarity, moreover, is not dependent on the exclusiveness of the union ("only we two"), but may be found also in "triangular" relationships, provided that the two partners of the same sex are good friends.

Is Jealousy Controllable?

The question still remains whether jealousy is controllable. Its variation according to time and place already gives food for thought in this connection. The aggressive reaction to injury in the form of rivalry feeling alone appears to be "naturally given." Here apparently lies (as comparison with animal psychology shows) a "normal" instinctive root. Every invasion of a sphere of instinctive interest, every impairment to satisfaction of an impulse causes aggression, and somewhere this aggression must be discharged. A complete suppression of such aggression would be ill advised from the point of view of mental hygiene. In other fields, however, we are daily exposed to numerous situations that provoke aggressive impulses, and yet we do not feel their direct satisfaction to be necessary. Aggressions can be diverted into neutral channels. If someone steps on my foot I must not immediately strike him, even though I may feel inclined to do so.

Here, therefore, we may discern a difference between the two situations, which we have placed at first in the same category. There is a natural kernel of jealousy in any sexual relation which is precisely the aggressive impulse springing from a release of the rivalry feeling. It is obvious, however, in normal individuals only when the partner has committed a serious sexual infidelity and only then when a "third partner" is involved. In other words, in the relationship of mutual love a "normal" kernel of jealousy is not manifest, so long as an "outside" sexual relation of one of the partners does not occur.

Another component of jealousy is not "naturally necessary." We have seen that the violent "shock of sexual displeasure," in man in particular, has as its deeper cause the possessive attitude toward the love-object. This possessive attitude is not "natural"; it is in a large measure socially conditioned. We shall not err if we associate this attitude, which treats human beings like inanimate objects belonging to us, with the *anal* phase. As a result of the utterly inadequate sexual education that is still common, the sexual experience is intermixed for many adults with anal components. This fact is attested to by the wide and colloquial use of the expression "sexual purity." This idea of "sexual purity" unquestionably strongly fortifies the *aggressiveness* of jealousy.

The third main component of jealousy, injured self-esteem, which forms the *narcissistic* portion, owes its beginning to an increased need for a feeling of superiority. It is especially strongly marked in the "duelling mentality," still existing in certain countries. Surely no one since the days of Alfred Adler has challenged the thesis that in turn this need for superiority stems from feelings of inferiority. It is in this respect that insecure persons reveal themselves as the most jealous.

It is known that the stronger the narcissism, the weaker is the object-libido. (Adler has expressed this by saying that as the need for superiority increases the feeling of solidarity diminishes.) Thus the chronically jealous, insecure narcissist shows a still immature, incomplete relation to the object. Therefore, at least so far as this chronic form of jealousy is involved, *love and jealousy exclude one another.* The true object-love includes a desire for the good of the partner and can even, within certain limits, assent to his love for another.

From the viewpoint of psychological development, jealousy contains a large element of *infantilism* because of its anal and narcissistic components. It is a discharge of aggressive energy unadapted to reality, like a fit of rage and childish defiance. Indeed, all education is directed toward changing the pleasure-principle of the child into the reality-principle of

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

the adult. In the jealous individual this development has been either unsuccessful or at least only partly successful. A consideration of available data will show that the behavior of a jealous person is not only inappropriate but barely adapted to reality. In case of a conflict with a third partner, jealousy usually does not prove an effective means to gain—or regain—the love of the partner. Jealousy neither breaks the spouse's union with a third partner nor brings together two persons who do not love each other, unless exceptional neurotic mechanisms are involved. In addition, the chronically jealous person, contrary to his conscious intention, runs the danger of losing his partner merely because of this continual jealous supervision.

August Forel (1931) has expressed similar ideas in his usual outspoken way. He maintains that there is no such thing as "justified jealousy." He writes, "People talk of justified jealousy, but I dispute its existence. There is a congenital atavistic jealousy and a pathological jealousy, but apart from certain neurotic conditions, any other form of this passion is crass stupidity." He goes on to say that a man who suspects his wife of infidelity has a right to discover the facts. But there is no sense in his being jealous. If he is wrong, his jealousy may hurt his wife. If he is right, he is faced with a choice: either to forgive or, if his wife stands revealed as unworthy and treacherous, to get a divorce. Men who are chronically jealous ought not to marry.

Jealousy and Marriage

There are in marriage three possibilities in this respect, if we disregard any question of legality.

1. The "third party" displaces the spouse, and the partner is happy and contented in this new love. Neither jealousy nor laws are of use against such buffets of fate. The painful loss of the "feeling of solidarity" must be borne.

2. The "third party" remains a secondary and less important phenomenon. In such cases—and they are the most common—jealousy is superfluous. In fact, in such a situation the "third party" can even enrich the marriage.

3. The rare situation may arise in which an equal love develops among the three individuals involved. Whoever believes in the infinite variety of human destiny will not shun such a possible solution. Should one stand in the way of love even when the direction it takes is not that prescribed by society? Even where rational considerations are useless, jealousy will accomplish little. The Russian poet Michael Arzybashev writes in his novel *Sanine* (1907):

> Love imposes on us onerous duties only on account of jealousy, and jealousy was produced through slavery. Every kind of slavery produces evil. . . . Men shall have the use of love without fear or renunciation, and without barriers. . . . The forms of love will then also turn out infinitely richer through the concatenation of surprise and fortune.

In the face of love there can be only understanding and tolerance or love in return. Because these are the only mental attitudes that do justice to love, jealousy is unrealistic. Jealousy is an escape mechanism, a flight away from an outer conflict in relation to the "third party," and from an inner conflict (in the jealousy of suspicion) in relation to the spouse. Jealousy attempts to force a solution on the conflict, and because ineffective means are used, the conflict remains.

How then can one control jealousy if it is only in a minor degree—and that because of the kernel of the rivalry-feeling—"naturally necessary"? The social factors that have contributed to the growth of this feeling will change only slowly, but the forms of faulty individual development can be influenced through education. The whole matter is thus a question of education. If one succeeds in avoiding strong anal and narcissistic fixations in youth and in achieving a positive and tolerant attitude toward love life, thus adapting oneself to reality, then the agitations of sexual jealousy can be reduced to a minimum.

We cannot conclude such considerations without some statements of Bertrand Russell, who has also dealt with the problem of jealousy. Russell says:

> Jealousy must not be regarded as a justifiable insistence upon rights, but as a misfortune to the one who feels it and a wrong toward its object. Where possessive elements intrude upon love, it loses its vivifying power and eats up personality; where they are absent, it fulfills personality and

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

brings a greater intensity of life. In former days parents ruined their relations with their children by preaching love as a duty; husbands and wives still too often ruin their relations to each other by the same mistake. Love cannot be a duty, because it is not subject to the will. It is a gift from heaven, the best that heaven has to bestow. Those who shut it up in a cage destroy the beauty and joy which it can only display while it is free and spontaneous. Here, again, fear is the enemy. He who fears to lose what makes the happiness of his life has already lost it. In this, as in other things, fearlessness is the essence of wisdom.

References

Almquist, Johan, *Sexuallivet (Sex Life).* Stockholm: Tidens Förlag, 1942.

Alverdes, Friedrich, *Tiersoziologie.* Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1925.

Birnbaum, Karl, "Knankhafte Eifersucht und Eifersuchtswahn." *Sexualprobleme,* 1911.

Bohm, Ewald, "Is Jealousy Controllable?" *Internat. J. Sexology,* Feb., 1952.

Ellis, Albert, *The American Sexual Tragedy.* New York: Twayne Pub., 1954.

Fenichel, Otto, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1955.

Flugel, J. C., *Människan, Moralen och Samhället (Man, Morals and Society).* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1946.

Flugel, J. C., *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family.* London: The Hogarth Press, 1950.

Forel, August, *Die Sexuelle Frage.* München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1931.

Foster, Sybil, "A Study of the Personality Make-up and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children." *Ment. Hyg. 11;* 53, 1927.

Freud, Sigmund, "Neue Folge der Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse." *Ges. Werke* (Bd. 15). London: Imago Pub. Co., 1940.

Freud, Sigmund, "Ueber einige neurotische Mechanismen bei Eifersucht, Paranoia und Homosexualität." *Ges. Werke* (Bd. 13). London: Imago Pub. Co., 1940.

Freud, Sigmund, "Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen über einen autobiographisch beschriebenen Fall von Paranoia (Dementia paranoides)." *Ges. Werke* (Bd. 8). London: Imago Pub. Co., 1943.

Gottschalk, Helmuth, *Skinsygens Problemer (Problems of Jealousy).* Copenhagen: Fremad, 1936.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Geschlechtskunde,* II. Stuttgart: Julius Putmann, 1928.

Jones, Ernest, "Die Eifersucht." *Die Psychoanalytische Bewegung 2;* 1930.

Klages, Ludwig, *Die Grundlagen der Charakterkunde.* Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1928.

Laignel-Levastine, P., and Johannais, J., "Syndrome passionel de jalousie." *Ann. Med. Psychol. 100;* 329, 1942.

Meisenheimer, Johannes, *Geschlecht und Geschlechter im Tierreich.* Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1921.

Peine, Siegfried, "Von den neurotischen Wurzeln des gesteigerten Variationsbedürfnisses, insbesondere in der Vita sexualis." *Internat. Ztschr. f. Psychoanalyse,* 1922.

Russell, Bertrand, *Education and the Good Life.* New York: Liveright, 1958.

Sokoloff, Boris, *Jealousy, a Psychiatric Study.* New York: Howell, Soskin, 1947.

Stekel, Wilhelm, *Onanie und Homosexualität.* Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1917.

Sterba, Richard, "Eifersüchtig auf?" *Die Psychoanalytische Bewegung 2;* 1930.

Vuyk, Rita, *Das Kind in der Zweikinderfamille.* Bern: Hans Huber, 1959.

Zell, Theodor, *Die Diktatur der Liebe.* Berlin: Hoffman & Campe, 1919.

EWALD BOHM
Translated by Albert Abarbanel



CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

MAURYA BOOK DEPOT,
Hazratganj, LUCKNOW



CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri. Funding:IKS

CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj, Lucknow

undation Trust, Delhi and e

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF *Sexual Behaviour*

Edited by
A. ELLIS, Ph.D.
and
A. ABARBANEL, Ph.D.

Volume I

ain. UP State Museum H